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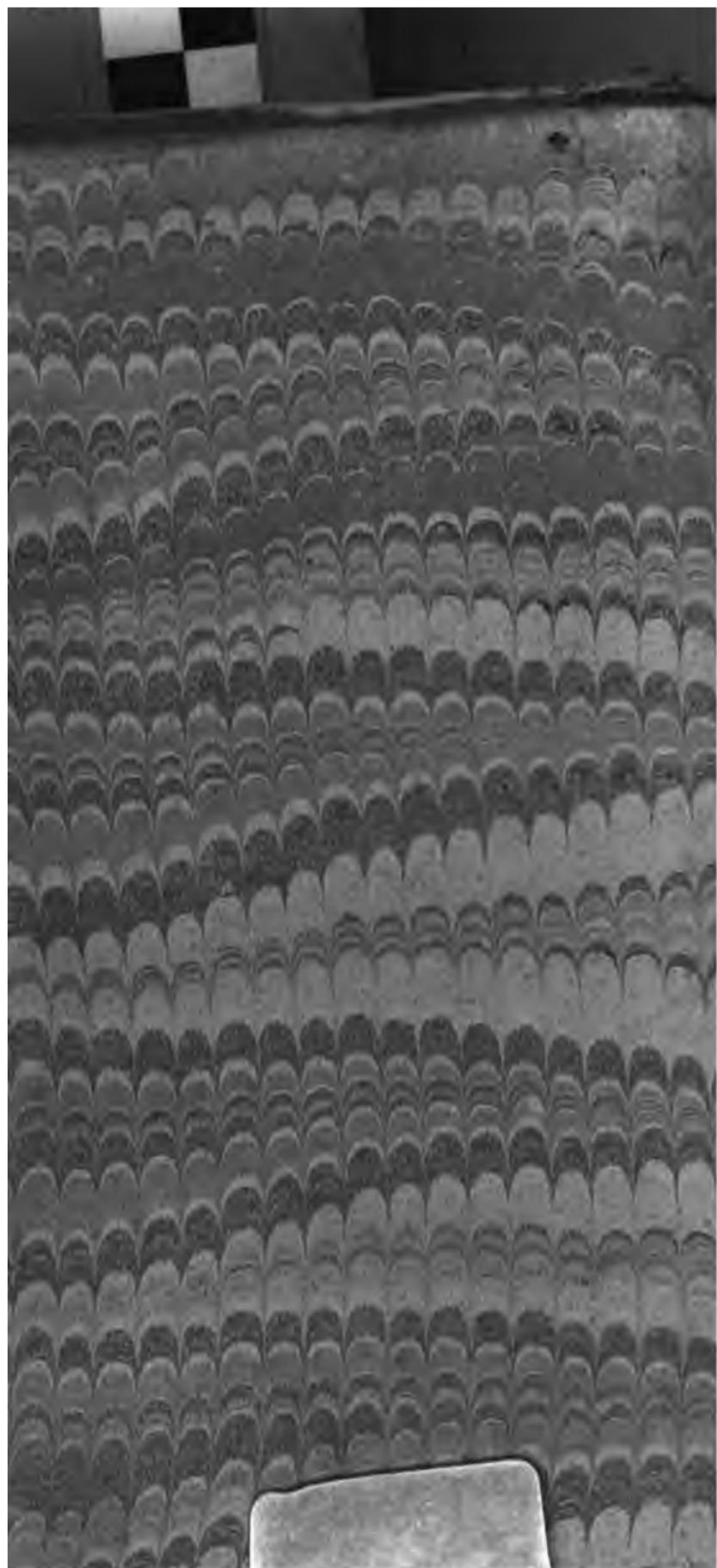
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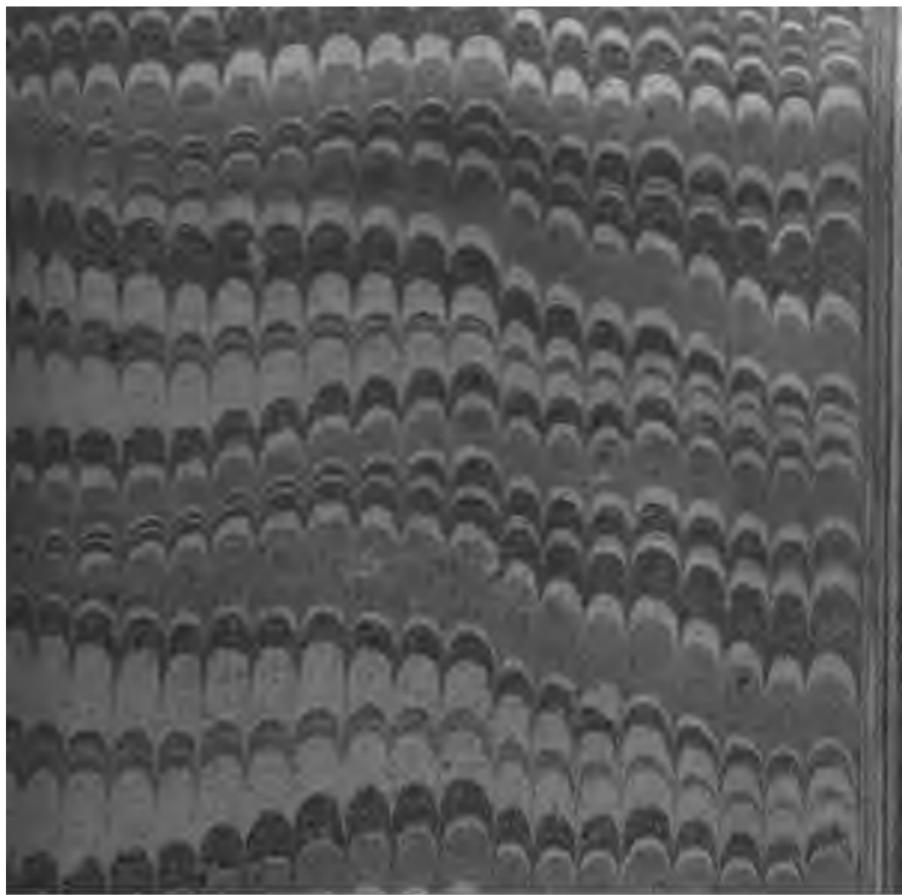
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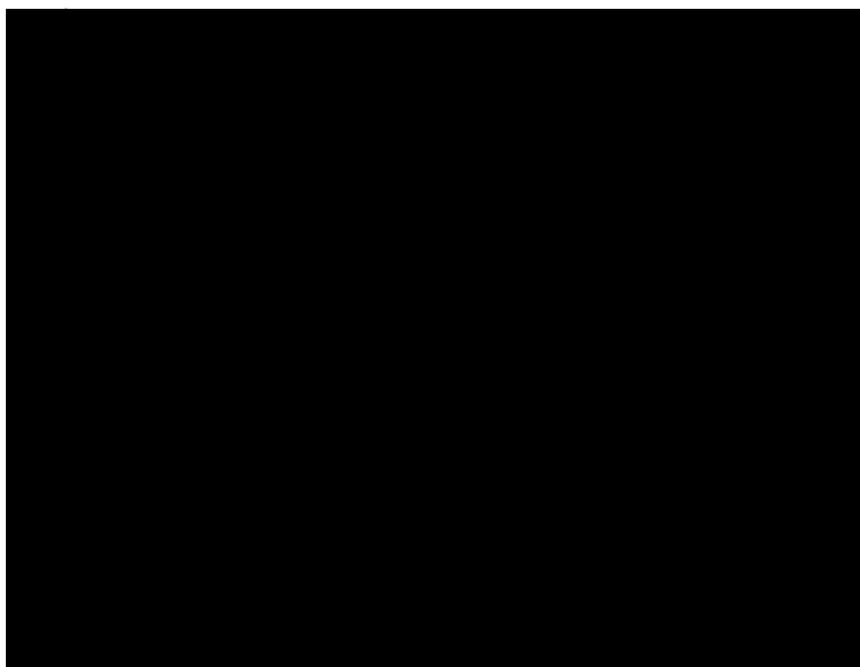


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A COMPENDIOUS
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION,
AND OF THE
Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

FROM

The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,
TO THE

Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the
French Protestants under *Lewis XIV.* Extracted
out of the best Authorities.

A WORK never before Published.

By the Reverend

STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,
One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-Street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. IV. BOOK VIII.

L O N D O N:

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*T*HE Decay and Fall of the Reformed Churches in France, notwithstanding all the Cautions they had taken, and the Sureties given unto them, is a Thing not at all to be wondered at, considering the Circumstances of the Times, and the Spirit of the Roman Religion. The Settlement of the Reformation in that Kingdom, notwithstanding the most powerful and violent Oppositions of its Enemies, is the greatest Wonder of all; our Fore-Fathers have had to struggle against the Pride, Covetousness and Avarice of a baughty, merciless Clergy, and against the Bigotry of a leud, debauch'd Court, (who thought Treason, Perjury and Cruelty, when used against supposed Hereticks, to be a just Compensation before God, for their other manifold Crimes) before they could obtain a tolerable Settlement in their own Country. But the natural Dispositions of their Enemies heighten'd by the cruel and bloody Spirit of Popery, and supported by royal Autocracy, was more than sufficient to compass their Ruin. It was compleated in a Reign when Perjury, Treachery, &c. in all the publick Transactions were brought to such a pitch, that *FIDES* The PUNICA had never so well denoted those odious Faith of Crimes, as †FIDES GALLICA did it in our Days, the ^{French} Relations, as I have been in the foregoing ^{ans.} I shall inquire only into the true Causes of our Misfor-
tunes,

tunes, and single out the most remarkable Events which much helped to accelerate our Ruin. Finally, I shall conclude this Work with an Appendix, containing six or seven Ways and Means put in use, under Lewis XIV. to force us to renounce our Religion. But before we proceed, we must briefly say what Effects the King's Death had upon the People's Minds, what Changes it caused at Court, and in the Ministry; and how those who were, or at least ought to be, the most concerned in this Loss, demeaned themselves in the Prosecution of the Authors and Abettors of this most horrid Crime.





HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION, AND OF THE Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

Book VIII.

*Containing the Decay, Fall, and utter Ruin of the
Reformed Churches in that Kingdom, under
the two Lewis's XIII. and XIV. from the
15th of May 1610, to the 11th of October
1685.*

INSTANTLY after the King's Death, Lewis 13. the Lords that attended him in the Coach 1610. having cover'd his Face, and shut the Pope Paul Curtains, came down out of it, and or V. dered the Coachman to go back to the ^{The deceas-} Louvre, but to call, as he went in, for a Surgeon ^{ed King is} and some Wine; in order to conceal that sad ^{sadly la-} Accident from the People as long as possible; all true and by that means it was really concealed for French- that Day, and part of the next. But when it ^{mented by} came to be certainly known that he was dead, that Mixture of Hopes and Fears which kept ^{all true} that large City in suspense, broke out on a sudden, and the Air resounded with the Cries and lamentations of its Inhabitants; some

Lewis 13. swooned away for Grief, others ran quite dif-
^{1610.} may'd through the Streets, many were hugging
Pope Paul V. their Friends, without uttering any thing else,
but, *Alas! what Misfortune!* Some confined
themselves to their own Houses, Women were
seen running with their Hair dishevel'd through
the Streets, Fathers were heard saying to their
Children, *Alas! what will become of you, poor*
Wretches, since you have lost your best Father!
Those who remembred the dreadful Calamities
of the late Wars, dreading for the future, pi-
tied the deplorable Fate of the Kingdom, and
said, *That every Frenchman had his own Throat*
cut, with the same Stroke which had pierc'd the
King's Heart. Nay, it is confidently reported
that many broke their Hearts upon this Occa-
sion, and died; some upon the Spot, others in
a few days after. Finally, there was such a
Mourning, as if the half of Mankind were dead,
or as if every private Man had lost his whole
Family, his whole Estate and all his Hopes with
that great and magnanimous King (*a*).

These Demonstrations of Sorrow were not pe-

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 505

Queen herself was not much troubled at it. She had ^{Lewis 13.} lived with the late King in perpetual Jealousy, and her ill-humour against him was much heightened ¹⁶¹⁰ by the Tales which her Favourites, *Galigai* ^{Pope Paul V.} and her Husband *Concbini* told her about the amorous Intrigues of *Henry*. That Prince had neither Power enough to command his Passion in that respect, nor Resolution enough to make his Confort sensible of her Fault in giving too much credit to the Reports of her Favourites, and suffering herself to be absolutely governed by their Counsels. Nay, if *Mezeray* be credited, these two Firebrands had carried their Impudence so far, as to threaten the King's Person, if he was ever so daring as to attempt any thing against them (*b*), as he was sollicited to do, either by dispatching them out of the World, or at least by sending them back to *Italy*. Howbeit, as there was no great Union between the King and his Queen, this last was soon consoled, and the very same Day the King died, she was hard at work to secure to herself the Regency of the Kingdom, during her eldest Son's Minority; wherein she succeeded far beyond the Expectations, for which she was chiefly beholden to the Duke of *Espernon*. Indeed the King was no sooner dead, but that Lord took all the necessary Measures for preventing an Insurrection amongst the People, for keeping the Parliament in awe, and obliging them to do whatever he should require of them: for having secured with Troops, not only the *Louvre*, but several of the principal Streets, and even the Avenues of *Austin's Fryars*, where the Parliament kept its Sittings [because the Palace was to serve for the Feast of the Queen's Coronation] and the Parliament being assembled,

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came

(*b*) *Mezeray, Abregé Chronol. Part III. Tom. vi. p. 367.*

History of the Reformation, and of the

came in suddenly, holding his Sword out of the Belt, saying, with a fierce Countenance and a threatening Tone, *It is still in the Scabbard, but if this day the Queen is not declared Regent, surely it shall be drawn out, and I foresee that much Blood will be spilt. Some amongst you, Gentlemen, desire more time to consider, their Prudence is out of season; what I do propose may be done this Day, without Peril; to-morrow, it shall not be done without Slaugbier* (c).

Either the Parliament were frightened out of their Wits by such a terrible Threatning, or for some other Cause, they assumed to themselves a Right which had never before belong'd to them; and to the great mischief of the Kingdom, they declared the Queen-Mother Regent during the young King's Minority, without waiting for the Princes of the Blood; for Condé was at Milan, Soissons at one of his Country-Seats, and very little Notice was taken of Conti, who was deemed a silly Prince. The Ceremony was performed the next Day. Lewis, who was but eight Years and eight Months old, went to the Parliament attended by his Mother and the whole Court, and being seated on his Throne, by the Advice of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, and at the Request of his Attorney-General, declared the Queen his Mother Regent of the Kingdom, during his Minority, conformably to the Decree of the Parliament deliver'd the Day before; which being confirmed in this Assembly, was sent to the other Parliaments, and by them ratified. Young Lewis rehearsed well enough a little Speech which he had got by heart, in which the Composer had not forgot to make him say, *that he wuld follow the good Counsels of his Parliament;*

(c) Vie du Duc D'Espernon, Tom. II. liv. vi. p. 164, &c.

ment ; a Language much in use at the Beginning of a Minority, but quite forgotten as soon as the Authority of a Regent is fully settled.

Anne of Austria and her Son *Lewis XIV.* said the same Thing ; but for all that, how little have they regarded the Authority of a Company, which is the main Support of the Kingdom, and which has been instituted to be a Bridle to the arbitrary Power of the King ?

When the Ceremony was over, the King returned to the *Louvre*, all the People which crowded there, shouting and wishing his Majesty a long and happy Reign ; but above all, demanding that the Villain-Parricide should be brought to condign Punishment. Happy would that Prince have been, had the good Wishes of his Subjects been sufficient to obtain for him the Qualifications of Mind and Soul requisite to follow the steps of some of the Kings his Predecessors, especially those of his royal Progenitor ; but he was not naturally endowed with those fine Parts necessary for acquiring the one, and his Mother took great care lest he should be brought up to the other's (*d*).

The Count of *Soissons* was much surprised when he heard what had been done, during his Absence, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood ; nevertheless he thought proper to dissemble, and alighted in the *Louvre*, as he came from *Montigny*, the Monday following the 17th of May, and went to pay his Respects to the King and the Queen-Mother, who received him very kindly, and gratified him with the Government of *Normandy* and large Pensions, besides a vast Sum of Money to discharge his Debts.

Then

(d) *Le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. Liv.i.*

506 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 13. came in suddenly, holding his Sword out of the
1610 Belt, saying, with a fierce Countenance and a
Pope Paul V. threatening Tone, *It is still in the Scabbard, but*
~~if this day the Queen is not declared Regent, sure~~
~~it shall be drawn out, and I foresee that much~~
~~Blood will be spilt. Some amongst you, Gentlemen,~~
~~desire more time to consider, their Prudence is~~
~~out of season; what I do propose may be done this~~
~~Day, without Peril; to-morrow, it shall not be~~
~~done without Slaughter (c).~~

The Queen Mother is declared Regent. Either the Parliament were frightened out of their Wits by such a terrible Threatning, or for some other Cause, they assumed to themselves a Right which had never before belong'd to them; and to the great mischief of the Kingdom, they declared the Queen-Mother Regent during the young King's Minority, without waiting for the Princes of the Blood; for Condé was at Milan, Soissons at one of his Country-Seats, and very little Notice was taken of Conti, who was deemed a silly Prince.

The Ceremony was performed the next Day. Lewis, who was but eight Years and eight

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 507

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Then

(d) Le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. Liv.i.

Lewis 13. Then the Regent recompensed those who
1610. had been very useful to her. The Pensions
^{Pope Paul V.} given to the Princes of the House of Lorrain
were small under *Henry, Sulli*, out of Policy,
caused them to be raised to one hundred thou-
sand Livres ; the Duke of *Guise* was gratified
with 200,000 Crowns for discharging his Debts.
Espernon was in possession of such large Estates,
and had so many fine Employments, that he
seemed to be above all the Gratuities of the
Court ; he was recompensed according to his
own Fancy ; he was loaded with many extra-
ordinary Marks of great Esteem and Venera-
tion ; he had an Apartment in the *Louvre*,
by the Queen-Mother's Order, *I don't think I
am safe here without him*, said that Princess.
The Secretaries of State communicated unto
him all the Packets and their Answers ; in
short, he was like to become as great, powerful
and dreaded as in the Reign of *Henry the Weak*.

He was courted by the Count of *Soissons*.
That Prince was very busy to strengthen him-
self against the Prince of *Condé* his Nephew.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 509

Count, that his Employment did not allow him Lewis 13. to suffer any such thing to be perpetrated in the 1610. King's Palace. Tho' the Count was angry at Pope Paul V. this Repulse, nevertheless, his Ambition obliged him to dissemble, he stood in need of the Duke's Interest to supplant the Prince of Condé his Nephew. *Let a Prince be ever so much distinguished by his Birth and Power, he deserves nothing better than the utmost Scorn and Contempt, whenever he becomes so base as to advise, command or abet any such black Action* (e).

At Court the Jealousies broke out, and the Great Jealousies at Intrigues were increased on account of the settling Council of the Regency. Every one Court. pretended to have a Right to be a Member thereof, and the Number of the Pretenders was so great, that it was likely that it would degenerate into a confused Crowd. But by the Advice of Chancellor De Sillery, the Duke of Sully, Villeroy, and the President Jeannin, the Queen-Regent admitted all the Princes and great Lords who desired to be admitted, 'till the Arrival of the first Prince of the Blood; whereby those old Ministers kept to themselves the chief Management of Affairs, which was what they wanted.

While the Court was busied about these Regulations, the Parliament was about RAVAIL- tried. LAC's Tryal. The first President, with another and two Counsellors, had been to interrogate him several times; but they never could oblige him to name his Accomplices, who had set him to work. No wonder indeed, considering how little Care had been taken to hinder him from speaking with other People since his Confinement. For the two first Days that he was under Arrest in the House of Retz, or according to Affected Negligence in the Prosecution.

(e) Le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. ibid.

510 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 13. to others, in *Espernon's House*, every one
1610. was admitted to see him and converse with
Pope Paul. him; and People resorted thither in vast Crouds,
V. some out of Curiosity, others out of Fear. Even
when he was brought to the *Bastille*, several
suspected Persons were allowed to visit him
and converse with him, amongst whom was a
Fryar, who after a long Conference, exhorted
him *not to accuse Persons of Worth.* The Jesuit
Aubigny, who had received the Confession of
the Criminal before he perpetrated the Fact,
came off by barely saying to *Servin*, Attorney-
General, that *God had given him the Gift to
forget whatever was declared unto him in Con-
fession.* That Impudence is not at all to be won-
dered at, seeing it is grounded on the com-
mon Doctrine of the Society concerning the
Auricular Confession, and on their constant
Practice. The Jesuit *Cotton* and several others
bragged of the same Gift, of forgetting what-
ever was declared to them in Confession. The
late King having been acquainted with their

his own Life. But whereas such Strokes depend Lewis 13.
on certain Occasions which offer themselves un- 610.
foreseen, and wherein it may happen that the Pope Paul
Confessor neither ought or can be near his Prince; It V.
is plain enough that this ridiculous Good-will of
the Jesuit could never secure the King's Life
against the Enterprises of a Murderer. How-
ever, the King was obliged to be satisfied with
this sham Mark of Fidelity, as he could not ex-
pect any other more real; besides that his Ma-
jesty durst not offend that perfidious Society,
being afraid lest he should experience in his own
Person, their dangerous Maxims.

It is confidently said, that the Commissaries, by orders from above, refused to receive such Evidences as might have served to dive into the bottom of that Mystery of Iniquity. A certain Gentlewoman, *D'Escoman* by Name, who had been in the Service of the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, and who revealed very strange things, was silenced, tho' Queen *Margaret of Valois* the King's first Wife, was of opinion that a much greater Regard ought to be paid to her Deposition. Even afterwards, when that Affair was examined again, that Gentlewoman's Evidence was rejected a-new under many false Pretences; and whereas she persisted positively in her Deposition, lest a time should come when she might be more favorably hearkened to, she was condemned to a close Confinement for the remainder of her Life. She had charged the Duke of *Espinay* and the Marchioness of *Verneuil*, as Abettors of the Crime (f). This happened only in January and July the next Year.

As

(f) Her Name was, *Jacqueline Le Voyer*, alias *D'Escoman*, Wife to *Isaac De Varennes* Esq; Another says that she was married to one *Lancrock* formerly Taylor to the Duke of *Mayenne*, condemned to be hang'd for treasonable Words,

542 · *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. As to RAVAILLAC himself, on the 18th of
160. May, the Parliament being assembled, they
~~Pope Paul.~~ considered what Forms they ought to follow in
v. his Trial, and what kind of Torture they ought
Ravail- to make use of, to force him to declare his Ac-
lac's Trial, complices and Abettors, because every day he
Condemna- grew more and more obstinate, and would con-
tion and Execution. fess nothing. It was proposed to make use of
one known at Geneva by the name of Barate,
or Beurriere; which is so exquisite, that the
Patient is obliged to speak whether he will or
not: but that Opinion was opposed by the Ma-
jority. The 19th he was interrogated by the
first President; but he constantly refused to
name any body, and so he did to the last. Fi-
nally,

Words, but respite by King Henry's Mercy, and banished
out of the Kingdom. However her Deposition was
plain and positive; she never vary'd, her Relation of the
Conspiracy and of Ravallac's Designs were set out with
all their Circumstances, and she did persist to the last in her
Charge against the Duke of Espernon and the Marchioness
of Verneuil. For some Months before the Execution of
that horrid Plot, she had endeavoured to be admitted to the

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 513

nally, Sentence was passed upon him on the Lewis 13.
27th, whereby he was condemned to the usu- 1610.
al Punishment of Traitors like him, and execu- Pope Paul.
ted accordingly. When he was at the Place of V.
Execution, frightned at the Cries of the People
who cursed him, he said, I have been much de-
ceived, when I was told, that the Act which
I should perpetrate would be very agreeable to
the People, seeing that now they provide Hor-
ses to tear me in pieces. He had taken notice,
that one of the Spectators who was come on
Horseback, was alighted to lend his Horse,
which was very strong, and put it in the place
of one of those to which he was to be tyed,
which was too weak for that Office. But that
was a strong Argument that he had been sedu-
ced by some other Villain to commit that horrid
Crime (g.) But what put that Suspicion out of
all doubt, is, that the King's Death upon a cer-
tain Day was known in several Parts of Europe,
before the Parricide had been perpetrated; and
that when it was done, it was publickly known
at Brussels the very same Day before Night, and
in other Places more remote from Paris; which
could not be without a Divine Revelation, or
without having received Notice before-hand
from the Instigators themselves, that such a
thing was to happen at such a Day.

In a word, it was plain enough that those
who were at the Helm desired no better than to
conceal from the People, as much as they could,
the true Causes of the King's Death, lest some
Persons of the highest Rank should be concerned
therein, whom it was too dangerous to attack;
especially at a time when the least Pretence was
enough to cause an Insurrection. But all these
Cautions screened not these Persons from pub-
lick

(g) Idem Ibid. pag. 321, 322, 323.

514 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Louis xiii's Censure; and the Miseries of the last Years
1640. of their Life was taken by many as a just Judg-
Pope Paul V. ment of God upon them, at least for their Ne-
neglect in the Inquiry after the Authors of so hei-
nous a Crime, if not for their own Guilt.*

Present. The Parliament was so far conscious that the
~~age of the~~ Doctrine of the Jesuits, if not they themselves,
~~Parlia-~~ had occasion'd this sad Catastrophe, that, the
~~ment a-~~ ~~going~~ the very day of Ravaillac's Execution, they ordered
~~the Faculty of Divinity at Paris to assemble~~
~~the Jesu-~~ themselves without delay, to confirm a-new the
~~an~~ Censure passed by their Predecessors in the year
1413, and ratify'd by the Council of Constance,
against those who assert, that a Vassal, or a
Subject may, and is obliged in Conscience to mur-
der a Tyrant whoever he should be, and to as-
sault him by all ways and means; and that such
an Action is not at all contrary to the Oath of
Allegiance which Vassals and Subjects take to
their Sovereign. The Faculty obeyed without
difficulty. The Parliament issued out another
Decree on the 10th of June, whereby they con-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 515

the Approbation of their Superiors, the Authors Lewis 13. should insert any thing that might offend the Kingdom; Unless, says he, they would expose ^{1610.} Pope Paul themselves to Dangers and Perils, from which all ^{V.} their Prudence, strengthened with the Authority of all their Friends and Patrons, could not deliver them. The Sermon made a great noise. The Society complained thereof to the Queen-Mother. The Bishop of Paris was charged to enquire into the matter; Dubois had Courage enough to insist upon what he had said. The Bishop had nothing to say, he exhorted the Abbot to live friendly with all the Servants of God, especially with the Jesuits. But Dubois was so imprudent as to go to Rome the next Year, where, upon some false Pretence or other, he was shut up close Prisoner (b).

Father Cotton's Patience was not proof against the Affront put upon his Brethren, and the almost general Indignation raised against them. Notwithstanding the Advice of his Friends to the contrary, he attempted to justify the Society as to Mariana's Book, pretending that his opinions concerning Kings were peculiar to himself, and not the Society's. For that end he published an Apologetical Letter directed to the Queen-Mother. But he was terribly disappointed in his Expectations; far from remedying any thing, he drew upon himself a Volley of Pamphlets, some more satirical than others: and whereas he pretended to disapprove Mariana's opinion, they bantered him upon that Confession, as being forced, and only given by the necessity of the Times. *It is a little too late,* did they say, *however, may be this will not be quite unserviceable to the Children of him whom such a Tenet has laid down into his Grave.*

VOL. IV. M m They
(b) Le Vassor Hist. de Louis 13. Tom. I. Liv. 1
pag. 46. 47.

Lewis 13. They were no less severely, tho' justly hand-
^{1610.} led, at the King's Funeral Sermons by most part
Pope Paul V. of the Preachers. That mournful Ceremony
was perform'd on the 23d of June; the Royal
The King's Corpse was deposited amongst his Predecessors at
Funeral. St. Denys with the usual Pomp, together with
the Corpses of Henry III, and the Queen Ca-
therine of Medicis, which were then brought to
the same Place. As to his Heart, it was deli-
vered to the Jesuits according to his Orders, and
by them carried to *La Flecbe* in *Anjou*. About
a Month after arrived the Prince of Condé from
Milan, he made his entrance at *Paris* attended
The Prince of Condé by 1500 Gentlemen, the 15th of July, ha-
arrives at ving been met at *Senlis* by the Princes of the
Court. House of Guise and the Dukes of Bouillon and
Sully. Such a great Retinue caused some Jeal-
ousy to the Queen, being afraid lest he should
attempt something against the Government, be-
ing supported by the Lords; especially by the
Duke of Sully, Governour of the *Bastile*, Super-
Intendant of the *Exchequer*, and great Master of

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 517

of France are concerned therein, I would execute it with more Sincerity and Truth than *Mezerai* has done the Scheme which he proposed to follow, and consider the said Regency under four different States. During the first, which was but of a short Continuance, the Government preserved that Grandeur and Majesty which shining over HENRY the Great's Conduct, thro' his heroick Virtues: because the same Ministers who had served the State under the late King's Authority were continued in the Administration, and lived together in good Intelligence, at least outwardly. This period lasted from the King's Death, to the Disgrace of the Duke of Sully, that is to say, about eight Months.

In the second, we find still some Appearances of Strength even in its Weakness, proceeding from the Union that yet subsisted between the Chancellor, President Jeannin and Villeroy, and from the Profusion of the Treasury under the Administration of the said President, who, tho' a thorough honest Man, was not able to resist the unjust Pretensions and Demands of every body. By which means the great Lords were kept in by extraordinary Gratuities. This Period lasted till the Exchequer was exhausted.

The Third was full of Confusion and Disorder, proceeding from the open Misunderstanding and Division between the Ministers, occasioned by the Death of Lady *de Villeroy*, Niece to the Chancellor; for the Ties which united together these two Ministers being once broken, the Chancellor and his Brother *De Puisieux* carried their Imprudence and Ambition so far, as to side with Marshal *D' Ancre*, and to comply in every thing with his unruly Passions. During these Divisions, the Great Lords got

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul V.

518 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. the uppermost at Court; *Villeroy* lost his
^{1610.} Credit, the Chancellor stood his ground still
Pope Paul V. for a while, thro' the Conivance of the Mar-
shal and his Wife, who wanted his Assistance
for compleating the Treaty of Marriage between
the King and the Infanta of Spain. But as soon
as this Point was over, and the King married,
the Ministers of the old Court were all disgraced
through their ill management, as well as thro'
the exorbitant Power which the Marshal and
his Wife had usurped at Court.

In the fourth, the Marshal and his Wife bore
the sway almost absolutely, and by their Credit
oftentimes defeated the best Counsels. This
Period lasted to the tragical End of these two
proud Favourites (*i*).

But this part of the History has so little re-
lation, if any at all, with our own, unless it
should be for the Part which our Great Men
the Dukes of *Roban*, *Bouillon*, *Sully*, *Lefdi-*
guieres, &c, play'd upon that Stage, that I shall
forbear the speaking of it any further than for

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 519

Court of Spain having proposed to the late King a double Match between the *Infanta* and the *Dauphin*, and between the Prince of Spain and Madame of France, that Negotiation ought to be renewed ; and consequently the Armies, which gave Jealousies to his Catholick Majesty, ought to be disbanded, and a strict Alliance between the two Crowns fomented (*k*). That Advice was exceedingly pleasing to the Queen, who being prepossessed by her Italian Favourites, bribed by the Court of Madrid, thought that the Settlement of her Authority depended intirely upon her good Understanding with the Pope and the King of Spain.

Nevertheless, the Chancellor's Opinion prevailed on this Occasion, for tho' that Magistrate was one of those who approved of the double Match with Spain, yet he thought that the Honour of the Crown of France was deeply concerned in disbanding the Armies so soon, which was to betray a Dread of the Court of Spain, create a Mistrust in their best Allies, and make them believe they had a mind to forsake them. Therefore he thought proper to keep up the Army of Champaign, and to send Troops into Juliers to expel Arch-Duke Leopold out of it. As to the Army of Dauphiné, he thought that it afforded greater Occasion of Jealousy to the King of Spain, and considered that it was commanded by a Protestant Marshal of France. For which two Causes it ought to be disbanded, but not so soon ; at least, they ought to wait 'till the Prince of Condé's Arrival, 'till they knew better the Dispositions of the Court of Spain, and 'till the King and the Queen Regent's Authority should be firmly establish'd (*l*).

M m 3

The

(*k*) Mezeray ibid.

(*l*) Idem ibid.

Lewis 13. The Resolution was taken accordingly to
1610. assist *Juliers*; but new Debates arose about the
Pope Paul V. General that was to command those Succours.

The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* had very just Pretensions to that Honour, as being the oldest Marshal of *France*. *Villeroy* had given him hopes that his Pretensions should be regarded, nevertheless, the Marshal of *La Cbâtre* was preferred; it was not thought proper to trust the Duke of *Bouillon*, a Protestant and a Man of the greatest Abilities, with an Army that was to join Prince *Maurice*, his Friend and Brother-in-law. He made a great Noise, but to no purpose; *La Cbâtre* set out, took about 12,000 Men of the Army of *Champaign* (the rest were disbanded) went to assist *Juliers*, forced *Leopold* to retire, and restored it, in the latter end of *August*, to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and the Duke of *Newbourg*.

That was the only thing of the vast Projects of *Henry the Great*, that was executed according to his Intentions. And indeed it must be

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 521
superceded to the same End, and the Salt-Duties Lewis 13.
were lower'd a fourth Part. 1910.

As to the Reformed, it was necessary to secure them against all manner of Mistrust. They had lost their All with the King. One may say, that they had seen two Qualities expiring with him, without which they could not flatter themselves to be maintained ; the first was a sincere *Affection* he certainly had for them, on account of their faithful Services in his greatest Exigencies. He looked upon them as Friends on whom he might certainly depend, who deserved to be trusted, and necessary towards the Success of his Enterprizes. The second was his *Honesty*, wherein he was so strict that it can be positively said, that the like has never been seen in any Prince ; he kept his Word so exactly, that more Favour was usually found in the Performance than in the Promise. But now the Reformed found themselves exposed to the Mercy of a Council, which stood ill-affected for them, wherein their ancient Enemies prevailed ; and they did not question but that the *Italian* Policy, chiefly grounded on Fraud and Treachery, would soon get the upper hand at Court, and that Promises would only serve as a Mask to surprize the Credulity of People. Therefore the Reformed were looked upon, at Court, as able to do a great deal of Mischief in the Places where they were the strongest, if they had a mind to improve their Advantages. As to those who lived in Places where their small Number expos'd them to be insulted, they took Measures which put the Court to a greater Loss, imparting their Fears to those who lived in remote Provinces, that they could no longer expect any Good from the Government. So that several of those who thought

522 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13 thought themselves too weak for a Defence
1610. Pope Paul retired into Places where they thought to be
V. more safe: Just as if they had a new *Bartibolo-*
mew's Day to dread, at the first Sedition.

Sully's Im- That Dread was not peculiar to the common
prudence. People only, but some of the greatest Lords
felt the Impulse thereof, tho' none so much as
the Duke of *Sully*. As he was going to the
Louvre, upon the News of the King's Death,
he met *Bassompierre* and some other Lords in
his Way, and exhorted them faithfully to serve
the young King and the Queen-Mother. Why,
say they, *it is what we do require of others*.
Struck with Wonder at these Words, which
he took in their worst Meaning, he immediately
went back and shut himself up in the *Bastile*;
a little after, he caused all the Bread that could
be found at the Bakers of *Paris* to be taken up
and carried into that *Castle*, as if he had been
afraid he should be starved there, and was re-
solved to take in Provisions to hold out a Siege.
He wrote to the Duke of *Roban* his Son-in-

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 523

■ther too, because he had engrossed all the Lewis 13. King's Favours to himself, without imparting 1610. his good Fortune to any body. Whatever Pope Paul V. side he turned on, he beheld none but Enemies. The Reformed charged him with Want of Zeal for Religion, and Neglect in the Performance of its Duties. The Bigotted amongst the Catholicks could not see, without Spite, a Hugonot advanced to so many fine and rich Preferments. He had offended all the Courtiers by his rough and rude Manners; the Queen hated him, because he had oftentimes taken the late King's part against her; and that her Italian Favourites had exasperated her against him. No wonder then if he found himself at a stand, when he recollect'd his former Behaviour, and considered his present Condition.

His Fears were also increased by the secret Advices he received, *to think of himself*. As he kept Spies every where, he got Intelligence that, as soon as the King's Death had reach'd the Court, the Queen and her Favourites had let drop some threatening Words against his Person; and he was credibly informed, that at a secret Council held at the *Nuncio's*, they had much talk'd against him. Nevertheless, he soon altered his Mind, for the very next Day, upon some kind Words that were brought to him from the Queen, he went to the *Louvre*; the Queen, perfectly well dissembling her Resentment,

202,200 Livres, yearly Revenue; besides that, his Profits amounted, at the King's Death, to 1,230,000 Livres; and the King's Gratuities to him, at several times, from the Year 1601, to 1,010,000 Livres. An exorbitant Thing indeed for the Time! He owns himself, that in the Year 1595, he and his Wife together could not make of their Estate 6 000 Livres a Year, but after the King's Death he sold Part only of his Lands for 1,200,000 Livres, and his Charges for 1,300,000 Livres. See *Memoires de Sully*, Tom. 2. pag. 558. &c. &c.

Lewis 13. ment, received him very graciously ; the King
1610. was a Child, he did as he was bid. *Sully's*
Pope Paul V. Demeanour in this first Visit, was one of the
basest that can be imagined. In order to ingratiate himself into the Queen's Affection, he
falsly affirmed that he had endeavoured often-times to divert the late King from his great
Enterprize ; but for all his cringing, that could not alter the Resolution taken to remove him
from the Super-Intendance, and from the Government of the *Bastile*. It was even believed,
at that time, that he was beholden, for the good Reception he then met with at Court, to
the immense Treasure he kept in his Custody in the *Bastile*, lest he should be tempted to
make use of it for maintaing himself, and may
be for arming the Reformed in his behalf, if he
had been disobliged (*n*).

The Duke of Bouillon's Behaviour As to the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, I must
own that he was so alter'd on this Occasion,
that he was hardly to be known. His Re-
sentment against the Duke of *Sully* carried him
so far, that minding only how he could be re-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 525

to common Honesty: and to gratify his Re-Lewis 13.
venge, he did not scruple to betray the Common ^{1610.} Pope Paul
Cause, whereby the Reformed were very near V.
being ruined, as we shall say presently. Tho' ~~he was~~
he was dreaded for the great Interest he had at
home and abroad, nevertheless he waited not
'till he was courted, but he came of his own
accord and offered his Service to their Majesties;
which was his Duty to do, but he made the
first Advances towards knitting a Friendship
with the *Italian* Favourites, in such a manner
that those who knew not his Design, thought
very unbecoming his high Quality. He re-
ceived several Gratuities from the Court (o).

The Lord *Du Plessis Mornay* was very far *Du Plessis*
from following such bad Examples. He was *Mornay's Generosity.*
sollicited by the Court as much as any other.
That great Man was deeply affected when he
understood that the greatest Lords, who, on
this Occasion, ought to have exerted themselves
to promote the publick Welfare, minded only
their own private Interest, the Increase of their
own Wealth and Dignities, just as if the Nation
was become a Prey to their own Coveteousness.
As to himself, tho' the Queen-Mother insisted
with him, by a Person purposely sent unto him,
to ask whatever he would, and it should be granted:
God forbid, says he, it shall never be said that I
have made my Profit of the public Misfortune, or
importuned the Queen in her Mourning; or vexed
the King in his Minority. I leave it to the
Queen to judge whether I deserve any thing;
if she is pleased, and if she can commodiously pay
me what is due to me for so many Years Service,
I shall receive it in the present Calamity, as a
free Gift from her Majesty. When he had re-
ceived Notice of the Queen being declared Re-
gent,

(o) *Sully, Tom. IV. Mezeray, Tom. I.*

Lewis 13. gent, he convened the Magistrates, Clergy and
1610. the Officers of Saumur and its District; and in
^{Pope Paul V.} his Speech he told them, *That the more the*
~~wicked Subjects should think to find Weakness in~~
the King's Minority, the more he himself would
find Strength and Authority to force them to Obe
dience; let no body be deceived by the Remembranc
of my former Meekness; it was very seasonable
under such an absolute King; but I know well
how, and I will certainly show my self severe
when the Service of the King shall require it; and
let every one take notice of this, and not come to
a Tryal. As for the rest, be desired them to
forget those invidious Nick-names of HUGO
NOT and PAPIST, that whosoever should prove
a true Frenchman, would be his true Country
man, his own Brother. Then he tendered to
them the Oath of Allegiance to the King and
the Queen-Regent, which they took unani-
mously (p).

The King's
Declaration con-
cerning
the
whole

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 527

bad not only prov'd ineffectual Means, but very Lewis 13. prejudicial to themselves, for bringing back into 1610. the Pale of the Catbolick Churcb, those of their Pope Paul Subjects who bad strayed from it; for which V. Cause, they had been obliged to make use of milder Ways, and to grant them the free Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion.

The third, That by the Edict of Nantz, Quietness and Safety had been settled between the Subjects of both Religions, whicb bad lasted uninterrupted fince that time.

The fourth, That the said Edict being PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE, there was no need of any new Declaration to confirm it. This last Clause shews plainly, that they took the Words *perpetual* and *irrevocable*, in their natural and obvious Meaning, for denoting a Thing which must stand firm and unalterable for ever, and not one which can be altered and made void by any Man, or by any Set of Men.

At the same time the Council issued out a Proclamation forbidding any Person, of what Rank and Dignity soever, to rise in Arms, to seize upon any Place in the Kingdom. And a speedy Obedience was unanimously paid, throughout the Kingdom, to the said Ordinance.

It would have been very proper that all the Reform'd of the Kingdom should have ^{med sens} deputed, in a Body, to pay the usual Compli- ^{their De-} ments to their Majesties upon this Occasion; ^{puties to} Court. and the Deputies-General at Court were not wanting in their Duty in this respect, for they wrote to the Provinces to assemble themselves in order to name proper Persons for the said Deputation. But it so happen'd, that the Province of Xaintonge being then assembled in a Provincial Synod, when they received the News

Lewis 13. News of the King's Death, they deputed a
^{1610.} part without waiting for the Concurrence of
Pope Paul V. the other Provinces, who were obliged to do
the same, and send their proper Deputies one
after another (q).

They think All the Assurances given by the Queen to
of their own Safety. the Reformed, hindered them not from thinking
about the Means of procuring to themselves
a better Security than bare Words. They had
too much Reason to suspect her Sincerity in that
respect, certainly knowing how she stood af-
fected towards the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*,
and that following Maxims quite contrary to
those of her royal Husband, she thought that
her Authority could never be well settled with-
out a strict Alliance with these two Courts,
which the Reformed looked upon as their most
mortal Enemies, and the Spring of all the Mi-
series under which the whole Kingdom had
groaned for so many Years together. They
knew that tho', for certain Considerations,
the secret Council, composed of the Queen,
the Duke of Nunez, the Spanish Emperor, Cardinal

then, as there was, as yet, no apparent Cause Lewis 13.
whereupon they could ground the Petition for ^{1610.}
a License to hold such an Assembly, the Time ^{Pope Paul}
when they usually met together being not yet ^{V.}
expired, the wisest amongst them thought that
it was more proper to wait some time longer.
Their Reasons were very pertinent. They
say,

1. That in the present Situation of Affairs *Reasons against it.*
there was as yet no settled Form in the Govern-
ment, and consequently they knew not as yet
whereupon to deliberate; whereas, if they
waited some time longer, they might see plainer
Day unto Day shewing Knowledge, whereby they
would be better informed of what they were to
do or to suffer, to hope for or to fear, and con-
sequently more able to deliberate and resolve.
2. That if they did assemble themselves at a
time when the Court thought to have given
them a just Satisfaction by the Confirmation of
the Edicts, Grants, &c. verified in the Parlia-
ments, they would afford Ground of suspecting
that they had a mind to stir, at which every
one would be alarmed; their Enemies would
take a Pretence to supersede all other Designs
in order to ward off our own, and the wisest and
best Men would blame us.
3. That then the Court would be obliged to
keep the Army standing and assembled together,
whereas they were upon the point of sending
Part thereof into the Country of *Cleves*, an-
other Part into *Savoy*, and of disbanding most
part thereof. And every one knows that it is
our Interest that it should be disbanded.
4. The Confederate Princes of *Germany*, in
whose Preservation we are so much concerned,
will be forsaken, on Pretence that for the just
Suspicions

Lewis 13 Suspicions we give of brewing some Change in
1610. the State, they cannot send to their Assistance.

Pope Paul V. 5. That the several Factions that are forming at Court will re-unite themselves against us, partly for opposing their Common Enemy, as they say, partly in hopes every one to be employ'd; whereby we shall lose the Advantage which we certainly should reap, by our Prudence, from their Division, which is upon the Point to break out.

6. The Jesuits grow daily more odious. Mariana's Book has been burnt by the common Executioner's Sentence of the Parliament. All the Preachers of Paris are authorised by the Court to make them odious to the People which they do very freely and with great Success. Whereas, as soon as they shall see us asking or convoking an Assembly, they will take that Step as a Signal of Trouble, and consequently, from thence, they will take Occasion to turn the publick Hatred against us (r).

They answered the Objections in a very plain Way; they shewed forth, that having, for two Years longer, the keeping of their Cautionary Towns, they had consequently Time enough to consider and deliberate; and had they a little Patience, very likely they would meet with a

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 531

up that Place, and being, avowedly, fitly qua- Lewis 13.
lified for that Office. 1610.

How far these Arguments prevailed with the Pope Paul
Majority, and especially the Lords and other V.
great Men amongst the Reformed, I cannot Licence for
tell positively, but I find that at the Instances of holding a
the Duke of Bouillon, the Deputies-General Political
petitioned their Majesties, about the latter end Assembly
of August, for a Licence to hold a Political
Assembly, which was granted only on the
15th of October, at Rbeims, where their Ma-
jesties were gone for the King's Coronation;
and by the Brief which they obtained they were
to assemble on the 25th of May next, at Chatel-
Geraud, but the Place was afterwards changed,
as we shall say hereafter (s).

On the 17th of October the Ceremony of the The King's
King's Coronation was performed with the usual Coronation
Ceremonies at Rbeims, by the Cardinal of
Joyeuse.

All this while the Duke of Sully had many Gudgeons to swallow in the Execution ^{signature of} his Offices, especially in the Super-Inten- _{bis Officer.}
dancy of the Exchequer. Being not able to
bear any longer the Oppositions and Contra-
dictions of the other Ministers, especially of
Chancellor de Sillery and Villeroy, he earnestly
sollicited the Queen for a Licence of disposing
of his Employments, but her Majesty feigned
to be unwilling to grant his Request, and to
desire the Continuance of his Services. Me-
zeray says, that the Queen did this at Villeroy's
Instances, because that Minister was a Lover
of good Order in the Affairs, and that every
one were already used to the Duke of Sully's
Repulses. However, as the Court was ready

VOL. IV. Nn to

(s) Mezeray Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. p. 109.
Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Tom I.
p. 27 and 31.

Lewis : 3. to come back from *Rheims*, Bullion was sent to
Pope Paul. the Duke to desire him, in their Majesties Name,
V.
to resume his Functions as usual, and that they
would put as much Confidence in him as the
late King had done. The Duke accepted, and
continued for about three Weeks ; after which
Time the same Dispute about the *Switzers* to
be put in Garrison at *Lyons*, and upon that
Pretence to raise a Fund for the Maintenance
of these Troops, which had occasioned his last
Quarrel with *Villeroy*, was renewed, whereat
the Duke was so far exasperated, that he up-
braided the Chancellor with conniving with
Villeroy at the Ruin of the Kingdom. Several
other big Words passed between him and
Villeroy himself, before the Queen and the
whole Council, whereupon all the Ministers
and Counsellors of State unanimously conspired
his Ruin. I shall not relate here their In-
trigues for compassing their Ends ; they en-
gaged the Prince of *Condé*, the Count of *Soissons*
and *Concbini* (henceforth known by the Title

He was very sorry to hear his Resolution of Lewis 13th resigning his Employments, especially the *Sur-intendance* and the Government of *Bastille*; that Pope Paul V. he had been in hopes that he would continue to serve the King her Son, as he had done the late King; that she had and still desired him to consider well his Design before he executed it, and to let her know his last Resolution, that she might take her own.

He answered, that his Resolution was, not to concern himself any more with the Finances or Exchequer. Thereupon the King, on the 16th of the same Month, sent him a Brief of Discharge of the Government of *Bastille*, in very honourable Terms, and the next Day another of 300,000 Livres, as a Recompence for his past Services.

So he was obliged to resign, and he retired as much loaded with the Envy and Jealousy of the Ministers and Courtiers for the great Authority wherewith he had exercised his Offices, and for his rough Temper, as with the immense Riches which he had acquired, during the time of his Administration.

To which we must add this Encomium which Mezeray gives him, *That the first Years of his Administration were excellent, and if any one says that he was less scrupulous in the last, he cannot affirm that he has ever got any thing to the prejudice of the State; if his last Years have been profitable unto him, they have been much more so to the State.*

Immediately after this Dismission, they endeavoured to improve his Disgrace, in order to succeed him; Chateaurvieux had the Command of the *Bastille* under the Queen-Mother, who kept for herself the Government thereof. The Exchequer was put in Commission, President

534 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. Jeannin was made Comptroller-General, I
1610. fident Thuanus and Chasteauneuf, Direct
or Paul V. They had a mind to ruin him utterly,

which purpose they endeavoured to disco
the Marriage of the Marquis of Rosny with
Daughter of the Marshal of Créguy, Gra
daughter to the Marshal of Les Diguaires;
the end that this last should not set him
against them: and they proposed to the Di
of Bayillon the Government of Poitou; when
Sully was possessed. Bayillon seeming to like
the Proposition, the Marquis D'Ancre brou
him word, from the Queen, that he shd
have it. However her Majesty altered
Mind, and that too with much Reason, it be
very unjust to deal so severely with a Man v
had so well deserved from the King and
Kingdom, upon no other Account; but beca
having been so useful to the Publick he had
been forgetful of himself (*t*). We shall
presently what Course the Duke of Sully to
in order to have justice done to himself.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 535

asserted several Propositions contrary to the In-^{Lewis 13.} dependency of Kings, from any other Power,^{160.} besides God; they condemned it by Sentence^{Pope Paul V.} of the 26th of November, forbidding, under ~~the~~
Pain of High-Treason, to receive, keep, print,
or sell the said Book. The *Jesuits* were in-
volved in this Storm, which hindered them
this Year, from opening their College of
Clermont at *Paris*, as they had a mind to do,
notwithstanding the Oppositions of the Uni-
versity (v).

The Pope's Nuncio made very heavy *The Nuncio.*
Complaints against that Decree at Court, just ^{complains} as if the Parliament were become ^{against} *Hetericks* ^{that Decret.} for asserting the Rights and Prerogatives of their Sovereign, against the unjust and tyrannical Usurpations of a vile Priest. The Government was then so weak, or rather the Queen-Regent had already so far prostituted the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of her Son to the Pleasure of the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, that dreading the Resentment of this last, she ordered that the Execution of the Decree of the Parliament should be super-
eded (w).

Nn 3

I

him to suppress that Book, or else he would go himself to *Rome* to suppress it. *L'Etoile, Mem. pour Servir à l'Hist. de France.* Tom. II. p. 350.

(v) *Mezeray Hist. de Louis XIII.* Tom I. p. 81, 82. It is true that, in that respect, they were involved in the same Storm, as holding the same Doctrine with *Bellarmino*; but it must be observed, that at the same time they had a Law-Suit with the University, who opposed the opening of their College, which was to be decided the 18th, but had been put off to the 28th of November, when the Queen, of her own Authority, forbade the Court to take any further Cognizance of their Affairs. *L'Etoile ibid.*

(w) *Memoires de L'Etoile ibid.* *Mezeray ibid.* p. 82. *Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis,* Tom. I. p. 36, 37.

Lewis 13. I found that at this very time Father *Aubigny*,
 1610. who had been *Ravaillac's* Confessor, as men-
 Pope Paul V. tioned before, died suddenly ; and that it was
 Jesuit Au- publicly rumour'd that he had been dispatch'd
 bigny's out of the World by his good Brethren, in
 sudden order to prevent his confronting with certain
 Death. *Carmelites*. And it was added, that the Ad-
 vice they received from *England* of the Depo-
 sition of *Baudouin* had hastened his Death (x).

Prepara-
tions for the
Political
Assembly of
the Refor-
med. The Political Assembly of the Reformed is
 the most remarkable Occurrence of this Year,
 upon which I shall dwell a little longer, because
 from thence have chiefly proceeded all the Mis-
 fortunes of our Churches under this Reign.

The Queen, as above said, had appointed
 the 25th of *May* for opening the said Political
 Assembly at *Chatelberaud*. The Duke of
Bouillon, who had been one of the most eager
 in the Pursuit of this Assembly, having not
 been able to persuade the Prince of *Condé* to
 embrace the Reformed Religion and to declare
 himself Head and Protector of that Party, had
 a mind to purchase that Dignity for himself.
 With this View he sent *Belluon*, Governour of
Villemur, to the Lord *Du Plessis*, and shewing
 forth, at least outwardly, a great Zeal for the
 Welfare of the Churches, he desired him to
 draw up and send him a Memorandum of the
 Articles that ought to be proposed in the pro-
 vincial Assemblies that were to be convened, in
 order to name the Deputies to the General, and
 to draw up their Instructions. *Du Plessis* com-
 plied, and the Marshal Duke was so well pleased
 with those Articles, that he sent them to the
 Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, who was no less
 pleased with them than the Duke, and wrote
 to the Author that he approved of them all,
 without Exception or Reservation ; and caused

them

(x) Mem. de *Du Plessis Mornay*, Tom. III. p. 267, 268.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 537

them to be the Rule whereupon the Provinces of Lewis ^{13.} *Darphiné, Low Languedoc, Vivarez and Provence,* ^{1611.} drew the Instructions they gave to their Repre- ^{Pope Paul V.} sentatives, *mutatis mutandis.* *Du Plessis* seeing this Approbation, did not scruple to send the same Articles to the Duke of *Roban in Brittany,* and to some others of his Friends in the Provinces of *Poitou, La Rochelle, Xaintonge, Low Guienne, Normandy, Berry and Burgundy,* and in *Anjou,* where he resided ; in this last he was named President of the Provincial Assembly, and was desired with some other Gentlemen well qualified, to be their Representative in the General Assembly. Note, what I have observed above, that at the time when the Duke of *Bouillon* sent to *Du Plessis*, he was dissatisfied with the Court, and was gone to *Sedan*, and the Duke of *Sully* was still in his Offices. Now when these Articles had been sent into the Provinces, the Marshal of *Bouillon* was reconciled, and the Duke of *Sully* disgraced.

This last was willing to make, of his private Interest, a general Concern of all the Reformed Party, just as if he had been deprived on account of his Religion, his Son-in-law, was of the same Opinion ; and having considered together with their Friends what Course they were to take, in order to succeed ; they agreed that there was no better way than to back the same Articles drawn up by *Du Plessis*, and sent throughout the Provinces by the Duke of *Bouillon*, and to make the best of them.

But now the Duke of *Bouillon* had altered his Mind, and being reconciled with the Court, he desired earnestly to do some Service or other whereby he might deserve its Favours, or at least, whereby he might show forth the great Interest he had, or pretended to have in the

538 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. Reformed Party, therefore he was very sorry
1610. for what he had done, and would have given
^{Pope Paul} any thing to recall these Articles; he sent
V. to the Provinces, and endeavoured to persuade
them that the Court was much altered in their
behalf, ready to grant them all their just De-
mands. But the Reasons of this Change were
so obvious to every one, that no body mistook
them, but those only who were willing to be
deceived. vexed at it, he took another Course,
and in order to exclude the Duke of *Sully* from
the Presidentship of the Assembly, he sent
several Messages to *Du Plessis*, nay, he desired
the Duchess Dowager of *La Tremouille*, his
Sister-in-law, to let him know, that for avoid-
ing all manner of Jealousies between the greatest
Lords of the Party, it was very proper to give
them all the Exclusion from the Presidentship.
That was very cunningly devised for putting
a stop to the Sollicitations, either secret or open,
of those who could pretend to that Honour, and
so to secure the Votes to himself, when on a
sudden he should appear and set up his Party.

book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 539

at least it is certain that there was no talk about Lewis 13.
before his Reconciliation with the Court, and 1610.
is coming back from Sedan. Pope Paul V.

Such were the Dispositions of these three Dukes, *Bouillon*, *Roban* and *Sully*, when, the Time of the Assembly being near at an end, the Deputies arrived at *Saumur*; the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize* the 22d of May, the Duke of *Sully* the 23d, and the Duke of *Bouillon* the 25th. This last was no sooner arrived but he let Monsieur *Du Plessis* know what were his real intentions as to the Presidency, that that Honour could not be bestowed upon any other but himself without Injustice; that after so many Services done to the Party, it would be an Affront to him, if he put in competition with the Duke of *Sully*, and that certainly he would instantly set out were he not unanimously elected President of the Assembly. The Gouvernour of *Saumur* was vexed at this sudden Change, he sent him one of his most trusty to represent unto him that it was very late now to undertake to alter the Opinions of the Deputies, which they had grounded upon his own strong Remonstrances on that score. Nevertheless, he sent, at the same time, for those Deputies whom he knew to have the greatest Interest in the Assembly, and intreated, nay, he besought them to use their best Endeavours, that the Duke might have the Satisfaction he desired; he set forth, in a moving Manner, the Inconveniences which might ensue on the Denial. Whereupon they told him, that it was better to open the Assembly; and, after having called solemnly upon God, to submit the Votes and the Election unto his all-wise Direction: and he could never engage them to promise anything further.

The

540 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. The Assembly was opened the 26th. *Du*
1610. *Plessis*, desiring earnestly to give the Duke the
Pope Paul. Satisfaction he desired, declined to accept the
V. Presidency, for he was elected in the Morning;
The Assem- out of sixteen Votes [for the Reformed had
bly opens its divided the Kingdom into so many Provinces,
Session. and each Province, in this Case, had but one
Their Pro- Vote] six were for the Duke of *Bouillon* and ten
ceedings. for *Du Plessis*; he insisted that a new Election
should be made in the Afternoon, which ac-
cordingly was done, and *Du Plessis*, having
still the same Number of Votes, was declared
duly elected, and obliged to accept it, notwith-
standing his Instances to the contrary. The
Reverend Mr. *Chamier* was named his Assistant;
and *Des Bordes Mercerus*, Son to the renowned
Mercerus, celebrated for his great Skill in the
Hebrew Tongue, was named Secretary.

The Marshal Duke, thinking to be slighted
by this Proceeding, plainly threatened to resent
it, and to set out from *Saumur* the very next
Day. Nevertheless, at *Du Plessis's* Intreaties,
he relented a little, and did not set out. But

Several Occasions his Counsels were prudent Lewis 13, and vigorous, especially in the Affair of Baron 1610 *de Senevieres*, Governour of *Cbillion* upon ^{Pope Paul V.} *Jadre*. That Gentleman had of late turned Reformed, whereupon the Catholick Inhabitants had risen in arms against him, and attempted to destroy all the Fences of the Castle, and all the Places wherein he might dwell commodiously. Notwithstanding all the Care which the Marshal Duke took to pacify them, *Senevieres* was like to be reduced to great Straits had not the Assembly taken his part.

Indeed they were too much concerned in that Affair to neglect it. *Cbillion* was a new Place which *Senevieres* put into their hands, according to the Edict. It was their Interest to protect those who embraced their Religion, lest those who should have a mind to do the same for the future, should be deterred from it thro' Fear of losing their Employments; and at that very time they knew that another Governour was willing to abjure the *Roman Religion*, but was afraid of being immediately turned out if he followed his Inclination. For these Considerations the Assembly took in hand *Senevieres's* Affair, and by the Duke of *Bouillon*'s Advice they sent to Court to demand Satisfaction, and resolved not to treat of any thing with the King's Commissaries before they had obtained it.

But these mighty Resolutions came to nought, the Court eluded the Instances of the Assembly, and the Marshal of *Bouillon* having talked with the King's Commissaries, relented, and could not thenceforward be moved by any Intreaties to support the Cause which he had so vigorously undertaken. As to the other Governour, he was exhorted by the Assembly not to delay any longer

Lewis 13. longer to declare himself openly, and that they
1611. would support him with all their Might.

Pope Paul. V. The Affair of *Senevieres* was brought upon
the Carpet the very first Day of the Assembly.

The next Day they renewed the Oath of Union, and they drew up a Form thereof, the Purport of which amounted to these two Articles, Obedience to the King; and Concord, Impartiality and Disinterestedness amongst themselves, for their common Preservation under the King's Protection and Obedience. All the Deputies took it, the Duke of *Sully* himself, who had been so much against it under the last Reign, was now one of the first that entered into it, knowing very well that the Common Cause was the Security of his own. They took likewise another Oath, whereby they promised not to make any Interest for being named General Deputy, or for being employed in any particular Deputation from one or more Provinces at Court, even not so much as for being named Candidate. But I am ashame'd to say that all these Oaths, which were to be like Law, were no more than

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 543

and which had been so well relished by Marshal Lewis 13.
De Les Dignieres, and are as follow. 1611..

They were to demand the Restitution of the ^{Pope Paul V.} Edict of Nantz in its full, and such as it had been agreed upon between the King's Commissaries and the Deputies of the Reformed, before it had been signed by his Majesty at Nantz ; That the Brief for the Cautionary Towns should be likewise restored in its full Extent ; that such of these Towns which had been lost by the Defection of their Governors from the Reformed to the *Roman Religion*, or by any other Means, should be restored ; that the keeping of these Places should be continued unto them for ten Years longer ; that the Sum promised at first for the Subsistence of the Garrisons, and which had been reduced to the half, should be restored to its full ; that the Payment of them should be made quarterly, without any Deficiency, and at the very Places ; that some Methods should be found out for preventing the Cheats that might be committed in filling up the vacant Places of Governors ; that they should have leave to repair and fortify the Places which fell to Decay thro' Length of Time ; that Complaints should be made of the Injustice done to the Reformed, who were excluded from all other Employment and Dignity on Pretence of their being provided with a Government of some of these Towns ; That they should require that the Resignations of the Government of any of these Places should be accepted only with the Consent of the Churches, and the same be done as to the Counsellorship or Presidentship in any of the Chambers ; that they should be licensed to compose, print, sell and publish all manner of Books concerning the Reformed Religion ; that the Places granted to certain

Lewis 13. certain Towns for their publick, religious Meet-
^{1611.} ings, and which were too far distant from the
Pope Paul V. Town, should be exchanged with another
that was nearer; to the end that they might be
at hand to enjoy the Protection of the Ma-
gistrate against the Insults of the Rabble; That
the Article about the Burial-Place, which oc-
caſioned ſo many Barbarities, ſhould be refor-
med; that the Preachers and Confeffors, who
thought that thoſe who had ever any Commu-
nication with the Reformed, ſerve, or affiſt
them, were all damned, ſhould be puniſh'd like
Seditious, and Infringers of the Edicts; that the
Reformed might have two Offices of Maſters
of Requeſt, the firſt time without Fee, and a
Notary-Publick in every royal Seat, or at leaſt
in every Cautionary Town, but paying a mo-
derate Fee; that the Jeſuits ſhould not reſide in
any of the Cautionary Towns; that, in the Pro-
vinces where there was no ſuch Town, and
where the Reformed were in great Numbers,
they might have ſome one; that they may hold
a Political Aſſembly once every two Years;

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 545

afferted, that the Preservation of the Reformed ^{Lewis 13.} Churches was necessary to that of the State, ^{1611.} and assured them of their Majesties Good-Will, ^{Pope Paul V.} who would be favourable unto them in all their Demands and Petitions, cause their Edicts and Concessions to be maintained and executed in what they had not been as yet, explain to their Advantage what was still obscure; and finally they leave it to the Choice of the Assembly, either to put their general Petitions into their Hands, or to send them express by their own Deputies, affirming that whatever Method they took they would be speedily and favourably answered.

Upon such fine Promises, the Assembly began to hope well for the Success of their Meeting, and they drew up their Petitions after the Instructions above-mentioned, without any Opposition from the Marshal of *Bouillon*, for he had been himself the Author of such Demands. *De Lusignan*, *D'Aubigné* and some others were named to confer upon some of the principal Articles thereof with the King's Commissaries; who, after some Debate, declared that they were not empowered to resolve any thing; and being come to the Assembly they advised them to address themselves to her Majesty, and that they would support them with all their Interest, to which the Assembly agreed. But when they came to name the Deputies, some were very busy in making great Interest to be named; whereupon the Assembly resolved not to draw up the Instructions and Powers of the said Deputies, till they knew upon whom the Choice would fall, to the end that they might give a greater or less Extension to their Powers, according to the Character of the Persons who should be elected, which were the Reverend

Mr.

546 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13 Mr. Ferrier, Messieurs *La Case, Courtaumer,*
^{1611.} *Mirande* and *Armet*. They were not em-
Pope Paul^{V.} power'd to conclude any thing, but only to
confer upon the Articles, and after having ex-
plained them, to send the Assembly Notice of
whatever they had transacted, whereupon the
Assembly would give their final Resolution.
That Restriction did not please at all some of
the Deputies, much less the Marshal of *Bouillon*,
because he saw plainly his Designs defeated
thereby.

While the general Petitions were drawing up,
two things happened which deserve to be taken
notice of. The first was the Opposition of the
Marshal of *Bouillon* to the Duke of *Sully's* Pur-
suit; that the Assembly should take his Affair
in hand, because he pretended to be deprived
of his Charges on account of his Religion: Nay,
he went so far that he sollicited the Son-
in-law [*the Duke of Rohan, Author of these
Memoirs*] to forsake his Father-in-Law. He
came one day when he was sick to visit him,
and told him amongst other Things that it

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 547

Services did not deserve that he should be ex-^{Louis 13.} posed to be a Prey to those who had hurted ^{1611.} the State, and that his Administration, free ^{Pope Paul V.} from Corruption and Misdemeanour, could not be examined but by the Court of Peers, because of his Quality; and if he was otherwise served, all his Relations, and especially his Son-in-law with all his Friends, would support his Cause. So that after several Sittings the Assembly proceeding upon that Article, at the Request of the Provinces, exhorted the Duke of *Sully* not to treat for his Charges for any Sum of Money; and above all not to resign his Great Masterhip of the Ordnance; and if he was molested on that account by undue, unlawful and extraordinary Means, they would shew forth that they took his Cause to be one wherein all the Reformed Churches were concerned, and they expressly charg'd their Deputies to insist upon it (x).

The

(x) There are two Things to be observed in this Affair concerning the Duke of *Sully*. (1.) In the Speech he made to the Assembly, he pretended that he was not as yet determined as to the Recompense he might pretend to for his Offices, so that there was time yet to take advice; and he required it upon these four Things. 1. Whether he was to speak no more, either of his being restored to his Places, or of his Recompenses. ‘But I don’t know how to make this agree with his Letters to her Majesty of the Month of March and April, whereby he felicitis the Payment of what had been promised unto him for his Charges, and in Consideration of his past Services. Nor with the two Briefs of the King, the first of the 27th of January for 300,000 Livres, once paid; the 2d of the 20th of May, for an Augmentation of 48,400 Livres Pension. Which he had accepted since the Payment of the first Sum, by the abovesaid Letters to the Queen.’ See his Memsirs, Tom. IV. p 47—56. (2) supposing that he ought to petition again, whether he ought to ask only to be restored. ‘If our former Observation is good, this Duke had nothing now to petition for, on account of his Places. (3) Whether, having no hopes of being restored, he ought to accept the Recom-

550 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. the Assembly, having named their General Depu.
ties, should put an end to their Session. Nothing
^{Pope Paul V.} could be more displeasing than that News, and
indeed the Court broke, on this Occasion, thro'
all the ordinary Rules. Therefore the Assembly
unanimously resolved to insist on having
their Petitions answered before they should
break up. The Duke of *Bouillon* feigned to
approve that Resolution, and promised to write
to Court. Which he did indeed, but quite in
another Strain than he had promised; and to
deceive more easily the Assembly, he shewed a
Copy widely different from the Letter he had
sent. At last, the Deputies being not able to
obtain any thing more, returned to *Sauvres*, and
made the Report of their Negociation, ac-
quainting them that *Bouillon*, Counsellor of State,
was coming with the Answers to their Peti-
tions; but that their Majesties desired them to
proceed to the Nomination of their general
Deputies before his Arrival, which however
was superseded for that time.

Bouillon being arrived confirmed the Decree.

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 551

to the Nomination ; he play'd a very foul *Lewt 13.*
Trick, for tho' he juggled together with *Bullion,* ^{1611.}
nevertheless, they feigned to be of a different *Pope Paul V.*
Opinion, this last affirming that it would be ~~wrong~~
Time and Trouble lost if they sent again to
Court ; and the Marshal on the contrary flat-
tering the Assembly with a good Success, he
thought that by the length of time he should
try the Patience of some, and corrupt the others,
and that in the mean while he ought to show
himself zealous, that he might more easily impose
upon the Simple. Nevertheless, seeing that
this would not do, he, with the said *Bullion*
and their Confidants, advised the Queen to
write to the Assembly, commanding them to
break up instantly, revoking the Permission of
being assembled any longer, and declaring void
whatever Deliberations and Resolutions they
should take henceforward, and sent the Mi-
nute of the said Letter to her Majesty by *Bel-
langeon,* who was Agent of Mareschal *De Les
Diguieres* in the Assembly, a Man every way
qualified for such a foul Busines ; being not
over-scrupulous, nay, sticking at nothing when-
ever his Self-Interest lay at stake. He, under
a false Pretence of visiting his Wife's Brother in
Berry, and of settling some Family-Busines,
obtained leave of the Assembly to absent for
some Days ; nay, in order to impose the bet-
ter, he went out of *Saumur*, riding a fine Genet,
but was no sooner out of sight but he took Post
and went to *Paris*, where he delivered his
Message and conferred with the State-Ministers.
The Queen, by these Means being informed of
the Dispositions of the Assembly, and that some
of them were not so stiff as the rest, followed
the Directions of the Duke ; she wrote a threat-
ning Letter to the said Assembly, declaring

Louis 13. them Rebels if they refused any longer to obey ;

1611. and, what was never seen or heard of before,
Pope Paul V. SHE AUTHORISED THE LESSER NUMBER

AGAINST THE GREATER, and commanded
the Duke of *Bouillon's* Adherents to proceed to
the Nomination of the General Deputies, with-
out waiting for the Concurrence of their Bre-
thren, and to receive of *Bullion* the Answers to
their Petitions ; then to break up without any
further Delay. *Bullion* received the Letter, and
imparted it to the Duke of *Bouillon*. That
Lord came to the Castle, and shew'd it to
the Lords *De La Force* and *Du Plessis*. They
read it with the utmost Abhorrence, they
made fruitless Remonstrances to the Duke, who-
told them that they might impart the Contents
thereof to those whom they should think proper.
Which having done, most part of the Repre-
sentatives fretted at it, and were with great
difficulty prevailed upon not to set out from
Saumur. *Bullion* being informed of their Dis-
positions, desired a Conference with *Du Plessis* ;
they agreed together upon certain Means

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 553 :

Castle, to the Number of 55, amongst whom Lewis 13
were the Dukes of Sully, Roban, Soubize, the 1611.
Lord of La Force, several other Persons of Pope Paul
Quality and all the Ministers, to consult with V.
Du Plessis what Course they ought to take.
Most part insisted on parting from the Assembly
without delay. But the wise *Du Plessis* per-
suaded them to the contrary. *The Author of this*
Mischief, says, he, *is not unknown unto us, with-*
us him never any such thing would have been at-
tempted; but since he has begun, let us not flatter
ourselves that he will not go any further. He
may glory himself to have made a Breach in our
Inion, to have done what the most fierce Perse-
utions, the most cruel Civil-Wars, even the most
Bloody Massacres have not been able to do. Let
God be Judge between us and him, and touch him
with a quick Remorse of his Crime. In the mean
while, here is the Judgment of Solomon, let us
prove ourselves to be the true Mother of the Child;
let us show that we feel the Bowels of Christ renting
themselves; nay, that they rent them themselves
so much the more cruelly that some of us don't
feel it. It don't belong to such People to teach us
Obedience due to the King, we are well acquainted
one with another. However, let us proceed to
the Nomination of our Deputies, as the Queen
desires it. Our Churches will forgive us for not
having followed their Instructions when they shall
know what Danger we have been near to fall in,
thro' a wicked Counsel. The Schism is ready to
break out; that is enough to justify our Proceed-
ing. By that prudent and religious Speech,
Du Plessis appeased the most provoked, they
unanimously agreed to follow his Opinion and
to keep secret their Resolution.

Bullion came the next day to the Assembly,
he presented the Letter of the Queen-Regent,
and required that the King's Orders should be

¶ 554 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. executed. So they will be, answered Du Plessis
1611. Since we are so unhappy as not to be hearkened
Pope Paul V. to in our just Remonstrances; But we hope
that their Majesties will consider our Sub-
mission and our just Petitions. Then, directing
his Speech to the Commissary, Give me leave,
Sir, says he, to tell you here, that those who
have sown this Division among us, don't mind much
the King's Service. Our Union has settled the
late King upon the Throne of his Ancestors. He
was so far sensible of the Utility thereof, that that
great Prince approved of that which was renewed
and sworn in his Presence, and amidst his Court at
Nantes, God grants the King a peaceable Minority,
and the Queen a happy Regency. The more the Re-
formed shall be strictly united together, the more
they shall be in a Condition to do better Service to
the King. Three or four of those who had been
bribed got up in order to execute their wicked
Design of completing the Division; but being
not countenanced, they were obliged to sit down
again. On the 5th of September they proceeded
to the Nomination of the six Deputies, and
notwithstanding the Cabals, the wholesomest
Part of the Assembly prevailed; the Lords of
Montbrun, de Rouvrai and De Berteville were
named for the Nobility, and Messieurs De
Maniald, Boisseuil and De la Milletiere for the
Commons. The Lord de Rouvrai and Mon-
sieur De la Milletiere were chosen by the Queen.
The Marshal of Bouillon was vexed to the Quick
for that none of the Six named by the Assem-
bly were at his Devotion; he endeavoured to
engage Monsieur Maniald and Boisseuil to de-
cline their Nomination, and make room for
one Mr. Armet a Burgundian, who was in his
Interest. He offered them 2000 Pistolets or a
Counsellorship in the Parliament of Bourdeaux;
but he had the Mortification of being repuls'd.

When

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 555

When the Nomination was over, *Bullion Lewis* 13^o delivered to the Assembly the Answers of the Court to their Petitions; at the reading of ^{1611.} *Pope Paul V.* which they were all exasperated to that degree, ~~which~~ that some of them cried out, that they ought to die rather than to suffer it; and indeed these Answers were very far from being satisfactory, as they had been made to expect. But now it was too late, the Nomination being once over, they were not allowed by their Warrant to continue their Sessions any longer. Therefore *Du Plessis* was of Opinion to break it up, which he did accordingly, exhorting the Members to leave their Animosities and Jealousies upon the Spot, and not to carry them along with them into the Provinces. Every one, says he, has failed, and every one has well done; We must turn over a new Leaf, and what the Queen has refused to our Request and Remonstrances, let us try whether, she being so magnanimous as she is, we could not obtain it from her by our Silence and Patience. The Cautionary Towns were continued unto them for five Years longer, with the Subsistence of their Garrisons: An Augmentation for the Service of the Churches of 45,000 Livres yearly, so that they were to receive every Year 180,000 Livres. The Court made unto them some other Concessions of smaller Importance (y).

So ended one of the most solemn Assemblies ^{Some Considerations about this} of the French Reformed that was ever held in ^{the} Assembly.

(y) See upon the whole Relation of this Assembly. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.* Tom. I. Liv. i. p. 5, 6, 7, &c. to the 21st. *Vie de Du Plessis Mornay,* Liv. III. the 12 first Pages. *Lettres & Mem. du même,* Tom. III. p. 258—325. *Mezeray Hist de Louis 13.* Tom. I. p. 136 to 148. *Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis,* Tom. I. p. 69, &c. But these two last, out of Passion, or thro' Ignorance, have misrepresented that Transaction.

Lewis 13. the Kingdom, after above three Months sitting;
1611. it was composed of the most distinguished a-
^{Pope Paul} mongst them, either by their Birth, or Capacity
v. and Experience in Affairs. Certainly they
would have laboured more usefully for the
Welfare of their Churches, had they not them-
selves shewn the Court the Ways and Means
to divide and ruin them by degrees, some of
the greatest amongst them carrying their Am-
bition and Avarice so far, as to sacrifice every
thing to the Gratification of their unruly Ap-
petites.

It was generally believed that the Duke of *Bouillon* had promis'd the Queen to manage
that Assembly at her pleasure; and indeed his
Departments, from the Beginning to the End
thereof, fully evinced that that Suspicion was
but too well grounded. The Duke of *Sully*,
always wavering in his Opinions and Re-
solutions, show'd that his Fortune was uncer-
tain and fickle: as to the Duke of *Roban*, he
constantly adhered to the greatest Number.
All the excellent Regulations that were made in

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 557

Provinces to serve as a Model for the Instruc- Lewis 13.
tions to be given to their Representatives, and 1611.
whereof the Court had Notice by its Pensioners, Pope Paul
helped much to confirm that Rumour. The V.
Demands of some Provincial Assemblies added
a new Strength to that Report. The Assembly
of *Milbau*, held in 1573, was remembred by
those who had lived at that time. They ob-
served, that of five Things which that Assem-
bly had propos'd, there remained but two not
obtained as yet, namely two Cautionary Towns
in each Province where the Reformed had none ;
and that the Tythes which they paid should be
allowed for the Subsistence of their Ministers.
They magnified the Consequences of the Union,
which the Assembly was to swear, and whereby,
as they say, the Reformed were to oblige
themselves to support one another reciprocally
in all the Governments and Offices which the
late King had bestowed upon them ; even in
the Towns and other Places which they held,
besides those contained in the Brief of the Cau-
tionary Towns. But as it was not likely that
the Court would tamely comply with these
Demands, from thence they inferred that the
Reformed would immediately rise in arms.
What is the more strange is, that some of the
Reformed countenanced these extravagant Ru-
mours ; amongst whom the Marshal of *Bouillon*
was the most remarkable, for he was publickly
upbraided by the Duke of *Roban* for having
told to some Catholicks, as he set out from
Saumur, that at last Peace was made, but it
was not without much Trouble and great Diffi-
culty. Very likely he designed only to ingra-
tiate himself more and more with the Queen, by
making her sensible that he had done her very
great Services, and that she stood much in need

Lewis 13. of him to keep the Reformed in the bounds of
1611. their Duty. Tho' there was not a Word of
~~Pope Paul~~ Truth in these Reports, nevertheless, it can't
V. be imagin'd what wonderful Impression it
made upon People's Minds.

The antient Enemies of the Reformed, who from that very time devised their Ruin, improved them the best they could, and in several Places alarmed the People and obliged the Catholicks to take such extraordinary Precautions, that at last they gave great Jealousies to the Reformed, who knew not from whence proceeded these Panicks. The Court itself made some Preparations against all Events, either that it believed the Truth of these Reports, or for some other Reasons.

During the Sessions of the Assembly an Answer to the Duke of Sully's Speech was published. It was properly a Satyr against him, which, on pretence of telling what the Assembly ought to have answered to his four Queries, turned him into ridicule in a very scornful Manner.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 559

the Great Mastership are but Commissions which Lewis 13. depend only upon the King's Pleasure, and which ^{1611.} Pope Paul he may bestow or take away whenever he pleases:] V. and exhorted them to keep themselves within the Bounds of Humility, Modesty and Allegiance.

Works of this nature were very much in vogue during the Session of the Assembly. Several Satires were published against the Reformed Religion and against those who had been in the Employments under the last Reign. The Catholicks were inclined to be reveng'd on the *Catholicon of Spain* [a satirical Book written by D'Aubigné] which had very agreeably disclosed the Ridicule of the Designs and Actions of the League. Pamphlets came out daily in imitation of it, Speeches, Pictures, Tapestry Work, &c. We may place in that Number a Letter published under the Name of a Reformed, and with the Printer's Name, which spoke very ill of the Assembly of Saumur. The Author divided the Reformed into three Orders, THE MALICIOUS, who breathed nothing but War, in order to gratify their Ambition or Avarice; THE JEALOUS, who being always mistrustful became easily the Sport of the Malicious, who met in them fit Instruments to serve their Ambition or Avarice; THE JUDICIOUS, who dreading nothing more than a Civil War, kept within the Bounds of Obedience in order to avoid it.

But, as the Reverend Mr. Benoit very judiciously observes, the Author would have made a more exact Distribution of the Reformed had he divided them into three; THE LORDS OF ^{An.bition} and ^{our Misfor-tune.} EMINENT QUALITY, who made use of others ^{rice of the great Men.} for their private Ends; THE PERSONS OF STRICT HONOUR AND INTEGRITY, who were

Lewis 13. were sensible that no Good could be expected
1611. from a Council governed by *Spain, Rome* and
Pope Paul V. the *Jesuits*; and who, for that Reason endeavoured by all lawful Means to screen themselves from perfidious and implacable Enemies; THE TIMOROUS, who were either naturally weak and indifferent, or softened and made tractable by the Court's Artifices. The first and last occasioned all the Mischiefs which befel our Churches under this Reign.

The first, such as the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, the Marshal Duke of *Les Diguieres*, [He was created Duke this Year by a Warrant of his Majesty] Nay, the Duke of *Roban* himself and some others of the same Stamp, made use of the Zeal of the Session to make themselves considerable at Court; they engaged their Vassals and Dependants to side with them either for or against the Court, as their private Views led them, for which purpose they did not scruple oftentimes to pretend the Publick Good, Liberty of Conscience, &c. when Self-Interest, Denial of Preferment, Slight at Court, and such

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 561

Les Diguieres, it is so plain that he made the best he could of his Party for the Advancement of his own Fortune, to which at last he sacrificed his Religion, that we need not to insist upon it any longer. No wonder if most part of them persevered to their last in the open Profession of the Reformed Religion; what could they have got by their Change? They could at the most have only a Place amongst the Male-Contents, and obey instead of commanding.

As to the last, I mean the Timorous, which were particularly to be found in the Provinces bordering on the Court, andon this side the *Loire*, and in those Places where the Reformed were in small Numbers, either dazzled by the Promises or frightened by the Threats of the Court, they durst not openly declare themselves, and were fain to forsake their Brethren, nay, very often to fight against them. Let us add to this, that even amongst the Well-minded there were some too hot; who carried things to Extreams, which would have been amicably compos'd or patiently born, without any great Prejudice to the Liberties and Privileges of the Churches. That Temper and these Dispositions of our great Men were the first Cause of our Misfortunes.

We may find the second in the Character of *z. The Queen Regent and of the King her Son.* *King and Queen-Mother's Character.* She was of a turbulent, revengeful, ambitious Temper, which could not be restrained. One may say truely, that she had all the ill Qualifications of *Catherine of Medicis*, but none of her great and royal Inclinations. She was as profuse as her, and like her prepossesst in favour of Astrology, and the Counsels of the best Politicians could not prevail over the Observations of

Lewis 13. of one *Fabroni*, who drew Figures of the State of
1611. the *Heavens* upon all things of Importance that
^{Pope Paul V.} related to that Princefs ; and she had as much
Faith in his Predictions, as if they had been
so many Oracles. This Credulity ruined all
her Affairs, and she experienced the same
Things which usually befall those who are go-
verned by like Maxims ; that is, she could
never obtain the Advantages promised to her
by the Stars, nor avoid the Misfortunes she
was threatened with. If we compare the Lives
of these two Queens we shall find the one much
happier than the other. *Catherine*, who so
many times exposed the State to the Brink of
its utter Ruin, in order to gratify her unruly
Ambition, maintained however her Credit and
Authority almost to the last Moments of her
Life ; but *Mary* soon lost her Authority, and
even her Liberty, and ended her Days in a mi-
serable Exile. *Catherine* had Wit and Expe-
rience enough to lay herself her Schemes, and
a great Resolution and Courage to pursue the
Execution of them, being never disheartened

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 563

Agreement, and whereas there was two other *Lewis 13.* Candidates, namely *De Jambeville* and *De Verdun*, she desired His Holiness's Advice ^{Pope Paul V.} upon the Choice she ought to make. He answered in these Words, *Il primo Heretico, il secondo Cattino, il terzo non cognosco.* Whereupon *Du Verdun* was chosen, the two first having the Pope's Exclusion, tho' they were Men, especially *Tbuanus*, of a greater Capacity and Integrity. What Good then could the Reformed expect from a Princess who stood so favourably inclined in behalf of their most implacable Enemies? and who hated them secretly on account of their holding the *Pope* for the *Antichrist*; for she had been made to believe that by such a Tenet they called in question the Validity of King *Henry*'s Divorce from his first Wife, and of his Marriage with her, and consequently of the Legitimacy of their Children. And that Notion, how false soever it was, had made such an Impression upon her Mind, that the strongest Assurances of their Loyalty and Attachment to the King, to herself, and the whole Royal Family, were not capable to blot it out.

As to the King her Son, he was not naturally endowed with any of those Parts requisite to make a great Prince; he was of a narrow Understanding, very obstinate in his Childhood. I don't know upon what Foundation an Author has said of him, that he would have prov'd a great and good King had he only believed that he was capable to govern his Kingdom himself. His Mother took very little care to have him educated in a way suitable to his high Station; almost since the King's Death to the Catastrophe of the Marshal *D'Ancre*, he spent his Time in making Castles of Cards, catching

564 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. Birds with two *Pigriesches* + in the Gardens
1611. of *Tbuilleries*, and other Pastimes not much
~~Pape Paul V.~~ worthy of a King of France; and as the
~~was very careful to keep him always very~~
~~+ a Kind~~ low and under Subjection, causing him some-
~~times to be whip'd, tho' he was a crown'd~~
King; no wonder if such an Education had an
influence upon him: he was always timorous,
dreading his own Ministers, daring not to op-
pose the Views of their Ambition and Avarice,
nay, sacrificing unto them the natural Affection
which a Son owes to his Mother, and a Bro-
ther to his Brother and Sisters, and the Duties
of a King unto his Subjects, rather than to
take a generous Resolution for freeing himself
from the Bondage whereunder he was shamefully
detained.

It was under the Name of that King, whose
Love and Affection was as much impotent as
his Hatred and Indignation, when they were
not approved by his Favourites; that *De Laines*,
and after him *Ricbelieu*, deprived the Reformed

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 565

boundless Ambition and Avarice of their Prime Ministers, have been the second Cause of our Misfortunes.

Lewis 13.
1618.
Pope Paul
V.

I shall not subjoin here the powerful Instances of the Clergy and other Satellites of the Pope, especially the *Jesuits*. It is too well known that it is their Interest to oppose TRUTH with all their Might, and No-body will wonder at the Ways and Means which those SONS OF DARKNESS put in use to subvert it; Perfidiousness, Treasons, Perjury, Fire and Blood, &c. for every one knows that it is natural for them to copy the Works of THEIR FATHER.

So then quite contrary Causes to those which had contributed towards our Settlement in our own Country concurred to our Ruin, and chang'd those *Halcyonian Days*, whereof our Churches had enjoyed under a mighty King, who lov'd them and who never gloried in any thing so much as in the strict Performance of his Word, into gloomy Days, Fore-runners of that dreadful Hurricane, wherein our poor Vessel was miserably split to pieces. The Disinterestedness and strict Union of our Fore-fathers made their Force under the Protection of a great King so qualified. Their Self-Interest, Ambition, Avarice, &c. caused their Division, which Division made them despicable, and accelerated their Ruin, under the Ill-will of such a Prince as Lewis XIII. was, uncapable to know the true Interest of his Kingdom, more uncapable to pursue it, even when he had been made sensible of it. But without dwelling any longer upon that melancholy Subject, I shall proceed to other Matters.

Notwithstanding all the Civilities and Re-
spects which *Du Plessis* paid to the Duke of ^{of the Duke} *Bouillon*, the pretended Affronts he thought he ^{of Bouillon} _{to Du} *Plessis*,

Lewis 13 had received in the Assembly, by his not
1611. having been elected President, and bore the
~~Pope Paul~~ sway in every thing during the Sessions, stuck
V. too much at his Heart to be so soon forgiven
and forgotten. He carried his Revenge so far
and so indecently, as to reflect a Blemish on his
own Character, which all the Brightness of his
Birth, and all the Grandeur wherewith he
was surrounded, cannot nor shall ever blot out.
Calumny is a Vice of so black a Dye, as not to
be fetch'd out by any Ingredient. He joined
with *Bullion* in charging that upright Gentleman
with having opposed their Majesties Intention,
and having himself raised against the Court the
Suspicions and Jealousies which the Assembly
had all along entertained, from the Beginning
to the End. By which means a gloomy Storm
was raising against the Governour of *Sauuer*,
which must have proved fatal to him, had not
his Humility and Prudence prevented the dire
Effects thereof. He answered the Queen's
threatning Letter with such a Calmnes of Tem-
per, and such a Strength of Reason, that a

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 567

was nothing very extraordinary in the Attempt, Lewis 13°
tho' the *Roman Catholicks* ought to have been ^{1611.}
enur'd to this Controversy, nevertheless, it is *Pope Paul.*
hardly to be conceived what Noise they made
about this Book. But what exasperated them
the more, was the Cut put at the Front thereof;
it exhibited the Form of the Tower of *Babel*,
a prodigious Fabrick which drew the Admira-
tion of the Spectators, but it was supported
only with some wooden Sticks, which a Man
set on fire; two *Latin* Verses warning the Be-
holders that they ought not so much to admire
the Fabrick, seeing it was to be utterly destroyed
as soon as its weak Props should have been
consumed with Fire. The two Lines run thus,

*Falleris eternam qui suspicis ebrius Arcem,
Subruta succensis mox corruet ima tigillis.*

Then there was a Print representing *Pope Paul V.* with Inscriptions so lofty, proud and impious, that had they designed to give hold to the *Reformed*, they could not do it better. They applied to that Pontiff the most flattering Encomiums that could be bestowed upon an earthly Prince; and the greatest Titles which the Holy Scripture ascribes to our *Lord Jesus Christ*; and underneath the Figure there was a Motto which gave him the Title of *VICE-GOD*; that was copied from a Picture drawn in *Italy* to adorn a Triumphal Arch raised in honour of that Pope. But that which was most remarkable, was, that the Name of *Paul V.* joined to that of *Vice-God* in *Latin*, in the Case which belong'd to the Inscriptions, filled up the famous Number of 666, which, according to *St. John* in the *Apocalypse*, is the Number of the *Antichrist*; joining the Value of the Numerical Letters of that Name, according to the Use of the *Latins*, made up that mystical Number.

Lewis 13. The Reformed, who were great Admirers of
Pope Paul V. ^{1611.} these sort of Observations, were almost per-
suaded to a Certainty of the approaching Fall
of the Roman See, which manifested its Anti-
christianity by such evident Characters. But
the Catholicks were strangely mov'd at the
said Book, the Pope made heavy Complaints
about it, the Sorbonne pass'd a rash and impious
Censure upon it, as being heretical, most furious,
most seditious, contrary to the divine, natural
and canonical Laws, &c. &c. But had the
same Book been extant, and examin'd by
Gerson himself, sure I am that he could not
have refrain'd his Indignation against the Cen-
sure itself; and would have declared it most
heretical, most furious, most seditious, most Anti-
christian, subverting all divine, natural and
canonical Laws. And indeed how shall they
prove that Popedom is of natural Rights? Is
there any thing in Nature which could induce
us to believe, that we must submit ourselves to
the Judgment of a single Man in Matters re-

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 569

be, and as they were before the 16th Century, Lewis 13.
the ancient Code of Canons, framed or received 1611.
in the first general Councils, then the most Pope Paul
learned and the most sincere Canonists and Di- V.
vines of Paris own that there is nothing in
them which may support the usurped Primacy
and Monarchy of the Pope.

Howbeit, this Book was very prejudicial to its Author, as to his temporal Concerns; for, if what *Villeroy* wrote to him is true, all Thoughts of advancing him, as it was intended, were laid aside; but long ago that generous and truly Christian Nobleman, after having maturely considered every thing, chose rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to Heb. xi. enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the Recompence of the Reward. So that he stood unmov'd at all these Frowns of the Court, and at the ridiculous Attempt of one *De Brai St. Germain*, who endeavoured to apply to him the same mysterious Number of 666, for which Purpose he turned his Name as many Ways as he could imagine (a).

Before I leave this Year I must take notice of *The Duke*, an Event wherein the City of *Geneva* was very *of Savoy's*, nearly concern'd. The Duke of *Savoy* having *Designs* miss'd his Aim against that City, in the Year 1602, in such shameful Manner, as we have said in its proper Place, flattered himself with a better Success at another time; therefore, in 1609 he attempted to surprize this City on the Lake's side; for which purpose he caused some Lighters loaded with Wood, under which a good Number of Soldiers were concealed, to come to *Geneva*, keeping close to the Shore.

P p 4

But

(a) *Vie de Du Plessis*, Liv. II 1.

570 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13 But this Attempt was sooner discovered than
1611. the former, and *Du Terrail* and *La Baftide*, the
^{Pope Paul} Contrivers thereof, having been seized at
Yverdun, were brought to Geneva. At first
they denied the Fact, therefore *La Baftide* was
put upon the Rack and confessed all, and was
condemned to be hang'd, and executed ; and
Du Terrail was beheaded (b).

At last, the Duke thinking to have met with
a proper Opportunity for righting himself, a-
bout his chimerical Pretensions upon that City,
during the King's Minority, he resolved to at-
tack it with open Force, this Year in the Spring.
He caused his Troops to march from *Piedmont*
into *Savoy*. Upon these Rumours, the City
wrote to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, desiring
his Protection and Assistance ; that Lord, after
several fruitless Intreaties with the Duke of
Savoy for obliging him to desist, sent to Court,
insisting with the Queen and Council that, ac-
cording to the Treaty of *Soleurre*, he would un-
dertake effectually the Protection of Geneva ;
which at last was granted and her Maiesy

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 571

the General * ; and have occasion to declare them Lewis 13.
unlawful, in case they should proceed, and thwart 1612.
the Resolutions which might be taken in them. Pope Paul
V.

Accordingly the Court named the Commissaries of the Reformed Religion; but of the Duke of Bouillon's Choice, most part or all of them were at his devotion, and consequently so much the more suspected by the *Reformed Churches*. Du Plessis considering that such a Step would certainly give great Jealousies to the Provinces, and being afraid lest they should carry too far their Resentment, endeavoured to heal that Disease the best way he could. On one hand, he wrote to the principal Churches in every Province, and let them know how and by what Arguments they ought to apologize for their *Provincial Assemblies*; to wit, that they were grounded upon the Queen's last Letters to the General Assembly of Saumur, and upon the very Instructions given to the King's Commissaries, wherein such Assemblies were plainly presupposed; and indeed these Reasons were so pertinent, that the Court had nothing to say against them. On the other hand, he advised them to suffer the Commissaries to execute their Charge without Opposition. Whereby, if they were authorised to do them good, the Churches that were distressed would be relieved; if not, they would plainly see, by that, that they were sent upon some other Account, and consequently they would have a just Occasion to sue directly to their Majesties.

This last Advice was little hearkened to, for those of the *Low Guienne*, who were the first that held such Assemblies, suffered themselves

to

* These Provincial Assemblies were absolutely necessary to hear and receive the Account which their Representatives were to give them of what had been transacted in the General, and nothing could be worse than the Duke of Bouillon's Advice to the Queen to hinder them.

Lewis 13. to be carried beyond Bounds through the Heat
1612. of their Temper; and refused to receive the
^{Pope} ~~Paul V.~~ Commissaries. Their Example was followed
by those of *Xainctonge, Poitou, Anjou, Britany,*
&c. Not that but several of them approved *De Plessis's* Counsel, but they were afraid to create
a new Division amongst themselves, thro' that
Diversity in their Conduct. And indeed, in
the very Province of *Low Guienne*, who had
the first declared themselves against the Rece-
ption of the Commissaries, several private Cities
admitted them. Wherefore the other Provin-
ces who had refused, were very uneasy about it.
Now, ten of these Provincial Assemblies were
unanimous in this Point, to send Deputies in the
name of the whole Body to their Majesties, to
complain of the hard Usage they had received
in the last general Assembly, and most humbly
to require a Redress of their Grievances specifi-
ed in their Petitions.

They sent Deputies to Court. They were received by the general Deputies,
as if they had been sent by the whole Body, be-
cause they were sent by the greatest Number.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 573

But that was all the Favour they could get : Lewis 15.
for tho' the Ministers, after having consulted ^{1612.} *Du Plessis* by *Du Maurier*, whom they sent ex- ^{Pope Paul V.} pref for that purpose, to know what could be ~~done~~ granted unto them as to the Grievances they complained of, were well disposed at first to follow his Advice : Nevertheless, thro' the Insinuations of the Duke of *Bouillon*, they altered their Mind ; for he remonstrated, that, to give them any Satisfaction in that way, would prove a Disparagement to himself and his Party, as if their Interest was so inconsiderable at Court as not to be able to obtain any Favour ; besides that it would be an Encouragement to Disobedience, were those private and unlawful Assemblies treated like the General. These illusory Remonstrances, had their desired Effect ; the Deputies were dismissed without an Answer to their Petitions ; nay, they received their Dismission in writing, without being admitted to an Audience of Leave ; which Writing, being framed after the Duke of *Bouillon's* Taste, was scandalous and defamatory. And whereas the Council was sensible of the Mischief wherewith such an extraordinary Proceeding may be attended, they thought to put a Plaster upon that Wound, but indeed it was a Plaster worse than the Wound it self. They issued out a Proclamation, abolishing what was past, whereby, on pretence of abolishing the sham Crime, they rendered them actually criminal. All the *Reformed Churches*, being conscious of their own Innocence and strict Fidelity, exclaimed against this Act of Oblivion, more than they had ever done against any ^{Some Re- flections upon the Maréchal of Bouil- lon's Con- duct.} Persecution. But more of this in the Sequel of the Events of this Year.

It is a common saying, that what is more excellent grows the worse, when it falls into Cor-

574 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13 ruption. This was the Duke of Bouillon's Case ;
1612. he carried his unjust Revenge against *Du Plessis*,
Pope Paul V. far beyond the common Rules of Honesty, and
was not ashamed even to forge notorious Ca-
lumnies against that upright Man ; for he did
not scruple to publish that he kept Correspond-
ence with foreign Princes, and that only because
he had dedicated a Book of Meditations to King
James I. and had sent one of his Gentlemen to
present it to His British Majesty who was a Friend
and Ally of the Crown of *France*, as were like-
wise the Elector *Palatine*, Prince *Maurice of*
Orange, and some other protestant Princes; with
whom, indeed, he kept Correspondence, not only
with the Permission, but even at the Com-
mand of the late King. Nay, the said Duke
went further, for he libelled that good Gentle-
man, and endeavoured to render him suspected
amongst the *Reformed Churches*, giving them to
understand by a Libel which he published, that
Du Plessis was the only Occasion of the Repulse
they had met at Court, &c. Tho' *Du Plessis*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 575

how dangerous it is, to suffer one's self to be carried away through the Passion of Revenge ; there is nothing too base for a Man who will indulge himself that way ; his Passion clouds his Understanding to that degree, that things appear unto him under a quite different Shape than naturally they are ; the frantick Violence of that Passion represents things unto him as just and praise-worthy, which he would himself deem the most unjust and unworthy, did he consider them soberly and calmly. The Duke of *Bouillon* was certainly a Lord endowed of all these Qualifications which adorn a truly *Great Man*, and enable him to be most useful and serviceable to the Party which he does espouse ; and indeed none had better deserved esteem than him, either from the King or the Kingdom, before this time we are now speaking of. But, how small, how base, how despicable did he become for several years together, when he suffered himself to be enslaved by that tyrannical Passion ; he kindled a fire which could never be smothered but under the Ruins of our Liberties and Privileges.

All the Reformed and Protestants within and without the Kingdom, dreading the Mischiefs which might issue from these Divisions, endeavoured to compose them and reconcile together the Heads of the Party. The Marshal of *Les Dignières*, the Embassadors of *Great-Britain*, of the *Low Countries*, of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and others, wrote to *Du Plessis* upon that account, rather as to a Mediator, than to an offended Party, desiring his Advice upon it. He let them know, that for his own part, he was ready to do and to suffer any thing for obtaining the desired End, but that the Obstinacy of some and the Partiality of others started every day

*History of the Reformation, and of the
Lewis 13-day new Difficulties in the way.* However he
^{1612.} thought proper to refer the whole Matter to
Pope Paul V. the *National Synod* which was to meet in *May*
~~in~~ this Year at *Privaz*, in *Low Languedoc*; and
accordingly the Deputies of the Provinces of
Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, were charged to
require the *National Synod* to interpose its Au-
thority to procure that Reconciliation. (d)

Rashness of the Duke of Rohan. But while they were making these Preparati-
ons, *Du Plessis* was put to fresh troubles, through
the Duke of *Rohan* and his Brother the Duke of
Soubize's Rashness. If we believe the Duke of
Rohan, the Duke of *Bouillon* was so much ex-
asperated against him on account of what had
passed at *Sauvage*, that he made an ill use of his
Interest with the Queen to ruin him, and endeavoured
to turn him out of his Government of
St. John of Angely, which the late King had be-
stowed upon him. Being well informed of the
ill Offices that were done to him at Court, the
Duke of *Rohan* went thither at the King's
first Summons, in order to justify himself. All
his Apologies were not sufficient to disqualify

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 577

Buſſeſſ; when the Duke was arrived, he ſent Lewis 13.
him word, forbidding him to come again into 1612.
the Town, and at the ſame time, he diſpatched Pope Paul
~~Taxis to Court~~, to acquaint their Majefties with V.
the Reafons of his Conduſt.

Now the time of the Elecſion of a Mayor
being come, a Meſſenger arrived from Court
with Orders to continue the ancient Mayor a
Year longer, because of the Diſſensions which
were rife in the Town, with Promiſes however
that this would not be drawn as a Precedent for
the future, and that the Privileges of the
Townſmen ſhould be inviolably kept intire.
Thereupon the Duke of Roban not conſidering
enough the raihneſſ of ſuſh an Atteſt upon the
Royal Authority, profeſted againſt that Order,
ſaying that the King's Name had been abuſed,
and that it conſcerned his Maſtety's Service, and
the publick Safety to proceed to the Elecſion of
a new Mayor, being in hopes to have it agreed
at Court, where he was ſending his Secreſary.

Now the Maſhal of Bouillon thinking right-
ly that the Duke of Roban would oppoſe to the
lift the Continuation of the ancient Mayor, as
a thing very prejudicial to his Interēſt, engaged
the Queen Regent to ſend more poſitive Orders
upon that Subject, which arrived at St. John two
days after the firſt. But the ſaid Duke * conſi-
dering that his own Loſs would be of course the
Conſequenee of St. John, thought that the leaſt
Danger for him was to ſecure well the Town;
which having done, he did not ſcruple to oppo-
ſe the Court's Orders, as prejudicial to the
King's Service, and to proceed to the Elecſion of
a Mayor, with the uſual Formalities, that is,
three

* This has been always the chief Inducement for the
Heads of a Party to begin Hostilities againſt the other,
LEAR DEAREST SELF-INTEREST!

Lewis 13. three Burgesses were named, and their Names
1612. sent to the King, in order to pick one out
~~Pope Paul V.~~ them; and for the greater Security of the Town
the Keys of the Gates were put into the Sheriff's hands.

This Proceeding of the Duke, made a great noise at Court, and provoked the Queen to that degree, that she ordered his Deputies to be clapt into the *Bastile*; and it was proposed in the Council to send Troops against him, and besiege the Town of St. Jol. On the other hand, the Duke knowing very well the Interest his Enemies had at Court, and that they would not fail to surprise him if they could, took care to send notice of his Affairs to the Reformed Churches throughout several Provinces of the Kingdom, and gave them to understand * that the Hatred conceived at him, proceeded from his Zeal for their Welfare; that his own Ruin, and the Loss of St. Jol

should be attributed to their own negligence, that if his

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 579

and more to exasperate the Queen against Lewis 13.
him. (f)

However, without relaxing the warlike Prepa- <sup>Pope Paul
V.</sup>
rations, the Court thought proper to try the way ~~of~~
of Negociation, for which purpose the Queen
sent Mr. *De Themines* Seneschal of *Quercy* to the
Duke, to endeavour to make him sensible of his
Fault, and to compose that Difference in a way
suitable to the King's Dignity.

Du Plessis, having had timely notice of this
Message, joined his Intreaties to the Duchess
Dowager of *Roban's*, to oblige him to prevent
the Danger wherewith he was threatned, by a
reasonable Treaty, yielding to the King what he
oweth to his Sovereign, and preserving *St. John*
safe. *Themines* was a Gentleman very fit for the
Business he had taken upon him, he managed
the Duke with such a Dexterity, that he per-
suaded him to yield to the good Advices and ear-
nest Intreaties of his best Friends, and dearest
Relations; so that notwithstanding the Uneasiness
of the Youth that surrounded him, who breathed
nothing else but War, it was at last agreed, that
the Keys of the Town should be put again for
eight days into the hands of the ancient Mayor;
that they should make a new Election of
three, whereof the King should pick one out to
be Mayor; that before all, *Rochebeaucourt* and
Foucault should come into the Town, and per-
form the Duties of their respective Charge, but
that *Foucault* should go out of the Town instant-
ly after. Thus the King's Authority was satis-
fied, and the Town secured to the Duke. But
as he mistrusted *La Rochebeaucourt*, who was
his Lieutenant, every day some new Accidents
galled him, which always created new Troubles

Qq

to

(f) Vie de *Du Plessis*. Liv. iii. p. 361. 62. Mem. & Lettres
du même Tom. iii. p. 351—379.

Lewis 13. to the good *Du Plessis* through the Injustice of
1612. the Court, especially the Duke of *Bouillon's Ma-*
Pope Paul V. lice. (g)

~~~~ I have plainly enough intimated my Thoughts about that Affair in the two Notes of the foregoing Page, grounded upon *Du Plessis's* own Opinion, who tho' very little satisfied with the Court's Proceedings, either in general towards the whole Body of the Reformed, or in particular towards the Duke of *Roban*; nevertheless could not forbear blaming this Lord's Conduct as too forward and rash.

*The Duke of Bouillon Ambassador in England.* During these Transactions the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* was sent Embassador into *England*; he was charged to give King *James* Notice of the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*, and assure His *British* Majesty, that this double Alliance would cause no Alteration to that subsisting between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *France*. He had taken upon himself to engage that Prince to condemn the Proceedings of the Assembly of *Saumur*, and to prepossess him against

the Marriage of the young Elector *Palatine*, his Lewis 13. Nephew by his Lady, with the Princess of *Eng-*<sup>1612.</sup> *land*, which was accomplished about the latter <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> end of this year. Howbeit, it is to be obser-  
ved that the Duke of *Rohan* questioning not in  
the least, but that the Marshal would play him  
some foul Trick, had bribed to his Interest a  
Gentleman of the Ambassador's Retinue, by  
whom he got King *James* thoroughly informed  
of the truth of the Transactions at *Saumur*; so  
that when the Ambassador spoke to his Majesty  
upon that Score, he answered him, *If the Queen  
your Mistress has a mind to infringe the Edicts  
granted to the Reformed of her Kingdom, I don't  
pretend that the Alliance done and ratified by me  
with France, should binder me from afflicting and  
protecting them. Whenever my Neighbours are  
aggrieved by a Cause wherein I am my self con-  
cerned, the Natural Right requires of me, that I  
should prevent the Evil which might therewith  
befall me. Believe me, M. Marshal, added he,  
you must be reconciled with the Duke of Rohan.  
I will let him know, that I desire that you should  
live friendly together.* Oh! That he should have  
had always such a Heart and such a Mind!  
This happened at *London* in *April*; but not a  
word thereof in *Rapin's History* (b).

Now the 20th National Synod met at *Pri- The 20th  
vaz* on the 23d of *May*, according to Appoint- <sup>National</sup> *Synod.*  
ment. The Revd. Mr *Cbamier*, Minister at  
*Montelimar*, was chosen Moderator; the Revd.  
Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, Minister at *Charenton*,  
Affecteur; the Revd. Mr. *Stepben Monsanglard*,  
Minister at *Corbigny*, and Mr. *Stepben Maniald*,  
Elder of the Church of *Bourdeaux*, Secretaries.  
But before they proceeded to that Election, the  
Minister of *Privaz* was impower'd to tender an

Q q 2 Oath

(b) *Mem. du Duc De Rohan*, Liv. 1. p. 27.

Lewis 13. Oath to all the Deputies, whereby they declar-  
1612. ed, that neither directly nor indirectly they had  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> not procured to be deputed to the said Synod by  
their Principals. After the Election was over, they took an Oath of Union, promising to have it ratified, in, and by, all the Provinces who had deputed them. After the reading and approving of the Confession of Faith and Church-Discipline, with some inconsiderable Alterations and Additions, the Revd. Mr. *Chamier* presented his *Panstratia Catbolica* unto the Synod, and received the Thanks of the Assembly for the great Progress he had made in that Work, and was earnestly intreated to finish it, and to print the three first Volumes at once; and to help him to support the necessary Charges, the Sum of two Thousand Livres was ordered to be paid him out of hand. The Revd. Mr. *Perrin* presenting likewise his History of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, received the Thanks of the Assembly, and a Gratuity of three Hundred Livres. But in the next National Synod held at *Toulouse* in May 1614 both these Books were ex-

this very Synod to itself, but *being better ad. Lewis 13.*  
*sized, and considering;* because of a Decree passed <sup>1612.</sup> for translating the Revd. *Jeremiah Fer-* Pope Paul  
*nier from the Church of Nimes,* where he served *v.* *as Minister and Professor,* to another; and that on account of some Misdemeanours of his, and Suspicion of something worse: I shall account for the whole Affair, when I shall relate the Transactions of the next National Synod, wherein he was deposed and excommunicated. Then they took into their Consideration His Majesty's Letters of Pardon, published on the 24th of April, in behalf of those who had called or assisted at the Provincial Assemblies held in most parts of the Provinces after the General, styling them unlawful, as being held without Royal Permission.

To understand this, one must observe, that it had always been usual amongst the Reformed, after their general political Assemblies, to hold Provincial Ones, without waiting for the Court's Licence, there to give an account of what had been done in the General, how the Representatives had acquitted themselves of the Trust reposed in them by their Principals, what Obstructions they had met, what Concessions they had obtained, what Regulations had been made, &c. &c. That was very necessary to be done, and it could not be done in any other way. The late King had been so sensible of this, that he never took amiss these Provincial Assemblies, tho' they were all held without his Special Licence. That was supposed in the dismissoiry Letters, whereby the King put an end to the Sessions of the General; the Representatives were exhorted to break up, and to go and inform their respective Provinces of what they had transacted: These were the very Words of the

584      *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13 Queen Regent's dismisiory Letters to the Af-  
1612. semby of *Saumur*, nay, the King's Officers had  
Pope Paul convened in several Provinces these Assemblies,  
V. as soon as the Representatives were arrived home  
from *Saumur*. What more? The very In-  
structions given to the Commissaries sent by the  
Court into the several Provinces, to cause, as  
they pretended, the Edicts and other Concessions to be executed, and supposed them as plain  
as the Light at Mid-day. So that this was but  
a wicked and malicious Device of the Marsha-  
of *Bouillon*, to compleat, if he could, his Re-  
venge, by rendering Criminals those whose Fi-  
delity and strict Adherence to the welfare of the  
common Cause, made them less obsequious to  
his Will, and put an Obstacle to his ambition  
Prospects. No wonder then, if the Reformed  
who were conscious of having done nothing a-  
gainst the Edicts of the former Kings, exclaim-  
ed so much against the said Proclamation, and  
if they refused, few excepted, to take any ad-  
vantage from, or to make any use of it.

When it was read in the Synod, it raised

### BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 585

might hereafter deprive them of that true honour and glory which was ever ascribed to them, Lewis 13.  
of being true Frenchmen, and to be reputed by 1612. Pope Paul V.  
Foreigners, the most loyal and most faithful Subjects of his Majesty, and the most affectionate unto his Government.

Moreover they did declare, that they would not in the least make any use of these Letters of Abolition and Pardon, and that they did disown those Persons, if there be any such, as had accepted, and consented to them. And they declared those Persons, whoever they be, who had demanded, or shall demand them or approve them, to have acted or to act contrary to the sincerity of their Intentions, and to their approved Loyalty and Fidelity, &c.

Another weighty Affair, which they undertook was the Reconciliation between the great Lords of their Party, after having maturely considered the properest Means to obtain that most desired end. They drew up an Act, the Preamble thereof runs thus :

“ The present National Synod of the Reformed Churches in this Kingdom, desiring “ to secure the Peace and Union of the said “ Churches, and burning with the Zeal of the “ House and Glory of God, and grieved to see “ Satan sowing the Seeds of Discord amongus, “ which redound to the infamy and the weakness of the said Churches, and may hereafter “ produce worse, and more dangerous Effects ; “ moved with Charity towards the Members “ of our Body, and being willing to make some “ Provision for a fraternal Concord, as being an “ indispensable Duty of all the Faithful, hath, “ and doth now resolve to exert it self, even to “ the utmost, for obtaining a blessed and holy

Lewis 13. " Peace and Re-Union among ourselves under  
1612. " their Majesties Authority "

Pope Paul V. Then they proceed by declaring those whom

they had chosen to be Mediators, namely the  
two general Deputies, the Revd. Messieurs *De Moulin* and *Durant*, and *De L'Isle Groslot Esq.*  
Elder of the Church of *Orleans*. Then they  
exhort all Persons to endeavour to have the Me-  
mory of what was past buried in Oblivion, and  
in the name of all the Reformed Churches to  
become Peace-makers, that so the several Hu-  
mours and different Opinions risen up in the  
Assembly of *Saumur* may be allayed and com-  
posed, &c. and this to be done according to the  
Methods and Advices prescribed by this Assem-  
bly, whereunto they may make such Additions  
as their Zeal and Prudence shall suggest; and  
they shall diligently and conjointly inform the  
Provinces of their Progress herein, together  
with the result and success of their Mediation.  
It was also resolved to exhort by Letters the  
Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Les Diguieres*, that they

Letters to those to whom they were directed. Lewis 13.

After having given the necessary Instructions to these several Commissaries, according to the Temper of those near whom they were to act as Mediators in the Synod's Name ; settled the Accounts of the Sums of Money allowed for the Churches ; expressly charged the general Deputies at Court, to insist upon the Redress of the Grievances complained of in the Bill presented by the Assembly of *Saumur*, and which remained till then unredrest ; and made such other Regulations usual in such like Assemblies ; they put an end to their Sessions the fourth of *July*, having sat for about six Weeks (j).

The five Commissaries Mediators were no sooner arrived at *Paris*, but they began to discharge their Commission ; for which end, having concerted and drawn up an Act of Re-union, they did all their Endeavours to persuade the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Les Diguieres*, who started every day some new Difficulty, but at last were prevailed upon to sign the said Act ; the Count of *Cbastian* signed likewise : Then the Lord *De Rouvray*, and the Revd. Mr. *Durant* set out upon the same Errand for *St. John of Angely*, and took their way through *Saumur*, where *Du Plessis* very readily signed the said Act, and promised them, at their Instances, to join his good Offices to engage the Duke of *Roban* to sign likewise, if the said Duke required his Presence. Indeed the violent Means they put in use on both sides (the Court and the Duke of *Roban*) fomented and increased the Disease every day. *Roban*, in order to secure himself, expelled out of the Town those whom he suspected ; and the Queen, in order to preserve

(j) *QxicK's Synodicon*, Tom. i. *Aymond Synodes Nationaux*, Tom. i.

Lewis 3. serve the Royal Dignity, used all the Rigours  
<sup>1612.</sup> of Justice against those who fell into her hands,  
Pope Paul V. and was ready to take the Field to march a-  
gainst the Duke ; for none of the Articles of  
the Treaty made with *Themines* had been ex-  
ecuted, so that a War seemed unavoidable.

When the two Commissaries Mediators had opened their Commission, and presented to the Duke the Act of Re-union, he made no great difficulty, but desired only to confer with *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, and the present Situation of his Affairs. He sent a Messenger express to him, to desire him to come to St. John, whereunto having complied, the Duke signed the said Act. I can't imagine where the Revd. Mr. *Benoit* found what he says, that the Duke refused to sign that Instrument ; contrary, not only to the Duke's own Memoirs, but likewise to what *Du Plessis* affirms positively in his Letter to the Pastors, Professors, and Elders of the Church of Montauban, dated at St. John the 10th of September, 1612. wherein he says that *Messrs. De Rohan, and De*

nacted, That when any of the Provinces should be aggrieved, and could not obtain a just and reasonable Satisfaction, that Province should require the Neighbouring to send their Deputies at a certain Place of its own appointment, to consult together about means of obtaining a Redress. But then, that was to be done only upon the greatest Emergencies : (which indeed was not the Case of the Duke of Roban.) Much surprized at this unexpected Turn, *Du Plessis* remonstrated to the Duke, the two Commissaries present, that he had involved himself in an Affair, whereof it was his Interest to be rid as soon as possible ; that neither Conscience nor Prudence could allow him to determine for War, as long as there were some other Means left to be tried ; that without an absolute necessity, War will neither be supported at home, nor approved abroad, and consequently it could be but detrimental to himself. Then he desired him to let him know what Terms he could require, that his Friends and Servants would endeavour to obtain them for him. He told them that he desired that the Queen should deprive *La Rocbebaucourt* and *Foucaut* of their Places in *St. John*, and give him the company of the first, and liberty to name himself a Lieutenant-Governour of the Town ; that his own, his Brother and their Friends Pensions, should be restored unto them with the Arrears ; that those who had been put to trouble upon his Account, should be released. As to the first Article, *Du Plessis* told him, that it would be hard to the Queen, in a manner to degrade those whom she thought had well deserved of her ; nevertheless that they ought to try all possible Means to persuade her Majesty to grant these Demands.

Therefore, having obtained of the Duke that  
the

Lewis 13.  
1612.  
Pope Paul  
V.

590. *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. the Assembly of the Circle \*, which was ap-  
1612. pointed for the 20th of September, should be put  
Pope Paul off to the 20th of October ; he wrote to the  
V.

Queen, to the Princes of the Blood, and to the

\* So they principal Ministers of State, and told them with  
called the his usual Freedom, "that they were very much  
six confede- deceived by those who gave them to under-  
rate Pro- stand that the Affairs of St. John was a pri-  
vinces. " vate one ; for the security of a Place granted

" to the whole Reformed Body as a Caution-

" ary Town, lies at stake ; and that the Duke

" of Roban was not considered amongst them

" as a private, but as a publick Person ; that all

" the neighbouring Provinces were concerned

" in the preservation of the Place, as if it were

" their Ravelin, and that the further distant

" joined every day their Interest with it ;

" that he was not ignorant that his Advices

" were rendered suspected at Court, but he

" questioned not, but at last they would be

" proved faithful and true." These Letters  
had their Effects in due time, notwithstanding

crucly wounded by ~~the~~ ~~French~~ ~~armies~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~field~~,  
was left almost for dead upon the place ;  
the Queen understanding, she was justly  
ked at, and ordered the Horse to march  
ly in all haste into *Anjou*, and charged the  
al of *Bois Dauphin*, Gouvernour of the  
ice to provide them with good Quarters.  
~~on Du Plessis's Remonstrances and at his~~  
~~ofition, these Troops were countermand-~~

ese and several other Broils at Court kept  
e Affairs at a stand, so that the general  
ies could not obtain a definitive Answer  
Pretensions of the Duke of *Roban*, and  
neral Articles, whereupon the Synod of  
z had expressly charged them to demand a  
s, at the time appointed for the meeting  
Circle ; therefore a further delay of the  
lecting was obtained, which was put off to  
th of *November*, under promise that the  
would give them full Satisfaction before  
piration of that Term.

cordingly, *Marbault* one of the King's  
~~minister sent to Du Plessis to remonstrate~~

Lewis 13. Town for eight or ten Days only, after which  
1612. Term her Majesty would provide for him else-  
~~Pope Paul~~<sup>V.</sup> where. (She gave him the Government of *Châtelberaud*, which became vacant just at that time.) As to the Reformed in general, his Majesty promised to relieve them of the Obligation of subscribing themselves *of the pretended Reformed Religion*; that he would exempt the Ministers from all manner of Taxes and Subsidies, as the Roman Clergy were; that he would restore to the Synods National and Provincial, the same Liberty they had formerly enjoyed, and the free Exercise of their Discipline; that he would abrogate all Acts, Letters, Decrees, and Expeditions published against the Reformed since the Assembly of *Saumur*; that even he would allow them their Provincial Councils, provided they should use modesty of them, as they did under the late King; as for the rest of the Grievances of the other Provinces, especially of *Languedoc*, *Rouergue*, and *Guienne*, they should be speedily redressed.

Duke of Roban, and the Reformed of his  
, because being one of the Representatives  
said Assembly of Saumur, he had sided  
the Duke of Bouillon. That was not, say  
e only occasion of Saugeon's Journey into  
~~reduc~~, Guienne, and Gascony, but he had  
also from Roban to confer with the prin-  
Lords and Gentlemen of these Provinces,  
o know how far they may be depended  
in case he was obliged to take up Arms ;  
s to say, to speak plainly, that he was en-  
tiring to cause an Insurrection in those Pro-  
v. The Queen having got Intelligence of  
sent Orders to the Constable who was then  
Government of Languedoc, and to others  
er Places, to stop the said Baron of Sauge-  
herever he could be arrested ; which Or-  
would not be executed but at his Return, as  
ime back from Languedoc, he was stopt  
norgue, and brought Prisoner of State to  
mache. The Duke of Roban had just  
received that News, when he received Du  
Letter, and was quite out of his Wits at

594 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. Saugeon would receive no harm ; the whole up  
1612. on this Condition that there would be no meet  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> ing of the Assembly, neither at St. John, or a  
Rochelle.

He took his way through Saumur, and engag'd  
the Gouvernour to come along with him  
they went to St. John, but could not prevail  
with the Duke of Roban either to give them  
any positive Word, or to come with them to  
Rochelle, tho' he pretended to desire Peace earnestly.

In this last City they were very honourably  
received by the Lord-Mayor and the Common-  
Council, and all the People, but not so well by  
the Assembly, where Hautefontaine and the other  
Agents of the Duke, and other hot-brain'd  
Men like them, did their utmost Efforts to  
bring things to sad Extremities, and did every  
thing with such a hurry in their Conventicles,  
that it was plain enough that the Lords Du Plessis  
and De Rouvray were become odious unto  
them, only because they opposed their rash

puty-General promised at their Instances, that Lewis 13.  
he should endeavour to procure several other <sup>1612.</sup> Pope Paul  
Articles, which it did not belong unto them, V.  
but to a General Assembly, to require.

Two Things happened at the same time, which gave Suspicions to some, and fomented them in others. The Dutches of *La Trimouille* coming to *Taillebourg*, a Strong-Hold upon the River *Charente*, three Leagues distant from *St. John d'Angely*, found Means to put out of the Castle one *La Sausaye*, who commanded therein, but was in the Interest of the Duke of *Roban*, and established in his stead one *De La Garenne*; which Change caused some Uneasiness to the *Rocbelese*: But *Du Plessis* kept them up upon that score. The other Thing was, That four Ships which had been fitted out in *Normandy* for a long Voyage, were forced by contrary Winds to enter the Port of *Brouage*, where they lay in order to refit; but the Malecontents gave it out, that they were there in order to surprise *Rochelle*: Which Calumny, however, was very easily confuted. The Lords *Du Plessis* and *Routray* set out from *Rochelle*; the first for *Saumur*, where he went without going to *St. John*; and the other went Post to *Paris* with *Du Plessis's* Letters to the Queen, beseeching her Majesty, for the sake of her own Interest, to command, that the Things which she had been graciously pleased to grant should be punctually executed in due Time.

The Court was something provoked at the Rudeness of the Deputies of the Circle, which was entirely ascribed to the Duke of *Roban*; nevertheless, upon the Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*, and of the Deputies General, the Queen resolved to perform the Promises made in her Name to the said Assembly by the Lord *De*

Lewis 13. Rouvray : Only, being offended at the Proceed  
<sup>1612.</sup> ing of these Provincial Councils, she forbid them  
Pope Paul V. expressly, and came to a Resolution to force the  
said Duke and his Adherents to Obedience if  
they persisted obstinate ; and for that End to  
take the Field at the Head of an Army, assisted  
by the Marshals of Bouillon and Briffac, and  
march directly to Poitiers, and from thence to  
Saintes, or Angoulême ; protecting those who  
should persist in their Allegiance, and seizing  
upon the Places who should offer any Resist-  
ance, and putting in them other Governours, to  
the liking of the Churches : Whereby indeed  
they would have been more and more divided  
among themselves, and by that Division would  
have been effectually ruined.

This threatening Danger obliged the General-  
Deputies to write to those who were already  
come to Rochelle, in order to open an Assembly  
on the 25th of December, " That the Queen  
" performed what she had promised ; that if  
" they did not accept her Offers, the War was

Arguments that could be imagined to persuade Lewis 13.  
him : Conscience, Religion, his own Reputation, the heaviest Judgment of God ; all these 1612. Pope Paul V. Things were set before his Eyes, to oblige him — to desist, but all in vain. He told Boucberœau, That he would consider these Reasons ; and that there were others against it : But that, at all Events, he was resolved to follow the Opinions and Motions of those that were assembled at *Rochelle*, without letting them know his own Sentiments, because he would not lose his Credit. It is pretended, that he was much moved at the reading *Du Plessis's Letter*, and hearing the Revd. Mr. Boucberœau's Speech ; nay, that he let some Tears drop from his Eyes.

However, seeing that Inflexibility, *Du Plessis* wrote to the Lord Mayor of *Rochelle*, and to the President, who were lately come from Court. He wrote likewise to the Deputies of *Anjou*, desiring them to show his Letters to the most notable, and the most understanding and capable of Reason of the Assembly. These Letters, conjointly with the prudent Management of the said Deputies, effectually worked upon the Minds of the City's Council; who, notwithstanding the Rage of the Rabble, which had been excited by *Roban's Adherents*, declared, That there was no further Occasion for holding that Assembly ; That they ought to avoid whatever should conduce directly or indirectly to Trouble, and accept with all Humility and Thankfulness the Things graciously granted by her Majesty, and send Deputies to thank her on that account : And that as to the Duke of Rohan, proper Persons ought to be sent unto him, to exhort him to submit himself to this Declaration.

But the Duke's Adherents, vexed at this Turn of Affairs, so much contrary to their Ex-

R r 2 pectation,

Lewis 13. pection, sent him word, that he must come  
1612. himself to *Rocbelles*, they being not strong enough  
*Pope Paul* V. to oppose the Stream. He came, and did what  
he could, by the means of the Rabble, to force  
the Magistrates to retract their Declaration. The  
Sedition went so far, that they were very near  
to cut one another's Throats : But by the Pru-  
dence and Courage of the Lord Mayor, who  
prevailed with the principal Wards, the Evil  
was prevented, and *Roban* himself at last was  
forced to yield to the abovesaid Declaration.  
He sent an Agent to Court, to ask pardon for  
his past Follies, which was readily granted ;  
and every thing which had been promised un-  
to him were punctually performed, as well as  
the Articles wherein the Reformed in general  
were concerned ; as he himself acknowledges it  
in his *Memoirs*. As to the Article concerning the  
Provincial Councils, for which the Queen Re-  
gent shew'd so great a Reluctancy, she con-  
fented at last to suffer them, though only by  
word of Mouth, provided they should keep  
themselves in that Moderation usual among them

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 599

the following Reflexions, which I submit to the Lewis 13.  
judicious Reader's Consideration. 1612.

The first is, That Power without Prudence, Pope Paul  
is as a Knife in the hands of a Mad-man. The Queen, not considering from what Cause the Some Re-  
violent Counsels of the Marshal of Bouillon pro- flexions up-  
ceeded, in order to make a show of her Autho- on the whole Af-  
nity, attempted to incroach upon the Rights and fair.  
Privileges, and to invade the Liberties and Pro-  
perties, which the Inhabitants of Rockelle, St.  
John, and other Cities, had enjoyed from Time  
out of Mind; and which had been confirmed  
unto them by several Edicts and Declarations  
of the Kings, Predecessors of his Majesty, and  
that at a Time when the Court was divided in-  
to several Parties, and that a general Discontent  
against the Government was prevailing all over  
the Kingdom. She exposed, without any just  
Cause, the Royal Authority. Indeed that is a  
piece of Folly unpardonable in a Prince, who  
set up herself for a Wit and a great Politician;  
and those State-Ministers and Courtiers, who,  
for gratifying their own Avarice, Ambition or  
Revenge, put their Masters upon Attempts, the  
Issue whereof, considering the Circumstances, can  
be only shameful to them and their Crown, de-  
serve the utmost Severity of the Law.

The Princes who blindly suffer themselves to  
be imposed upon by the private Passions of their  
Ministers, Courtiers and Favourites, without con-  
sidering the Justice and Reasonableness of their  
Undertaking, justly deserve the Troubles and  
Veracations they are put into, and which are but  
the natural Result of their rash Attempts. When  
Bouillon persuaded the Queen to interfere in the  
Elections of St. John and Rockelle, he had a  
mind to be revenged of the Injury he falsely pre-  
tended to have received at Saumur. He did not

Lewis 13. care whether he wronged his Brethren in one of  
1612. the tenderest Points of their Liberties or not,  
*Pope Paul V.* provided he could gratify his Passion : He was  
not also out of hopes of making his best of these  
Broils, and of fishing in troubled Waters ; but  
when he saw that, after having engaged, *mal à propos*, the King's Authority, the Affairs took  
another Turn than he had expected, then, for  
avoiding the Reproaches of the Court, he went  
to Sedan, and left the imprudent Queen in  
the Lurch, to extricate herself the best way she  
could out of the Maze wherein he had led her  
himself ; for which purpose she was obliged to  
grant several Things, which she had refused to  
the Assembly of Saumur.

Secondly, But these Proceedings of the Court  
cannot any ways justify the Duke of *Robert's*  
Behaviour. A faithful Subject is at all times  
obliged to pay a great Regard to the Royal Au-  
thority, and more especially during the Prince's  
Minority. And it is to no purpose to say, that  
it is sometimes proper to prevent, to avoid the  
being prevented ; such a Foresight, on such an  
Occasion, when the Respect and Obedience due

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 601.

Charity, which hath no Motives in view but Lewis 13.  
the Glory of God, and the Happiness of the 1612.  
Society whereof he is a Member; and another Pope Paul  
whose Zeal is conducted only by a certain Heat V.  
of Temper, and animated by Pride, Ambition,  
Avarice, and such other inordinate Appeti-  
tes. The first makes every thing he is master  
of subservient to the promoting of the great End  
he proposes to himself, the Glory of God, and  
the Happiness of Society; nay, he thinks to  
buy these Advantages at a cheap Rate, if it is on-  
ly at the Loss of his own Fortune, and even of  
his own Life. The second makes every thing  
subservient to the Gratification of his own De-  
sires, the Glory of God, Honour of Religion,  
Peace and Welfare of the Society; nothing is  
too dear for compassing his Ends. Of this we  
have a great Instance in the different Conduct of  
*Du Plessis*, and the Duke of *Roban*: They were  
both exposed to the Frowns of the Court, and  
had to suffer several Wrongs and Injustices from  
the Ministers and the Courtiers; though it is  
certain, that *Du Plessis* had a far greater Share  
to bear in them than the Duke. Nevertheless,  
what wide Difference in their Sentiments and  
Conduct! Let us hear *Du Plessis*, at the Begin-  
ning of these Broils, when, through the Duke  
of *Bouillon*, and other his Enemies, he was like  
to be involved under the Duke of *Roban*'s Dis-  
obedience, and threatned with a Royal Army,  
which might easily seize upon *Saumur* in its way  
to *St. John*. "If I do fortify myself, did he  
"say to his Friends, if I do call my Friends to  
"assist me, I shall be attacked under pretence  
"of Rebellion. On the other hand, if I do  
"not take the necessary Precautions, I leave  
"a cautionary Town, trusted to my Care, to  
"the Mercy of our Enemies. However, let

602 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. " us run the risk to sink under their Force or  
1612. " Injustice, rather than to increase the Hatred  
*Pope Paul* " they are already animated with against our  
V. " Religion, by affording them a new Pretence  
" to charge us with Rebellion. What Crime  
" can I be upbraided with ? I fear neither  
" the Perquisitions nor the Informations. Why  
" should they tax me with the present Broils ?  
" I have no hand at all in the Duke of Roban's  
" Affair. To attack me on account of my Re-  
" ligion, that would be to have a mind to set  
" the whole Kingdom in a blaze (!)." So speak-  
eth that judicious Gentleman : His Zeal for the  
Honour of Religion did not allow him to ap-  
prove of any violent Method for obtaining the  
Redress of some Grievances, without the highest  
Provocation, and when all other Methods pro-  
ved ineffectual.

On the contrary, the Zeal of the Duke of  
*Roban* being guided by Pride and Ambition, he  
followed the Impulses of his Passion ; he acts  
the King at St. John, he tramples upon the Royal  
Authority of his Sovereign : not contented with

By his Death, which had happened at  
ginning of November last Year, several  
ignities and Preferments became vacant,  
Governments of *Dauphiné* and *Normandy*,  
the Great Mastership of the King's House—  
his Son succeeded to this last, and to the  
Government of *Dauphiné*: As to that of *Nor-*  
it was the Subject of several Intrigues,  
having no relation at all to our History—  
I shall omit them.

The Prince had formed very vast Defigns in  
England, when he was surprised by Death. It  
is said that he kept a very strict Correspondence  
with *Henry*, Prince of *Wales*, (who died but a few  
years before him) *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, the  
Duke of *Savoy*, and the Reformed Party, at  
those who adhered to the Duke of *Roan*;   
at this last, seeing that he was dissatisfied  
with the present Government, sent him Offers of  
Interests and Services. It is further said,  
that he had so much inflifted upon the Grant of  
the State Government of *Quillebeuf* in *Normandy*  
only that he might be in better condi-

604 *History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 13. more formidable to the Ministers and Courtiers,  
1613. Pope Paul than the Prince of Condé his Nephew.*

V. The Reconciliation of the Duke of Rohan with *Du Plessis*, &c. is another Occurrence of *Reconcili-  
ation of  
with  
Rohan* this Year: For though that Duke had signed, *Du Plessis* as abovesaid, the A&t of Re-union tendered unto him by the Deputies of the Synod of *Privaz*, nevertheless his Heart agreed not with his Hand, because of the Circumstances he was then in; and whereas *Du Plessis* had openly opposed his Designs, when his private Admonitions and Intreaties could not do, that had begotten a Coldness between them both; which however was easily made up through the Cares of the Duchess Dowager of *Rohan*, at a Conference in one of her Houses in *Poitou*. As they talk'd together, the Duke owned to *Du Plessis*, that in order to keep up his Interest amongst those who had assisted him, and mistrusting the Court, he had been carried out by his own Adherents far beyond what he intended. He agreed to correspond together for the future, as they had done before these Broils. And upon *Du Plessis's* Re-

the *Jesuits* into that City, had sent for one to Lewis 13 preach upon a Holy-day. The Gouvernour sent 1613. Pope Paul for the Sheriffs, and told them, that they ought V. not to have attempted such a thing without his own Approbation; that they could not be ignorant of the bad Opinion which the most sober People entertained of the *Jesuits*, after so many sinister Proofs they had given of their Wickedness, &c. The Sheriffs at first would deny the Fact, but at last they owned it, but promised withal, that nothing should be done in that respect but what he pleased. *Du Plessis*, in order to a full Conviction, shewed them one of the Articles of the late Edict; whereby it was expressly said, That no *Jesuit* should erect College, or have Habitation, or confess, or preach in any of the Cautionary Towns. Nevertheless that Affair was not at an end: The Sheriffs having acquainted the Officers with what they had done and heard, the said Officers came the next day to the Castle, with the Seneschal at their head, they insisted warmly upon the same thing, but *Du Plessis* stood inflexible; and whereas they endeavoured to wrest the Sense of that Article above-mentioned, he told them, That the King in his Council would himself explain his own Law. And having dismissed them, he sent an Express to the General-Deputies at Court, and four days after he had the Pleasure to receive the Approbation of their Majesties for what he had done (o).

There happened this Year an Insurrection at *Nimes* on account of the Minister *Ferrier*, whereof I shall speak in the next Year, when I shall relate his Affair all in a Thread.

The Chamber of the Edict at *Paris* reversed the Sentence of the Judge of *Orleans*, who had adjudged Justice done by the Chamber of the Edict at Paris.

(o) *Idem Ibid.*

Lewis 13. adjudged to the Hospitals of this last City, and  
1613. <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> of *Remorantin*, a Legacy left by a Lady of  
Quality, for the Maintenance of the Minister  
and Poor of the Church of this last Place. It  
was still a good Time, and the Judges that  
composed the Chambers of the Edict were still  
Men conspicuous for their Equity and Modera-  
tion, who had no Inclination to countenance the  
superstitious Iniquity of the inferior Magistrates.  
But that Time lasted not long.

*An Edict  
in behalf  
of the Bi-  
shop of  
Montpel-  
lier.* The King granted an Edict to the Bishop of Montpellier, (his Name was Fenouillet, and he was beholden to the Duke of Sully for his Preferment) whereof the Reformed Inhabitants of that City heavily complained. That Edict gave him, or confirmed unto him, the Right of making Regulations for the Government or Reformation of the University, of tendering the Oath to all those who were admitted into its Body, or who were provided of some Office in it; and generally of authorising and giving Sanction to all its Acts. The Reformed, who were the far

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 607

fair to be of greater Consequence than they had <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> imagined at first. <sup>1613.</sup>

This Year affords us several Occurrences <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> well deserving our Attention; the Broils of the ~~Court~~ <sup>1614.</sup> Court, the Consequences thereof, the National Synod of *Tonneins*, the King's Majority declared in Parliament, the Assembly of the States-General opened at *Paris*, are the principal Events which I shall summarily relate.

The Princes were then very much dissatisfied <sup>The Prince of Condé,</sup> with the Ministry, and that with some reason. <sup>with his Adherents,</sup> The extraordinary Favours which the Queen <sup>absent from Court.</sup> continually heaped upon the Marquis *D'Ancre*, <sup>of</sup> an *Italian* of little Worth, of obscure Birth, and who could not so much as speak *French*, and his Wife *Galigai*, went so far that every body murmured at it; the Princes having no share in the Affairs, and these Foreigners alone governing at their own pleasure. The Prince of *Condé*, the Dukes of *Vendôme*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, Son to the famous Head of the *League*, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Piney Luxembourg*, with some others, made a League together against the Favourite. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was the hottest of them all, and the Manager of the said Union. He had entertained great Hopes of Preferment by his base Complaisance to the Court, and by shamefully betraying the Interest of the Reformed, and was deeply affected by the Disappointment he met with: for he was neglected by the Queen, whether it were that she observed that his Interest in the Reformed Party was far less than he bragg'd of, having been obliged to grant several things, at several times, which, at his Investigation, she had refused to the Assembly of *Saumur*; or that she dreaded the restless Spirit of that Lord, and did not care to entrust him with the Management.

Lewis 13. Management of any Affair of too great Importance. Howbeit, *Bouillon* found no better  
1614. Means to shew his Resentment, than by engaging  
Pope Paul V. the Prince of *Condé* and the other great Lords  
above-named to form a Party against the Court. They all separated, each going a different Way, and appointed their *Rendezvous* at *Fismes* in *Champaign*, a Place not far from *Sedan*, and very conveniently situated, either to receive foreign Succours, in case they could obtain any, or to fly out of the Kingdom, if they were reduced to that Extremity. The Duke of *Vendôme* having been arrested at *Paris* and confined in the *Louvre*, could not follow them; but he found means to make his escape a few days after, and went into *Britanny*. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was the last who set out from *Paris*, and went to join the Confederates; he was cunning enough to make the Court believe that he was going to engage the Prince to come to a Reconciliation, when, on the contrary, he was the Man that hindered him from listening to any Treaty 'till he could find his own private

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 609

Nothing new was contained in it besides what other Ring-leaders in a State-Party, who seek nothing else but to subvert every thing in a Government, that they may fish in troubled Waters, in order to gratify their Ambition, or their Avarice, are used to say. The Show of an extraordinary Zeal for the publick Good ; and in order to be deemed sincere and disinterested, an Offer to resign his Pensions and other Gratuities into the King's hands, as soon as the States-General shall be assembled and in a Condition to act freely. In a word, if the *METEMPSYCOSIS* was a Truth to be believed, one would easily think, on reading this Manifesto, that the Soul of some of those honest *Grecians*, or *Romans*, of old times, nay the very Soul of *Henry of Condé*, who went for his Father, animated the Body of the Son. But if his Words shew'd forth the Hero, his Actions betrayed the selfish, base interested Man. His Complaints against the Government were but too well grounded : The vast Treasures of the Exchequer had been most prodigally squandered away ; the first Dignities and Employments bestowed upon the most unworthy People, most of them of the worst Character ; the State-Ministers bore the sway in every thing to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood ; very little Regard was paid to the Princes, to the Peers of the Realm, to the great Officers of the Crown ; the Parliaments met with Obstructions in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction ; the Nobility was ruined ; the Offices of Judicature were sold at an extravagant Price ; the People groaned under Oppression ; a Neglect of calling the States-General ; a strange Hurry in concluding the King's Marriage before his Majority ; the Non-Performance and even the Violation of the

... than the Queen' some others, such as the wasting fury, the bestowing of Places upo Subjects, &c. had been occasioned by Prince's own Greediness; so that it was very difficult for the Queen to justify to several of the Charges which concerned her Administration, as she did indeed, answer, which was likewise a kind of

The Prince wrote also upon the picks to the Parliament of Paris, others, to the Governours of Provinces, to several Princes, Officers of the King, other Lords of the first Quality; but very little Purpose, for the Parliament refused to open his Letters, and sent the Queen herself. *Le Vaffor's* [upon this Subject are quite misplaced, King's Minority being so near at an end, the States-General to be summoned, where it was to be supposed that the reparation of the Government would be upon a better footing; the Parliament in its Duty not

Book VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 611

and to delay the Ceremony of the King's Marriage 'till after the Sessions of the said States ; these were two of the three Things whereupon Lewis 13.  
1614. Pope Paul V. *Condé* had insisted : the third was almost impracticable, to wit, that none but Persons of known Probity should be admitted to wait upon the King's Person ; for how could that be done in such a degenerate Age ?

Though the Queen took, from the Beginning, *She prepares to open* the Way of Negotiation, to bring Matters to *pose the Prince.* an Accommodation, nevertheless, it was thought proper in the King's Council, to make necessary Preparations to be ready at all Even's ; accordingly, Colonel *Galatis* was sent into *Switzerland* to raise six thousand Men ; and whereas the Duke of *Roban* was, by the late King's Appointment, Colonel-General of the *Switzers* in the Crown's Pay, and that the Queen mistrusted him, she found Means to engage him to resign that Place of his own accord, and to accept in lieu thereof a round Sum of Money, which *Baffompierre* (who succeeded him by the Queen's Favour) took care to have him paid out of hand \*.

Now the better to engage the Prince and the *The Prince* Lords of his Party to enter into that Quarrel, *scilicet the Reformed.* the Marshal of *Bouillon* had been so forward as

\* The Reverend Mr. *Benoit* mistakes much the Case, when he says, that the Queen resolved to deprive the Duke of his Charge, and that the Duke resigned of his own accord, lest he should be forced to do it without reaping any Advantage. The Queen was too good a Politician to afford the Reformed any Pretence to declare themselves for the Prince. The truth is, that the Duke himself was very glad of having an Opportunity of disposing advantageously of a Charge, which, in certain Circumstances like this, obliged him to attend the Court. He wanted Money to put himself in a Condition of executing the Design he had to head the discontented Reformed, whenever the Occasion should offer itself.

racter of the Chief; so tha  
difficult for *Du Plessis* to dissu  
Nevertheless, the Prince was  
so well persuaded of the favor  
of the *Huguenots* towards him  
which he wrote to their Gen  
*Paris*, he extolled to the Sl  
for them, which had prompt  
care of their Concerns in his N

*But in  
vain.*

But the wise *Du Plessis* had  
with him, and had fore-warn  
how the Reformed ought to be  
on this Occasion. He said, ve  
that Subject, reflecting upon th  
the Prince had taken from  
*That a Man who bats as be con  
House, is not in a capacity to gi  
one who begins a Law-Suit by  
readily accept of a Rule.* Whi  
the Prince's Manifesto, he was a  
nion with Mr. *Vander Myle*,  
the States to the Court of France  
not imagine from whence proce  
rity of the Prince of Con... .

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 613

'espett, the Steps of their Ancestors. So that Lewis 13.  
't will be always in the Pope's power to reconcile <sup>1614.</sup> Pope Paul  
ibem together whenever he will; in which case, V.  
having too rashly shewed forth our Intentions, we ~~shall~~  
shall afford them a Pretence of questioning our Fi-  
delity, so many times approved by the late King.  
The Pope and his Followers will have occasion to  
render us odious to their Majesties. But on the  
contrary, if, during these Troubles, we do shew  
forth that we are unwilling to take advantage of  
them, we shall force even our Enemies to confess,  
as they have done heretofore, that the Reformed  
have helped to save the State. (p.)

The Marquis of Villarnoux was come to visit  
his Father-in-law Du Plessis, at the first Rumour  
of the Prince of Condé's Motion. He dispatched  
him back to Paris with Instructions for the  
General Deputies, tending to this Effect; that  
the Reformed Churches ought not to draw  
upon themselves the Reproach of having stirred  
on any other account besides the obtaining Li-  
berty of Conscience; or else that it would be  
to betray the good Cause, did they mix with it  
some other Concerns purely civil; and that the  
Reformed, considered as such, ought not to  
concern themselves with the Reformation of the  
State. 'Tbo', adds he, *we should think ourselves  
obliged, considered as French-men, to join with  
them for obtaining such a Reformation, never-  
theless, the time is not proper now. Very likely  
the Prince's Scheme will not take place. His  
Retreat from Court will be looked upon as a piece  
of his Inconstancy, or as a Design of embroiling  
the State. The Queen will very easily break*

S 2 through

(p) Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. III. ad Annum  
1614. N. B. Le Vassor has mistaken the Letter of  
Vander Myle to Du Plessis for a Letter of this last to the  
King.

Lewis 13. through all their Measures, promising to convene  
<sup>1614.</sup> the General States, and to delay the King's Mar-  
Pope Paul V. riage. What do they mean by throwing them-  
selves into a Corner of the Kingdom, as they  
have done? People whom the King may attack  
without making any diversion of his Forces, will  
be soon obliged to call upon his Clemency. The  
Event fully justified the Exactness of Du  
Plessis's Reasoning; Condé himself would not  
have got off so advantageously, had not the  
Marshal D'Ancre been afraid lest he should be  
overpower'd by the Duke of Guise, should the  
Command of the Army be trusted unto him.

When the Marshal of Bouillon had joined  
the Prince in Champaign, he advised him to  
depute some Gentlemen of his Household to the  
Chiefs of the Reformed, to induce them to  
take up Arms. Condé and Bouillon had each  
of them their own private View. The first  
was in hopes to treat more advantageously with  
the Regent, if the Reformed shewed themselves  
ready to declare for him. The other thought

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 615

to his wonted Prudence and Sagacity, and let Lewis 13.  
him know, “ That the best Cities of the King-<sup>1614.</sup> Pope Paul  
“ dom dreaded so much a Civil War, that they V.  
“ would never declare for him : That he even  
“ undertook to reform some Abuses, in the  
“ Forbearance whereof the Cities were con-  
“ cerned : That those who made him believe  
“ that the *Reformed* would stir in his Behalf,  
“ did not know them, or had a mind to de-  
“ ceive his Highness ; they did offer him People  
“ which were not at their disposal. *We do*, says  
“ he, *complain of some Grievances, that is true* ;  
“ *nevertheless we shall keep our Peace as long*  
“ *as the Edicts shall be maintained. The foreign*  
“ *Powers allied with this Crown shall not ap-*  
“ *prove the Prince's Motion. FRANCE is the*  
“ *only Power able to oppose the Greatness of the*  
“ *SPANISH Monarchy. If the Kingdom falls*  
“ *into a Civil War, who shall be able to thwart*  
“ *the ambitious Projects of the House of Au-*  
“ *STRIA?* ”

Such were the Sentiments of *Du Plessis*. But the Duke of *Rohan* was not of such strict Principles in Policy. The Prince's Agent was better entertained at *St. John*, than he had been at *Saumur*. The Duke gave him a favourable Audience ; but, mistrusting the Marshal of *Bouillon*, he was somewhat reserved, and would not enter into any Engagement without having sent previously a Gentleman to the Prince, in order to know better what were the real Sentiments of his Highness, and the Lords his Adherents.

When *Du Plessis* understood that the Duke was about treating with the Prince, he said, *Monsieur De Rohan don't consider that he will pacify all Troubles, by designing to take share in them. The Queen will more easily give satisfaction*

... out that his Master offered a  
and eight thousand Foot. The  
Court, which was already in g  
was instantly concluded and sig  
*necoud in Champaign, on the 15*  
*Queen promised to convene th*  
hand, to delay the double M  
Conclusion of the said States,  
the Army. The Prince of  
Castle of *Amboise* till the sitting  
States ; the Marshal of *Bouillon* re  
Sum of Money : Every other Lo  
in the same proportion. The Du  
was the only Loser in that barga  
and the other Places in *Britanny*,  
fortified of late, were to be distr  
he could be restored to his Gover  
other Charges. He made very  
plaints against the Prince of *Con*  
so much neglected his Concerns  
with the Court : He refused to i  
he saw the King and the Queen I  
the Field in order to force him to  
was done about the tenth of *July*.

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 617

gain to raise some new Broils before the holding Lewis 13  
of the States ; but not having taken better Pope Paul  
measures than before, he was forced to submit<sup>1614.</sup> V.  
(r).

During the Broils above-mentioned, was held The 21st  
the 21st National Synod of the Reformed National  
Churches in France, at Tonneins in Lower Synod.  
*Guienne.* The Reverend Dr. John Gigord,  
Minister of the Church of Montpellier, and Pro-  
fessor in Divinity in its Academy, was chosen  
Moderator ; and the Reverend John Gardeſi,  
Minister of the Church of Mauveſin, Aſſessor ;  
and the Reverend Andrew Rivet, Minister of  
Thouars, Secretary. They began their Sessions  
on the 2d of May. Several things of moment  
passed in this Assembly, which I shall relate as  
briefly as possible.

First, They are much to be commended for  
yielding to the prudent Advice of the judicious  
and pious *Du Plessis*, not to meddle themselves  
with any Affair of a political nature. To under-  
stand this, it must be observed, that the Duke  
of Roban had attempted to have a general po-  
litical Assembly of the Reformed, held at  
Tonneins, at the same time with the Synod ;  
for which purpose he had directed the private  
Council of Lower Guienne, to summon the Ge-  
neral Assembly for the 1st of May at the said  
place, in order to consider about their general  
Concerns, and even what Party they ought to  
take in the present juncture ; which Letters  
were accordingly directed to the several Pro-  
vinces of the Kingdom, by that of the Lower  
Guienne. They designed to corroborate the  
Resolutions, taken in this political Assembly,  
with those taken in the Ecclesiastical, question-  
ing not but that they would agree together,

S 1 4

But

(r) ·Eidem Ibid.

Lewis 13. But *Du Plessis*, who could not endure to see the  
1614. Pope Paul Reformed Churches represented by a National  
V. Synod, interfering in those matters merely po-  
political, took the opportunity of the Provincial  
Synod of *Anjou*, then sitting at *Saumur*, to re-  
monstrate that the above-said Convocation was  
unlawful, without Authority, and contrary to  
their Constitution, and plunging the Churches  
into the greatest Difficulties. He argued the  
point with such strength of Reasons, that he  
made them all sensible of the Danger, and they  
resolved not to send any Deputies to the said  
Assembly, if it took place. Furthermore, they  
charged their Deputies to the National Synod  
with very strong Remonstrances, drawn up for  
the purpose by *Du Plessis* himself; beside  
which, he wrote upon the same Subject unto  
several Provinces: so that that Design was de-  
feated, and the Council of *Low Guienne* was  
called to account for their Conduct in the Sy-  
nod, and very nearly escaped the Censure. But  
for all that the Church of *Pujols* in *Agenois*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 619

other with heretical Opinions concerning the Lewis 13.  
Mystery of the hypostatical Union of Christ's <sup>1614.</sup> Pope Paul  
human Nature with his divine Person. The V.  
Dispute had been carried on with so much           
Heat and Animosity for two or three Years,  
to the great Scandal of the Weak, and the De-  
light of the Enemies of the Reformed, that  
indeed it was high time to put an end to it.  
Therefore the Synod taking that Matter into  
their consideration, thought proper to refer it  
to the Decision of the Lord *Du Plessis*, and  
charged him with the Care to reconcile them ;  
which he did effectually, having appointed them  
to meet at *Saumur*, on the 8th of October. And  
here I can't refrain from admiring the exten-  
sive good Character of that Lord, nor from  
gladly subscribing *Le Vaffor's* Encomium of  
him. Let one read over and over the History  
of the World ancient and modern, I don't  
know whether another Gentleman like this  
could be met with, equally well read in the  
Sciences and experienced in the Busines of the  
World ; he defends his Religion, and discusses  
the most arduous Points of Divinity ; he main-  
tains the Reformed Churches by his Prudence ;  
he negotiates the most intricate Affairs ; he  
gives wholesome Advices to the Ministers of  
State, to Princes and Kings, who receive them  
with pleasure.

Thirdly, An Account was given unto them of  
the means that had been used to reconcile the  
Lords, and they received Letters from the  
Dukes of *Rohan*, *Sully*, &c. and from *Du Plessis*,  
whereby they desired the Synod to acquaint the  
Provinces with their good Intentions, and their  
Zeal for the Service of the Churches. The  
Mayor of *Bergerac* having declared in the  
Name of that Church and Town, that it never

Lewis 13. was their intention to depart from the Union  
1614. of the Churches, or to procure their own pri-  
*Pope Paul V.* vate Good to the prejudice of the Publick, &  
the Censure of the late National Synod of  
Privaz insinuated it, and disavowing the  
Brief of 1500 Livres, which the King had  
granted them for the Maintenance of their Col-  
lege, to be taken out of the 15000 Crowns of  
Augmentation, which his Majesty had allowed  
to the Churches ; the Synod granted them  
1200*l.* This Husbandry was very necessary,  
because the Funds were wanting every where  
for the Payment of the Ministers ; so that se-  
veral of them were reduced to great straits,  
whereby they were rendred uncapable of per-  
forming the Duties of their Office, and were  
more tempted to be seduced by the Court's  
Bribes, or grew despicable for their Poverty.  
The Sum of 15,000 Crowns granted by Lewis  
XIII. was not sufficient for relieving all their  
Wants, because of the too many occasions the  
Synod had for that Money, to lay it out to o-

, therefore the Synod ordered the General to insist upon it ; but, notwithstanding their Instances, they could never obtain satisfaction. The General Deputies obtained leave to hold a political Assembly ; time and the place being not of their own choosing, they charged the said Deputies to insist that they changed. We shall see in a more particular place what success they had.

By, We may gather from the Acts of the Synod, that there were Churches established by the Dispositions of the Edicts, of the Settlement was not as yet made, of the Oppositions of the Catholicks, if it were upon the account of the Positions those that were to be Members of these Churches, or on account of the Negligence of those that were charged with the Care of purifying the said Settlement ? However, some of them were in *Auvergne*, and *Iffoire* was one of them. They had for a long time pursued their Affair at Court, but without Success. , being informed of their deplorable

622      *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. had suffered so great an Alteration in their con-  
<sup>1614.</sup> dition since that time, having been most vio-  
*Pope Paul V.* lently persecuted, that they deserved the Pity  
and Charity of their Brethren ; nevertheless, the  
Circumstances of the Synod were so narrow,  
that for the present they could do nothing bet-  
ter for them, than recommend their Case to  
the General Deputies, and intercede with his  
Majesty that he would be their Mediator with  
the *Pope*, to obtain some rest and quietness for  
them.

The Reformed of *Gex*, were severely cen-  
sured, because refusing to submit to the Regu-  
lation of the provincial Synod of *Burgundy*, of  
which that Bayliwick was a Dependency, they  
had applied themselves to the King's Council  
for a Redress of a pretended Wrong done to  
them by the said Synod, in that they had ad-  
judged them for their College but 60 *Livres*.  
Their Proceeding was dangerous, both as to the  
Example, which authorised those who were not  
content to appeal from the Judgments given

of the Condition which was annexed unto it, Lewis 13.  
to wit, That they should submit to the Deci-<sup>1614.</sup>  
sions of the Synods that should be held in the <sup>Pope Paul</sup>  
Kingdom of France; which Condition, had <sup>V.</sup>  
they accepted, might prejudice their own Pri-  
vileges, which entitled them to have all their  
Cases examined and tried by their own natural  
Judges in their own Country. The City of  
*Metz* enjoyed a much like Privilege; for which  
cause the Church of that City hold no other  
Communion but of Doctrine with the Churches  
of France.

Sixtly, The Oath of Union was renewed in  
that Assembly with the usual Forms of Obe-  
dience and Fealty to the King, THE KINGDOM  
OF GOD REMAINING WHOLE. The Deputies  
promised to have it ratified by their respective  
Provinces. They answer'd the Letters they  
had received from *H. B. M.* and sent him at  
his request a Scheme for reuniting into the same  
Confession of Faith all the Protestant Churches  
of Europe, of what Denomination soever, *An-*  
*glican, Presbyterian, Lutheran, Zwinglian, Cal-*  
*vinian*; which Scheme for its Simplicity, Per-  
spicuity, Prudence and Charitableness cannot be  
sufficiently commended. They had received a  
Letter from the Church and Academy of *Ge-*  
*neva*, wherein the Authors took occasion from  
the Apostacy of *Jeremias Ferrier*, to exhort the  
Synod not to suffer any longer the Ministers to  
intermeddle with Civil Affairs, and consequent-  
ly to assist in political Assemblies, or accept to  
be deputed to Court or elsewhere upon these  
Accounts, unless in cases of the most urgent  
Necessity; and then, say they, let them la-  
ment with the Spouse in the Canticles, that they  
have been made Keepers of other Vineyards,  
but their own Vineyard they have not kept.

They

624. *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. They drew up a Memoir of the Grievances  
1614. the Churches groaned under, and of the several  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> Bills that were to be presented to the Provincial Assemblies for their Examination, and by them brought unto the National Political Assembly, and recommended to their Consideration by all the Provinces; and particularly to the special Care of the General Deputies, till the National Assembly should meet. They wrote likewise to the King and the Queen Regent, insisting upon some other place than *Grenoble* for their political Assembly, and upon the Redress of their manifold Grievances.

*Some Account of Ferrier.* Lastly, The Affair of the Reverend *Jeremiah Ferrier*, Minister at *Nimes*, and Professor in Divinity in their Academy, came under the Synod's consideration. He was the same, who, eleven or twelve Years before, had so rashly asserted in some publick Theses, that *Clement VIII.* the Pope then sitting was the Antichrist foretold by *St. Paul* and *St. John*; and who had engaged the Synods of *Gap*, *Rochelle*, and

y adhered, thought to find better his In-  
s in the Court-Party. He was one of  
Deputies named by the said Assembly to  
their Bills of Grievances to Court, where  
gan those Intrigues, which exposed him  
wards to shame, and obliged him to re-  
ce a Religion and a Church, the Discipline  
of was so much contrary and averse to his  
ed Principles. The Party he had taken  
umur, had made him odious in his Pro-  
, and to one part of his Church at *Nimes*.  
as sensible that he should be prosecuted  
e next National Synod. The Disposition  
ein he found the Provincial one of *Lou-  
uedoc* gave him just room for suspecting  
he would be exposed to some shameful  
ure. But the means he used to prevent it,  
d only to render it unavoidable. He took  
al suspicious Journeys to Court, without  
Consent of his own Church. The Mini-  
of Paris, who looked upon him as a dan-  
is Man, used their utmost endeavours to  
n. They thought to flatter his Am-

626      *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. nisters of that Capital were Men whose Inte-  
<sup>1614</sup> Pope Paul V. grity was equal to their vast Learning and Ca-  
pacity, who having a watchful Eye over his  
Actions and Deportment, would perhaps have  
prevented his utter Ruin. At first he accepted  
the Offers, and submitted himself to the Cen-  
sure passed against his Conduct with great  
marks of Repentance. He confessed all; he  
condemned himself; he wept. But after hav-  
ing promised, he broke his word in a very un-  
handsome manner, and without the least Pro-  
vocation; nay, without so much as taking  
his leave of the Ministers of that Church, who  
had been so kind and so tender to him, he set  
out for Nimes.

The National Synod of *Privaz* took all this  
into their consideration. The Reverend Mr.  
*Da Moulin*, who had been an Eye-witness, gave  
a particular Account of his Misbehaviour. Se-  
veral other things were laid to his charge;  
such as Neglect of Duty as Professor in Divi-  
nity, the preaching of unsound Doctrine, the  
embezzling of the Monies entrusted with him

nisters Deputies were severely rebuked  
And left the Magistrate of *Nimes*, who  
had *Ferrier*, should attempt to restore  
the Church of that City, notwithstanding  
the Synod's Orders, it was enacted, That  
actually suspended from that very Mi-  
nister he did not instantly submit to the Sy-  
nod. Nevertheless, as they had no mind to  
sentence him, as the Synod had presented  
*Ferrier* to the Church and Academy of  
*Nimes*, they sent *Ferrier* to *Montelimar* in  
1612. That happened in 1612.

that Indulgence of the Synod did not  
touch the Man's Heart ; for not being satisfied  
with the Church of *Montelimar*, he resolved to  
see whether the Court would assist him in order  
to be restored, or give him some Recompence  
for what he had lost for their sake. He obtained  
the Chancellor's Place in the Presidial See of  
*Montelimar*, having received his Patent, he re-  
sumed his Clerical Functions. When he arrived at  
his new Residence, he endeavoured to oppose him ;

Lewis 13. the Prefidial could not delay his Reception ; :  
1614. that he was admitted notwithstanding these Of  
*Pope Paul* positions : Whereupon, after several Consult  
V. tions with the Ministers and Elders of the neigl  
bouring Churches, the Confisfory of Ni  
thundered a dreadful Excommunication again  
him from the Pulpit, on the 14th Day of Ju  
1613, which was a Sunday. But *Ferrier*, in o  
der to brave the Confisfory with more Haught  
ness, went to the Palace, being preceded by th  
Provost and his Men. As he came back, he  
was attacked by little Boys, who threw Pieces  
Gourds, and railed at him ; then some of th  
Rabble joined with them without Arms. *Ferrie*  
finding himself so closely pursued, retired to  
Magistrate's House which was in his way. Son  
time after somebody cried out of the Windows  
the said House, that some of them would be han  
ged for it: That Threatning exasperated the Peop  
instead of frightening them. However, they  
had so much Consideration in their Fury, as n  
to confound others with *Ferrier* ; and, to sho  
that they only aimed at him, they let loose

ditious having been imprisoned to frighten the Lewis 13  
rest, they were rescued with main Force.

In the mean time the Consuls placed Guards <sup>1614</sup> <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> at the Gates, and in divers Parts of the City, in pretence of dreading a Surprize from a road, but really to let *Ferrier* escape undiscovered; which could not be effected till the third Day, when he was let out of the City in the Night-time, and brought safe to *Beaucaire*, under a strong Guard of the Constable, Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governour of the Province. A Corps de Guard was placed in his House for the security of his Wife, who was ready to lie-in; but eight or nine Days after, she also left the City by her Husband's Order; she fell in Labour by the way, and was delivered between *Nimes* and *Beaucaire*, which are but three Engues distant from each other. This Sedition had no other Consequence, than the trans-  
~~ing~~ <sup>ing</sup> of the Presidial See of *Nimes* to *Beaucaire*. <sup>and</sup> the City having satisfied the Court by a ready Obedience, and other considerable Cities, <sup>gether</sup> with *Du Plessis*, having joined their Interests to theirs in order to obtain the Revocation of that Decree, they obtained it easily.

The National Synod of *Tonneins* confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication passed against him at *Nimes* the Year before, and inserted him in the Roll of the deposed and apostate Ministers. He was a tall Man, wore black and curled hair, of an Olive-greenish Complexion, with wide open Nostrils, great Lips, and about thirty-eight Years old. He lived a long while after that miserable Catastrophe; and the Court, where he was favoured by the *Jesuits*, honoured him at last with a Place of Counsellor of State. He persisted to the last in the *Roman Religion*.

Lewis 13. The Synod having sat for above a Month,  
<sup>1614.</sup> Pope Paul ended their Sessions on the 3d of June in the  
V. Evening, after having enacted, that if there was  
any Difficulty about the meeting of the next Synod in the Principality of *Bearn*, the Churches thereof shall, within the space of a Year, send notice to the Province of *Britany*, to which belongs the Right of calling the next Synod in the City of *Vitré*, and no where else; and this at the end of two Years, and about *May*: Provided, that it may be hastened or deferred, as the General Deputies and the neighbouring Provinces do think fit (t).

Suarez's *Book bran-  
ded by the  
Parlia-  
ment of Pa-  
ris.* During the Sessions of the Synod, the Parliament of Paris took Cognizance of a wicked Book, published by the Jesuit *SUAREZ*, with this Title, *A Defence of the Catholick and Apostolick Faith against the Errors of the Sect of England*; where the devilish Doctrine of murdering Kings was plainly asserted. The Attorney-General judged that Book so dangerous, that he thought himself obliged to pursue the Condemnation thereof. Accordingly, on the

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 631

on the 4th of June, not only in the Schools of Lewis 13.  
Sorbonne, but even in those of the College of <sup>1614.</sup> Clermont, and of the Mendicant Fryars, belonging to those GOOD HOLY FATHERS. Pope Paul V.

But the greatest Mortification of all was, that the Parliament decreed, that the Fathers Armand Rector, Cotton the late King's Confessor, Fron-ton le Duc, and Sirmond, both very conspicuous for Learning, should appear the next Day before them. When they made their Appearance, the first President told them, that the Book of Suarez their Fellow was contrary to the Declaration by them delivered, and to the Decree enacted by their General in 1610. Then they were enjoined to write to Rome for requiring the renewing and the publishing of the same Decree, and to bring forth a Deed thereof in six Months: Furthermore, to take care lest any private Member of their Society should teach no more in their Books *so damnable and pernicious Propositions*: Lastly, to preach publickly a Doctrine quite contrary to Suarez, or else the Parliament should proceed against the Offenders, as guilty of High Treason, and Disturbers of the publick Peace.

When the Pope, Paul V. by whose Orders <sup>The Pope</sup> the Book had been composed and published, exasperated at it. heard of this Censure, he sent the Bishop of Foligni to the Marquis of Trenel, Embassador of France at Rome, to make Complaints of the Attempt of the Magistrates of France, who, by their Decree, struck at the Privileges and Rights of the Holy See. The Bishop expatiated himself with much Warmth upon that Subject, and expostulated with the Embassador in a manner which shewed only the proud Temper of his haughty Master. He desired the Marquis to inform the Queen Regent of the Pope's high Displeasure against the Parliament, and that he

Lewis 13. required that her Majesty should abroga  
<sup>1614.</sup> Decree.

Pope Paul V. Some time after, the French Embassa  
ing admitted to the Pope's Audience, he  
voured to mollify him, and represente  
him the Impossibility of his Demand,  
dering the Circumstances of Times ; and  
dertook to justify the Proceedings of the  
ment. But the fiery old Man would I  
to no Reason, and carried his Arrogance  
as to threaten the Parliament with an I  
munication. At last, after several Conf  
between the Cardinals of Joyeuse, *La Ro  
cault*, *Du Perron*, and *Ubaldini* the Pope  
cio at Paris, Lewis XIII. declared in his  
cil, That his Intention was, that the Ex  
of the said Decree should cause no preju  
the lawful Authority of the Pope, nor t  
Privileges of the Holy See, which had I  
ways acknowledged by his Predecessors.  
*Ubaldini* heard the reading of the said I  
tion, he found fault with what was su

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 633

Hereticks, and even deposing them, when they are Lewis 13.  
obstinate in their wicked Opinions, and when they <sup>1614.</sup> Pope Paul  
undertake to force their Subjects to follow them. V.

HAD NOT JESUS CHRIST GIVEN SUCH A   
POWER TO ST. PETER AND HIS SUCCESS-  
SORS, HE SHOULD HAVE FORGOTTEN TO  
PROVIDE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF HIS  
CHURCH. God forbid that I should render my-  
self guilty of such a base Prevarication, by for-  
saking the Defence of the Rights of St. Peter's  
Chair, wherunto God hath raised me. None  
but base and wicked Prostitutes to the Court of  
Rome can read this without the utmost Indig-  
nation, and yet it is not the worst of what he  
said on this account ; for at another time he had  
told the Marquis of Trenel, that he had forbid-  
den to teach the Doctrine of murdering Kings ;  
and I don't know, says he, whether I HAVE NOT  
BEEN TOO COMPLAISANT IN THAT RE-  
SPECT : For several Writers of Reputation in  
the Church, and approved by it, assert that Doc-  
trine to be true. However, the Court of France  
basely yielded, and it was with much ado that  
the Queen Regent obtained, after many Intrea-  
ties, that the Execution of the Parliament's De-  
cree should be only superseded, and not abro-  
gated \*.

During these Struggles it was that the King *The Count's Journey*  
and his Mother took the field, not only for *into Bri-*  
reducing the Duke of Vendome, but also for *tany.*  
discrediting the false Rumour which had been  
industriously spread abroad in the Provinces, of  
the King's bad State of Health, as if he was in  
a dying Condition. A better Success could not  
be wished for than that which their Majesties  
had in their Journies : They were received every  
T t 4 where

\* Memoir. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I.  
Mezray, Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I.

cautionary Places; they have  
pleased to grant them unto us,  
the Hatred of our sworn Enemy  
his Majesty is pleased to banish  
us, we need not any other  
Presence itself.

He had had a few Days before  
ances with the Queen about the  
tion of Affairs; and whereas there  
some Uneasiness concerning the  
endeavoured to dissuade her from  
tering into a civil War. " No  
" weakens more the Sovereign's  
" veral times I have heard the la  
" that he had been truly King,  
" civil Wars ended. Whatever  
" to your Majesty against the  
" persuaded, MADAM, that you  
" ter or more faithful Subjects, to  
" obey out of Principle of their own  
" At least we have this Advantage  
" Adversaries, that we do acknowledge  
" ther superior Power between  
" Majesty. The fundamental

## BOOK VII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 635

“ Men of our Religion. We know these merce- Lewis 13.  
“ nary Souls; your Majesty is deceived when 1614.  
“ they make you believe that they are useful to Pope Paul  
“ your Service. I will show her an infallible v.  
“ Way to get, at a very little Expence, all the  
“ Reformed Party at your Devotion. It is to  
“ order that what has been promised unto us  
“ should be speedily executed, that our Grievances  
“ should be redressed; to explain a little more fa-  
“ vorably what is ambiguous in the Edicts;  
“ to grant us certain things which may secure  
“ the Peace of our Churches, without any Pre-  
“ judice to the Catholicks. The unfeigned and  
“ fervent Zeal which I have vowed to the  
“ Service of his Majesty, obliges me to speak  
“ against my own Concerns. Do but follow  
“ the Method I have just now touched, and  
“ you shall deprive us of our Charges and  
“ Pensions whenever you please. Our Churches,  
“ easy under the Protection of his Majesty, will  
“ never take part or concern themselves either  
“ for me, or for any Lord of the Realm (v).”

Such were the Sentiments of that truly Christian Hero; there is in them so much Candour, Probity and Loyalty, as well as good Sense, that the Reader will not take amiss my offering them to his Consideration.

From Saumur the Court went on their Journey to Nantz. The Duke of Vendôme, seeing their Majesties in earnest, had submitted. The States of Britany were held at Nantz; and the Queen having restored Peace in that Province, and wherever she passed, returned in Triumph to Paris. The Prince of Conty, youngest Son to Lewis of Condé murdered at Jarnac, was dead during that Journey; but his Loss was so inconsiderable, that no body lamented it, not even his own Consort.

On

(v) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Liv. III.

636 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. On the second of October His Majesty went  
1614. to his Parliament, all the Chambers being as-  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup>sembled, and sitting upon his Throne declared,  
that having begun the 14th Year of his Age,  
*The King's* he was no longer a Minor; but that how-  
*Majority.* ever he willeth, that the Queen his Mother  
should hold the Reins of the Government as  
heretofore. The first Act of his Majority was  
a Declaration registered the same day, wherein,  
amongst other things, he confirmed and ra-  
tified the Edict of Nantz in all its Articles, all  
the Regulations made, all the Decrees given,  
and whatever had been granted since that time,  
either for explaining, or executing the said Edict,  
**WHICH HE WOULD INVOLABLY KEEP (2).**

How could Lewis XIV. affirm in the Pre-  
amble of his revocatory Edicts that neither his  
Father, nor his Grandfather, never had Inten-  
tion to keep the said Edict, or to have it sub-  
sisting, when they had promised so many times  
to maintain it exactly, **AS A PERPETUAL  
AND IRREVOCABLE LAW?** Let us tell the  
truth. Lewis XIV. having no Notion of Truth

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 637

and without the Kingdom, and the State and Lewis 13. Condition wherein Affairs were then. Af-<sup>1614.</sup> ter him the Foreman of each of the States <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> harangued their Majesties in their turn; *viz.* the Archbishop of Lyons for the Clergy, the Baron of Pont St. Pierre, for the Nobility, and Mr. Miron, Provost of the Merchants of Paris for the Commons. They thank'd their Majesties for having convened them; they praised the Queen for her prudent and happy Administration, and assured the King of their Fealty and Allegiance. Then each State went into their proper Hall fitted up (on purpose for them) in Austin Fryers, wherein they assembled every day for considering and drawing up of their Bills. In these States we find the last Gasps of the dying Liberty in France, a Clergy prostituted to the Pope and the Court of Rome, a Nobility blindly and basely following the Directions of the Clergy; only the Commons strove to show forth some Life, but being not supported by either of the two others, their Endeavours proved ineffectual, and no Redress could be obtained for the many Grievances whereunder the Kingdom laboured. I don't design to enter into a particular Narration of the Transactions of this Assembly, any further than what directly or indirectly concerns the Reformed. And whereas their sittings were continued to the latter end of March next, I shall begin the Year 1615.

Amongst other Points which were debated with great Warmth, there were three or four which very well deserve the Attention of our Reader. The first is about the Reception of the Council of Trent. The Cardinals and the most distinguished Prelates of the Assembly being sold to the Court of Rome, were more careful

Lewis is ful to consult the Pope's Nuncio than the Ca-  
<sup>1615.</sup> nons of the ancient Councils: So that *Paul V.*  
*Pope Paul* who had found *Mary of Medicis* so comply-  
ing and submissive to the Holy See during the  
time of her Regency, questioned not but that  
the time was now very proper for obtaining  
the Publication of it in *France*, provided that  
the General States should be disposed to require  
it. The Court of *Rome* and the Clergy had  
oftentimes tried under the preceeding Reigns  
to obtain that, but without success, as we have  
observed in its proper Place; they did not suc-  
ceed better on this occasion. For though the  
Clergy, by their Clamours, had quite enslaved  
the Nobility, and that these two Orders were  
in a strict Union together, they met with a no-  
ble Resistance in the Commons. The generous  
*Miron*, Foreman of their Chamber, answered  
*Polier* Bishop of *Beauvais*, who had been sent  
to them by the Clergy to desire their Concur-  
rence with them for obtaining the Reception  
of the said Council, " That for sixty Years  
" together the Council of *Trent* had remained

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 639

" they are pleased to express for the increase of Lewis 13.

" the Catbolick Religion. We shall endeavour 1615.

" to answer and support their good Intention." Pope Paul V.

Miron could not answer more pertinently to a ~~mark~~

Set of Men, who have so much insisted upon the Publication of their Council, in order only the better to settle their Domineering in *France*, and to introduce the *Inquisition* therein. The Clergy tried once again to win the Commons to their Interests. The same Bishop with *Anthony de Caux*, Coadjutor of *Condom*, were deputed unto them, but they persisted in their first Resolution.

Secondly, But another Affair which made a great deal more noise, was an Article of the House of Commons concerning the Independency of Kings, whereunto they desired the Concurrency of the two other Houses. That Article runs thus : " That in order to put a stop to " that pernicious Doctrine which was spread-  
" ing itself for some years ago against Kings  
" and Sovereign Powers by God established,  
" his Majesty should be most humbly intreat-  
" ed, to order it to be published in the As-  
" sembly of the General States, as an inviola-  
" ble and fundamental Law of the Realm : that  
" the King being acknowledged as Sovereign  
" in *France*, and holding his Authority from  
" God only, there is no Power upon Earth,  
" either Spiritual or Temporal, who has a  
" Right of depriving him of his own King-  
" dom, or to dispense his Subjects, or to absolve  
" them for any Cause whatsoever of the Fealty  
" and Allegiance they owe unto him. That all  
" the Frenchmen without exception, shall hold  
" this Law as holy, true, and agreeable to the  
" Word of God, without any Distinction, E-  
" quivocation, or Limitation soever. That it  
" shall

“ nion, as well as that which all  
“ and murder the Sovereigns, a  
“ gainst them for any Cause so  
“ declared false, impious, detesta-  
“ trary to the Establishment of th  
“ *narchy*, which holds immedi-  
“ only. That all Books teaching  
“ trine, shall be considered as  
“ damnable. That all Foreigner  
“ tempt to assert it, shall be dee-  
“ to the Crown. That all the K  
“ who shall adopt it, of what F  
“ tition, and Quality soever, shall  
“ as Rebels, Infringers of the  
“ Laws of the Realm, and Guil-  
“ Treason. That if any Ecclesiast  
“ Foreigner should publish any  
“ taining Propositions, directly o  
“ contrary to that received Law  
“ fiasticks or Fryars Regnicoles o  
“ Orders, shall be bound to ref-  
“ Book without any Respect, and  
“ Sincerity possible, or else they v  
“ nished as Abettors of the Ene-

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 641

The Commons were not the only publick Body which required the same thing, on this Occasion. The Parliament of Paris, being informed of the shameful Prevarication of the Nobility and the Clergy, who basely sacrificed to the Pope, the Honour of their King and the fundamental Laws of the Realm, declared, at the pursuit of the Attorney General, SERVIN, " That being very credibly informed, that several Persons took the liberty to call in question these Maxims, from time out of mind received in France, and originally sprung out with the Crown, that the King don't acknowledge any other Superior, as to the Temporalities in his own Kingdom, besides God, and that no Power in the World hath Right of unbinding his Subjects from their Allegiance, or to suspend him, or deprive, or depose him of his Kingdom ; much less to attempt, or cause to be attempted, any thing, either by publick or private Authority upon the Sacred Persons of the Sovereigns : they ordered that all the Decrees and Ordinances heretofore published upon that Subject should be renewed, and published again in all the Tribunals of their Jurisdiction, in order to keep all the King's Subjects of what Rank and Quality soever fully certified of the Maxims and Rules above-mentioned, concerning the security of his Majesty's Life, and for the publick Peace and Tranquillity."

When the above-mentioned Article was proposed in the House of Commons, it was almost unanimously received with great Applause by the Deputies of the twelve ancient Governments of France. They had several good Reasons for it, but had they had only this, that two

Kings

642      *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. Kings had been consecutively murdered by mi-  
1615. serable Wretches seduced by the Doctrine of  
*Pope Paul* the Jesuits and other Writers, devoted to the  
v. Court of *Rome*; that would have been more  
than sufficient for justifying the Proceeding of  
that House.

The four Faculties of the University of *Paris*, who had petitioned for being admitted in the General States as a separate Body or Order, (which however they could not obtain, being too strongly opposed by the Clergy) were of the same Opinion with the Parliament; for though the Faculty of Divinity, (which was quite devoted to the Pope, since the injustice done to the good and honest Dr. *Ricber*, who some Years before had asserted the same Doctrine of the Independency of the Kings, and that the Pope was himself subject to the Councils, and for which he had been deprived of the Syndicate of the Faculty, protested by a solemn Deed, that she had no hand in the Bill proposed; though the Faculties of *Physick* and of *Law* declared, that they did not approve

I have no Words nor Expressions sufficient to represent the mad Pranks of the Clergy upon this Occasion, they were near to declare the Commons down-right *Huguenots*; and I don't know whether to admire more, the ignorant and shameful Stupidity of the Nobility, who, though they derive all their Grandeur from the Crown, were nevertheless so base as to join with the Clergy in a Petition to the King against the Commons, or the foolish Compliance of the King, who, at the instances of the Nobility and Clergy, and of the Prince of *Condé* himself, (who was so far concerned in the Defence of the House of Commons and of the Parliament) and by the Advice of his Mother, brought that Affair before him, and superseded the Execution of his Parliament's Decree. Nay, at a third instance of the Clergy, he was so forgetful of his own Dignity, as to oblige the Commons to let that Article drop from their general Bill. The Cardinals of *La Rochefoucault*, *Sourdis*, and *Du Perron*, were the Ringleaders in this Affair; the Impudence, especially of the two last, went beyond all Expression.

They did much honour to the Reformed, when in order to render the Proposition of the Commons more odious to the People, *Du Perron* affirmed in his Speech, that such a Doctrine, was the Doctrine of the *Huguenots*, and that the said Article had been broached at *Saumur*. Which occasioned a Letter from *Du Plessis* to their Majesties, dated the 16th of January; wherein he says, " That he was acquainted with the Discourses of the Clergy concerning him, as if he was the Author of the Article proposed by the Commons, whereby they wronged a considerable number of Men of Honour, who were in the same Sentiments. That as for himself, he would not deny that it had been always his Opinion,

644 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. " that betwixt God and the King, there wa  
1615. " no other Power who could order any thing t  
Pope Paul. " the Prejudice of the King's Authority. Tha  
V. " if that Doctrine was criminal, he would no  
" be ashamed to be charged with it, and ever  
" to suffer for it, after the Example of so many  
" good Men in all Ages. That he knew very  
" well, that if such things were denied in Spain,  
" it would cost the Honour, and even the  
" Life of the Opposer. That one ought not  
" to say, that the said Doctrine was new; that  
" they had lost two Kings in twenty Years  
" time through the Maxims contrary to that  
" Article, and therefore they wanted to take  
" better Cautions for preserving the third."

Being likewise acquainted with the Intention  
of the Clergy to oblige the King to perform  
his Coronation-Oath against Hereticks, without  
admitting any exception, as to the Reformed,  
he dispatched one of his Household, to repre-  
sent to her Majesty, of what Consequence it  
was to perform what she had promised to give  
*them satisfaction by the 10 of April about the*

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 645

not agreeable to the Court, and to hinder them Lewis 13. from inflicting too much upon things which it <sup>1615.</sup> Pope Paul did not approve. So then, since they had suffered that such Articles against the Reformed <sup>V.</sup> should be inserted in their Bills, the Reformed had very good reasons for suspecting that the Court was willing to set the Nobility and Clergy against them. "Or else, if the Court was seriously willing to keep the Edicts of Pacification, as they pretended, they were much concerned in hindering these two Bodies from making any such Petitions, and even in engaging them to make quite contrary ones, &c." The Chancellor was much puzzled at these Expostulations, and could not give, for the present, any satisfactory Answer.

Thirdly, During the Sessions of the States, there broke out a Sedition at Milbaud in Rouergue, on Christmas-Eve, in which Town the Reformed being the strongest, the Catholicks, and especially the Priests, were great Sufferers by it, for the first spared no manner of Violence or Indecency, against Things and Persons sacred, as well as others. There had already been such another Sedition in the same Place under the last Reign, which had remained unpunished, either for want of sufficient Proof, or for other Reasons. But the Clergy renewed their Complaints upon this new Accident, of which the Circumstances were aggravated, in order to have a better Reason to renew the first Complaints. They resolved to speak to the King about it, and invited the two other Houses to join their Deputies to theirs, which they promised to do. They went to the Louvre two days before the Dissolution of the States; the Archbishop of Lyons made a vehement Speech to the Queen Regent, the King

646 *History of the Reformation; and of the*

Lewis 13. being absent, upon that and some other Sub-  
jects. Her Majesty answered, that she had al-  
<sup>1615.</sup> ready nominated Commissaries to take cogni-  
zance of that Affair.

The Bishop of *Lisfon*, known hereafter by  
the Name and Title of Cardinal *de Richelieu*,  
made likewise a Speech against the Reformed,  
when he tendered to their Majesties the Bill of  
the Clergy ; he charged them with polluting  
holy Places by their prophane Burials ; and of  
enjoying Ecclesiastical Estates : He complained  
also of the Excesses committed at *Milbaud*, and  
required that Justice should be strictly done,  
but for not alarming the Reformed, he declar-  
ed, that he only meant such as were guilty,  
and that as for the rest, the Clergy thought no  
further on them, than for desiring their Con-  
version, and for promoting it by their *good Exam-*  
*ples, and wholesome Instructions, as well as by*  
*their fervent Prayers.* The Remainder of his  
Speech only related to the Grandeur of the  
Clergy, which he represented as an Affair of as

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 647

the same time, it would have been very hard Lewis 13.  
to do Justice to the one, and to deny it to the <sup>1615.</sup> other. Therefore for avoiding greater Incon-  
veniences, the Court thought proper to give ~~both~~  
<sup>Pope Paul</sup> both Parties general Promises, and to refer  
them to Judges that should take a particular  
Cognizance of the Matter of their Complaints. V.

Fourthly, In the mean time the Bills of the three Houses being ready, they were presented to their Majesties the 23d of February. From the beginning of the Reformation in *France*, the Clergy had spared neither Endeavours nor Money in order to destroy it, or at least to stop its Progress. And no wonder indeed. The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy could not like a Religion, which aimed not only at their Depression, and the abolishing of Abuses, and of a Superstitious Worship, whereby the Church of *Rome* had immensely increased its Riches, but also which assert, that it ought to be divested of the large Revenues which the avaricious Monks and Priests have procured unto her by their Craft. In all the former Assemblies of the Clergy, it was usual to bring to the King, a Bill of Grievances against the Reformed. If they durst not openly require their Ruin, at least they made use of all the Motives which violent Passions could suggest to revengeful and covetous Men, in order to persuade the King, that he was bound in Honour, or Conscience at least, to contain in narrower Bonds the Exercise of a Religion, which they represented as formed in the Bosom of Rebellion, and as an Enemy to Sovereign Authority. The House of the Clergy in the general States, which I am speaking of, followed the same Method. Of above three hundred Articles, whereof their Bill was composed, sixty-

648 *History of the Reformation and of t*

Lewis 15. five, at least, aimed directly or indirectly  
<sup>1615.</sup> the suppression of some Privileges or other  
Pope Paul V. ly granted to the *Reformed* by the Edi  
Nantz, and other subsequent Declarations of the late King. But what is to be more wonderful, is, that the Nobility, who by reason of Birth and high Rank, ought to be more concerned in the Peace and Welfare of the Kingdom, than a Parcel of slothful Priests, will make no pretence of a single Life, mind only how to indulge their sensual Appetites, or how to exceed their tyrannical Grandeur beyond all Divine Human prescribed Bounds; the Nobility, degenerating from the Courage and Prudence of their Ancestors, blindly received the Instructions, which the Clergy were pleased to give them. They agreed to insert in their Bill twenty-four Articles, which the Clergy had already inserted in theirs. The most remarkable whereof are as follow: The Declaration of the Council of Trent, without any regard to the Edicts of Pacification; an Order

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 649

ing to the Crown, should henceforward be re-  
united for ever to the said Crown, (which in- Lewis 1:  
deed was a very reasonable Regulation, for many 1615-  
good reasons obvious enough to the Reader,) an Pope Paul  
absolute Prohibition to Sovereign Courts to take V.  
any Cognizance of things relating to Faith, the  
Pope's Authority, the Doctrine and Sacraments  
of the Church, the Monastical Rules, and of  
all that they call *Spiritual Causes*, on pain of  
Nullity and Abrogation of their Sentence. (*They*  
*aimed at the Parliament of Paris, who had been*  
*so daring of late Years, and especially during the*  
*Sessions of the States, as to exert themselves,*  
*and to express by Sentence, their utmost Abhor-*  
*rence against the Jesuit's Doctrine concerning the*  
*Independency of Kings, &c.*) The Reformation  
of the Universities, and Admission of the Je-  
suites into them; (*that of Paris bad, till then,*  
*rightly opposed that Admission, and had been sup-*  
*ported by the Parliament of that Capital;*) the  
Exemption of Imprisonment for Ecclesiasticks,  
and leave for Bishops to condemn to the Gal-  
leys; the Accomplishment of the Marriage-Trea-  
ty between the King and the Infanta of Spain;  
the calling into the King's Council four Prelates,  
four Lords or Gentlemen, and four Gown-men,  
who should serve quarterly by turn, one of  
each Order, and that the King should order  
that six of the ancientest Counsellors of State  
should constantly attend the Council, as Or-  
dinaries. Lastly, they exhorted the young Mo-  
narch to remember always the great Obliga-  
tions he had to the Queen his Mother, for  
the holy and pious Education she had given  
him.

The three or four first Articles caused a great  
Uproar in the House of Lords, for the Re-  
formed that sat amongst them warmly debated

that Article concerning Coronation Oath, was needful to pacify the Reformed, in the Dispute, he issued out a n<sup>t</sup>  
12th of March, which c<sup>on</sup>ceded Edicts. In this I  
vour'd to excuse the said  
ing from the Zeal of the  
Preservation of the Roma  
designing to give Offence  
ing, that the Catholick N<sup>o</sup>  
it unto him, not only separ  
other, but in a Body all to  
sured him, that they were i  
Observation of the Edicts  
had intreated him to leave  
Subjects to one and the same  
vidence of God, using no  
what the Church had approve  
by sad Experience, that viol  
only served to increase the  
who had strayed from the C  
reclaiming them. Therefore  
move the Zealous

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 651

Ricbelieu, then Bishop of *Lugon*, was chosen, Lewis 13. as abovesaid, Speaker for the Clergy, he touched <sup>1615.</sup> in his Speech upon some of the abovementioned Articles contained in the Bills, both of the <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> Houses of Lords and the Clergy, besides several of those Peculiars to this last Order, against the Reformed; but he insisted most warmly upon that concerning the Admission of the Prelates into the King's Council and Secular Employments; he asserted boldly, that when the Kings, Predecessors to his Majesty, had made use of the Prelates of his Kingdom in the Administration of the Government, the *Gallican Church* had been more flourishing than any other: that may be true in some respect, as to the Wealth and Power of that Church; but it is utterly false as to the State, the Condition whereof could hardly be worse than it had been for above one hundred and fifty Years under the Ministry of the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorrain*, and *Guises*? He added, far from consulting the Prelates about the Affairs of the Kingdom, you think that the Honour we have to be consecrated to God's Service, incapacitates us to serve our King, who is the living Image of God. That Maxim uttered with great Emphasis, provoked laughing. St. *Paul*, say the malicious Courtiers, forbids one who is enlisted in the Service of God, to be busy about worldly Affairs. What then, do the Bishop of *Lugon* and his Brethren think, that that Maxim of St. *Paul* was good only for the Apostolical Times?

Another Place of his Speech was likewise much reflected upon by the Courtiers, though unjustly. He required a thing which was in itself very agreeable to the Intentions of the Benefactors to the Church, viz. That the Livings and Benefices should no longer be bestowed upon

652      *History of the Reformation, and of*

Lewis 13. upon Laymen as a Recompence for  
1615. Services. *Do the Ecclesiasticks, say they,*  
*Pope Paul V.* *a better Use than we do of the Church Reve*

~~Are not those rich Foundations every bit a~~  
~~employed for the Support of the Nobility, who~~  
~~wasted their Estates in the Service of the~~  
~~tion, as for the Support of the Luxury and~~  
~~of Monsieur the Commendatory Abbot?~~ All  
was misplaced indeed, every thing must be  
plied to the proper use design'd by the  
nor. But had these Courtiers retorted the  
gument against the Bishop, and said, If Ch  
men conspicuous for their Integrity, Moder  
Sagacity, and long Experience, may be ad  
ed to sit in the King's Council, and to  
their Advices upon the Occurrences of the  
vernment, even the most emergent Affai  
they can be admitted into certain Civil  
ployments, which are not inconsistent with  
main Character, and don't hinder them  
performing with a diligent Care, the Dut  
their Pastoral Office; at least, must they

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 653

shops, namely, Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Archbishop <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> of *Bordeaux*, who had the Command of the <sup>1615.</sup> French Fleet; and Cardinal *de la Valette*, Archbishop <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> of *Toulouse*, who commanded an Army.

Had the Clergy obtained then all that they demanded by their Bill and by their Speaker, the whole Kingdom would have been overturned, and the *Reformed Churches* utterly destroyed; but either that their Demands were thought too exorbitant, and unjust, or rather that the Court was not then in a Condition to gratify them with safety, most part of them, which were against the *Reformed*, were put off to a better opportunity. However, it is certain, that these Articles, which the Clergy had drawn up in their Bill, and presented then to the King, served hence-forward as the Basis of all the Injustices done to the Churches, and of all the Persecutions they had to suffer from their bloody Enemies. Not used to be deny'd of any thing when they have once put it in their Heads, they did never desist till they had compleated our Ruin.

As the Nobility acted so unanimously with the Clergy, that they demanded almost the same things as they; Baron *de Senecey* presented their Bill to the King, and spoke but very little wiser than *Pont St. Pierre* their Foreman, in that he would not have his Speech printed.

*Miron*, Speaker of the Commons, spoke the last, and though his Speech was not so polite as the Bishop of *Lugon's*, there was in it a great deal more Solidity and Perspicuity, grave without Affectation, dutiful without Biseness, free without Indecency, every Man of Taste admited the just Medium he had taken for representing in a lively manner, the miserable condition the Kingdom was in, and the manifold Disorders

654 *History of the Reformation, and of*

Lewis 13. Disorders that had crept into the Administ<sup>1615.</sup> of the Government. The Reformed them<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> had all reason in the World to be well sed with him, for he insisted much upo due Observation of the Edicts of Peace.

The King received their several Bills, promised to examine and answer them, a redress their Grievances, and gave them to stay by their Deputies at Paris, till they received that Answer; so ended the last neral States, which have been held in Fr Great things were expected from them fo Benefit of the Kingdom, and indeed had good Intentions of the House of Com been supported by the two other Houses, likely they would have proved very ad tageous to the Subjects; but unluckily, the P of Condé's weariness and weakness, the Lord Clergy's Prevarications defeated all these Intentions, and frustrated the Hopes of e true Frenchman. (x)

## Book VII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 65

The Prince of Condé, who had expected to Lewis 13.  
raise his Authority, by the means of the States, <sup>1615.</sup> Pope Paul  
on the contrary, lost the little he had left by V.  
his own Fickleness and Mismanagement ; (y) ~~and the Queen caught him in the same Snare~~ <sup>New</sup> ~~Broils at~~  
~~he had set out for her.~~ She remained in pos- ~~Court.~~  
session of the Government in spight of him ;  
and she got the approbation of the Marriages  
she had concluded. The Marshal of Bouillon  
had been very useful to her on that Occasion,  
and had served her in hopes of Preferment.  
But when he found that no more Notice was  
taken of him than before, he resolved to be  
revenged, and renewed Intrigues which finally  
ruined

(y) During the Sittings of the States, that Prince was so imprudent, as to expose his own Dignity in the basest Manner. He had had two Gentlemen in his Household, namely, *Marcillac* and *Rochefort*, the last whereof was one of his most intimate Confidants. *Marcillac* quitted the Prince's Service, and entered into the Queen's. His Highness suspecting that he did him some ill Office near her Majesty, and that he had revealed unto her some of his important Secrets, commanded all his Household to assault *Marcillac*, when they should meet him in their way, and not to spare him : He was obeyed. *Rochefort* took that shameful Commission upon him, and being attended by five Horsemen, and five Footmen, he fell upon *Marcillac* with Swords and Sticks in St. Honore's-street. Their Majesties having Notice of that Violence, ordered their Attorney-General to inform against, and to prosecute *Rochefort* as a base Assassin. The Prince went the next Day to the Council, he expostulated with the Queen about that Order, he owned the Fact as done by his Orders. The Queen answer'd him as he deserved. The Prince went out full of Rage. His unreasonable Passion compleated the loss of the small Interest he had left in the States. The three Houses sent to the *Louvre*, and expressed their utmost Abhorence of the Fact. The Parliament continued his Prosecutions, and it would have farre very bad for *Rochefort*, had not the Prince buckled, he most humbly begg'd Pardon of their Majesties, which being granted, *Rochefort* obtained Letters of Abolition, and that Affair was suppressed. *Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis*, Tom. III.

Lewis 13. ruined the Queen's Affairs : but which, at the  
1615. same time, occasioned the decay of the *Reform-*  
*Pope Paul v.* *ed Religion, and the Slavery of France.* The  
Prince of *Condé* being much dissatisfied with  
the States, and yet more with the Queen, wil-  
lingly hearkened to the Propositions of other  
Discontents, and conceived great hopes of a bet-  
ter success of his new Follies.

For which purpose, it was requisite to set  
three Wheels a-going : The People, the Par-  
liament of *Paris*, and the Reformed. He was  
sure enough of the first, their Representatives in  
the House of Commons, having received so  
little Satisfaction upon their Bill of Grievances,  
it was plain enough, that their Principals would  
highly resent it, and be tempted to seek out  
other Remedies to redress the said Grievances.  
Though there were several Members in the Par-  
liament, which were as much dissatisfied as the  
Prince, but on more noble Principles, and  
thought themselves in Duty bound, to redress  
by their Authority, the Affairs ruined by the  
false Policy and Corruption of the Court. Ne-  
vertheless, that would have availed very little,  
and they would not have stirred in his Be-  
half, had it not been for the crafty Duke of  
*Bouillon's* Insinuations and Presuasions. That  
Lord had observed, that the Parliament of *Pa-*  
*ris*, did not entertain an Opinion of the Ho-  
nesty and Ability of the Prince, good enough  
for engaging them to declare in his Behalf,  
when, of his own accord, he should have made  
some overt-act against the Court. Therefore  
he thought that he might better succeed, if he  
could engage the Parliament to declare the first  
in such a manner, that would necessarily oblige  
that illustrious Body to make their Address to  
the Prince and the Lords of his Party, for the  
support

support of their Undertaking. For compassing Lewis 1  
this end, the Marshal spared no trouble ; he dis- 1615.  
play'd all his Wit and Dexterity with such a suc- Pope Pa-  
cess, that these grave Senators found themselves V.  
ensnared unawares, even those who were resolv-  
ed not to meddle with this new Faction, were  
engaged therein against their own Inclination.  
The Parliament being thus disposed to under-  
take the Reformation of the State, they issued  
out a Proclamation the 28th of *March*, where-  
by they invited the Princes, Dukes, Peers, and  
the Crown Officers having a Right of sitting  
and voting in Parliament, and who were then  
at *Paris*, to come to deliberate with the Lord  
Chancellor and all the Chambers assembled to-  
gether, about the Propositions to be made for  
the King's Service, the Relief of his Subjects,  
and the Welfare of his Kingdom. The Court  
was extremely alarmed at this Proclamation.  
The Queen, in her Son's Name, sent a Prohi-  
bition to the Prince of *Condé* to attend the Par-  
liament. The Parliament received a like Pro-  
hibition to proceed any further, and repeated  
Orders to take the said Proclamation out of the  
Register Book. Notwithstanding all these In-  
stances, the Parliament, at the Marshal of *Bouil-*  
*lon's* Instigation, drew up their Remonstrances,  
which were presented to his Majesty by their  
Deputies in the Month of *May*.

After having much magnify'd the great Ser- *Remon-*  
vices done to the Nation by the Parliament, *frances of*  
and the Antiquity of its Settlement, equal, as *the Parlia-*  
they pretended, with the Monarchy it self, and *ment.*  
that the most important Affairs of State had  
been managed by its Directions, or that the King  
had had Occasion to repent his having slighted  
their Counsels, they upbraided young *Lewis*,  
for having begun his Majority by absolute Com-  
mands

.658 . . *History of the Reformation; and of the*

Lewis 13. mands, they told him, that he ought not  
1615. <sup>to</sup> accustom himself to Actions, which good King  
*Pope Paul V.* like himself, but very seldom, made use o

Then, they added, that they were most deeply concerned for the Attempt made in the late States, to render dubious and problematical the Sovereign Power of their Kings, and to subvert thereby the Fundamental Law of the Realm. That in order to stop the Progress of such pernicious Maxims, and not to suffer that his Sovereignty, which he did hold only, and immediately of God, should be submitted to any foreign Power under any Pretence whatsoever it was proper to order that the ancient Laws from time out of mind settled in the Kingdom, together with the Decrees from time to time issued out upon the same Account, should be renewed and executed, and those who do attempt to submit his Royal Authority to any foreign Power whatever it be, should be held as Enemies of the State. Then they proposed several Articles concerning the Government of the State, the King's Counsel, the Persons to be admitted in the Administration of the Finances bitterly complaining of the scandalous Management of those who had had the Direction of them since the late King's Death. Then they exhorted his Majesty, to preserve the Dignity and Splendor of the Catholick Religion, as far as it was consistent with the Edicts of Pacification, and to prefer to the first Dignities only such of the Church, as were Persons conspicuous for their Birth, Learning and Piety. They required, that the Military Charges should no be sold, as they were ; that the Government of Provinces, Strong-holds, &c. should not be bestowed upon Foreigners, and several other things concerning the Administration of Justice

infels and Artifices of those concerned  
they will be obliged for the Discharge  
own Conscience, the Service of their  
s, and the Preservation of the State, to  
iblickly the Authors of these Disorders,  
publish<sup>r</sup> their manifold Misdemeanors,

: Remonstrances had the Effect which  
~~e~~ of *Bouillon* expected. The Court was  
ted against the Parliament; the Queen  
ot refrain her Indignation, she vented  
y sharp Expressions which she made  
when she answered the first President  
ss. And the very next day, 23d of  
e King's Council issued out a Decree,  
that of the Parliament was reversed  
uled, as abusive, and exceeding the  
of the Power ascribed unto them by the  
their Institution, being a Tribunal set-  
y for administering Justice to the Sub-  
d not for taking Cognizance of the Af-  
the Government, &c. The Duke of  
and others, the Prince's Adherents.

*Mirande* and *Bertheville*, adjoin the Churches, and who were at liciting about a General Political A made sure of them, by shewing what means he designed to ma redressing the Grievances of the K the Advantages which the Refor reap therefrom ; and in order to p the better, he made them very i as to their own private Concerns. them he made him hope for the the States of the *United Provinces* for a Charge in the Chamber of tl another for being named Genera the Reformed Churches of *France*, ful and persuaſive Means ! as the I ban observes (a).

The Reformed had obtained lea for holding a General Political A *Grenoble* on the 15th of *July*. did not agree on the Place, no mc time, because it was too short. As t they thought to have very good mistrusting the Duke of *Lorraine*.

*Of Les  
Diguières.*

first Years of *Henry IV.* So that he Honours or Preferments bestowed upon him were not what he justly deserved. But if he be sufficiently commended for his Civil Military Virtues and Atchievements, not say the same as to his Morals.

I have already seen what his Avarice caused him to do, in regard to a Consideration of Money, which the Province of ~~the~~ did send abroad, in order to be laid in Stock for the Benefit of their poor Students. He did stop it, and notwithstanding several Instances of the Synod's, and King Henry's repeated Orders, he could never be induced to restore the whole. But that was the worst of his Character. After having had a certain Woman, namely *Mary Vignon*, elope from her Husband *Ennemond Mercier* of *Grenoble*, he kept her, and two Daughters by her. For a few Years took care to conceal their criminal Conversation from the Publick. But when the *Le*'s Lady was dead, *Mary Vignon* had

Lewis 13. was still living, that was an Obstacle to be first  
1615. removed, before she could obtain the Gratifi-  
*Pope Paul V.* cation of her Ambition. She resolved upon  
that Murder, the Marshal himself consented to  
it. Colonel *Alard*, his trusty Friend, and A-  
gent of the Duke of Savoy, offered his Services  
for the Execution of that execrable Plot; he  
was accepted, and *Matel* was assassinated. *A-  
lard* was soon suspected of being the Author,  
or at least Abettor of that Crime, his Intrigues  
with *La Moynac*, were too publick. He was  
arrested by the Parliament of *Grenoble's* Orders.  
The Marshal, who had been out of Town,  
while the Murder was perpetrated, came back  
in all haste, when he heard that *Alard* was ar-  
rested. He went himself to Goal, and released  
the Prisoner, on pretence, that being a Min-  
ister of the Duke of Savoy, he could not be pro-  
secuted without Leave of his Highness. The  
first President of *Grenoble*, provoked at this Au-  
daciousness, which plainly discovered the Mar-  
shal's Guilt, made much noise about it, but all

ried after the Roman Ceremonial. It is needless Lewis 15. to relate here the two incestuous Marriages in <sup>1615.</sup> his Family, *viz.* that of the Marshal of *Cre-qui*, who having married the lawful Daughter <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> of *Les Diguieres*, married, after her Death, her own Sister, which the Marshal had had by *La Vignon*: And that of the Count of *Sault*, Son to *Crequi*, and Grandson to *Les Diguieres*, with the second Natural Daughter of this last who consequently was his Aunt by his Mother's side (b).

Upon these accounts it was, that the Reformed insisted so warmly upon another Place, being afraid, lest the Marshal would sacrifice to his Fortune, the Liberty of the Assembly, and the Concerns of their Religion. Nay, it was very likely, that the Court had appointed *Grenoble* in such a nice Circumstance, after having made sure of *Les Diguieres*, and having received his word, that nothing should be done against the Queen Regent's Will. We have seen above, that the National Synod held at *Tonneins*, had much insisted at Court by their Deputies for obtaining another Place, and a longer time, that the Provinces might be better enabled to draw up the Instructions of their Representatives in the General Assembly. They required likewise, that certain Modifications, inserted in the Brief of the Crown, should be cut off. The Court willingly agreed to a further Prolongation of the time, but refused to make any Alteration in the said Brief; and as to the Place, the Council insisted on the same, on pretence, that the Circumstances of the Affairs in *Italy* obliged them to keep fair with the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, with

X x 3 whom

(b) *Vie du Connétable de Les Diguieres*, Liv. ix. c. 5.  
*Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII.* Tom. ii. Liv. vii.

664 *History of the Reformation and*

Lewis 13. whom the Duke of Savoy kept a strict  
1615. spondence.

Pope Paul V. *Du Plessis* spoke upon that Subject

Majesty, when the Court was at *Ti*  
*The Court* Year before ; his Arguments were so  
*inſift as to* ing, that she offered to transfer the *I*  
*the Place.* from *Grenoble* to *Saumur*, being sure i  
a wise and faithful Governour woul  
suffer any Transaction contrary to the  
of the Kingdom, and the Service of  
jesty. But *Du Plessis*, unwilling to al  
occasion of Jealousy to the other Chie  
*Reformed*, thought proper to decline  
nour, and the Court at that time dic  
termine any thing upon that Subje<sup>c</sup>

That Great Man tried whether he c  
gage *Les Diguieres* to follow his Exan  
to decline of his own accord the Honc  
the Court offered unto him. But t  
shal was deaf to all his Remonstrar  
even he pretended to be offended :  
So that several of the Provinces, un  
be at his discretion, and provoked a

s, and required Grenoble for the Place of <sup>granted.</sup>

Assembly, threatening to go there of their accord, in case they were refused, pro-  
that *Les Diguieres* would receive them.

at new and unexpected Resolution cre-  
some Jealousies at Court. But the Mar-  
so positively promised to the Queen to  
ge the Assembly to her liking, that at  
be granted their Request, and appointed  
5th of July 1615, for the opening of  
Assembly, where they met according-  
).

uring these Broils, the Prince of *Condé*, and <sup>Retreat of</sup> *ords of his Party, viz. the Dukes of the Prince,*  
*on, Longueville, Mayenne, &c.* endeavour'd <sup>&c. from</sup> *Court.*  
ocure some delay for the King's Jour-  
to Bayonne, where he was to go for ac-  
lishing the intended Marriages. But all  
Artifices proving ineffectual, they left the  
, flattering themselves with this frivolous  
tation, that the Parliament would fide  
them. Wherein indeed they were much  
ken. for the Parliament. five days after.

Lewis 13. Government of Picardy ; this happened on the  
1615. 15th of July.

Pope Paul V. On the 27th the Prince wrote to the King,  
~~Fruitless~~ a Letter of Complaints about the Disorders of  
~~Negotiations~~ the State. Nevertheless, the Queen Regent  
~~was for his~~ made the necessary Preparations for the King's  
Return.

On the 27th the Prince wrote to the King,  
~~Fruitless~~ a Letter of Complaints about the Disorders of  
~~Negotiations~~ the State. Nevertheless, the Queen Regent  
~~was for his~~ made the necessary Preparations for the King's  
Return. Journey ; but she was very sensible of the  
Danger there was to leave the Provinces on  
this side the *Loire*, and *Paris* itself, exposed  
to the Mercy of the Prince and the Lords of  
his Party : Therefore she took all imaginable  
care for engaging the Prince to attend the  
King upon his Journey. The Countess Dow-  
ager of *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Nevers*'s En-  
deavours for that Purpose were fruitless. *Villeroy*, Secretary of State, after two Conferences  
with his Highness, prevailed at last with him  
to come to a Treaty, which ought to have been  
concluded at *Coucy*. But the Marshal *D'Ancre*,  
Chancellor *de Sillery*, and others of the same  
Party, dreading for their Fortunes the Con-  
sequences of that Conclusion, once again sacri-  
ficed the publick Good to their private Con-  
cerns, and persuaded their Majesties to send  
*De Pontchartrain* with a Letter to the Prince,  
dated the 26th of July, whereby the King  
declared, that being resolved to set out for  
*Guienne* on the 1st of August, he desired to  
know precisely, whether he would attend him  
or no.

*Villeroy* and *Jeannin* were no less surprised  
at this unexpected turn of Affairs, than the  
Prince himself and the Lords of his Party, as-  
sembled at *Coucy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* im-  
proved this opportunity to break the Confe-  
rences, and the Prince following his Directions,  
turned all his Thoughts to a Civil War. They  
wrote in concert to their Majesties, but as  
that

ie with them, the Author thereof caused  
to insert amongst the Grievances he com-  
posed of, the many Infractions of the Edicts  
of the Court, and the just Grounds they had  
for questioning the Sincerity of the Court,  
for putting themselves in a State of De-  
-against the prevailing Artifices of their  
-thirsty Enemies.

it the Queen, fully bent on the Ac- *The King*  
lishment of the double Marriage, took *lets out for*  
*Notice of the Prince's Manifesto, and his Journey*.  
the Chancellor, and others of the same  
on, she set out with the King, &c. for  
*leaux on the 17th of August, after ha-* *And pub-*  
*issued out a Declaration, for preventing libly a De-*  
*impression which the Libels of the Male- claration*  
*nts could make upon the Minds of Prince,* *against the*  
*People. It contained a full Account of &c.*  
he Advances made to the Prince in or-  
to engage him, and the Lords of his Party,  
tend his Majesty in his Journey, and of  
Offers made unto him to order the State's  
*in on the general Satisfaction of*

among his Subjects, & formed, and to cause the Execution to be strictly kept.

*Its Inefficacy on account of the Petulant Spirit of the Clergy.* That Declaration in general Article in particular, would very effectual means for crowning the Duke of Bouillon's Assembly of the Reformed at Paris, given too great to the Friends of the Prince, formed, and created Jealousy even among those who desired to live peaceably in their Religious Protection of the Edicts.

*DuPlessis's good Advice.* The wise *Du Plessis* had to instil those Principles in several of the Representatives of Grenoble. He had drawn up a paper to be sent to the General Deputies, & deavoured to make them sensible. Necessity there was, that they should endeavour to render the Edict sure and stable, rather than to

tain them with less Difficulty. It matters for us, that the King should not be pre-in bis Youth against us. To be sure he are us, if he is obliged to take up his first against us, &c. Our Enemies do show really unto him the Scars, let us endeavour ke him know those who have made the ds, which have been cured by the late King. is not flatter ourselves. All the Princes DROPE, even the Protestants themselves, that FRANCE should be at peace and bing. And indeed, what other Weight could oppose to the Power of the House of Au-▲? He told those Representatives, who i him before they set out for Grenoble, they ought to be very careful not to mix CAUSE OF RELIGION with any other soever, how just and reasonable it might be. I don't pretend, says he, to blame thee, nor the Lords of his Party. It is their Busines, to render their Intentions, just and in the sight of the Searcher of the Hearts. unto our Assemblies, it don't belong to take

*Extirpation of Heresy!*

But for all that, *Du Plessis* tried his Point, had not the said) took at that very time and unwarrantable Step, the the Tranquillity of the State been seen for many Years together assembled only for renewing the Town-house of *Paris*, a the Accounts of their Receipts the Prelates and the low Council their head to swear that the Council of *Trent* \*. The Court was ordered to notify the Majesty, in a Remonstrance he in the Clergy's Name, and to vocation of the Provincial Courts. Decrees of *Trent* should be so The Court was not at all pleased.

\* Du Plessis takes notice of an Assembly to be held about the same time as bly of the Reformed, but he don't know what was transacted therein. I have extracted

unseasonable Remonstrances, and the Chancellor was vexed at them. He spoke vehemently to the Cardinal of *La Rocbefoucault*, one of the chief Promoters of them, and very big words passed between them both upon that account. However, the Friends which the Prince of Condé had in the Assembly, missed not this Opportunity of serving him. They magnified the Danger the Churches were in of falling a Sacrifice to their Enemies, from whence they inferred an indispensable Necessity to seek their own Preservation, in a strict Union with the Prince, who was firmly and sincerely resolved not to yield, till he had obtained a Reformation in the Government, and a full Security for the Reformed Churches.

The Assembly had opened their Sessions on the 15th of July; and the Duke of *Les Diguieres* having declined the Presidency unanimously offered unto him by the Members, the Baron of *Blet*, one of the Representatives for the Province of *Anjou*, was named in his stead; the Rev. Mr. *Durand*, Minister of *Charenton*, and one of the Representatives for the *Isle of France*, was Assessor, and Messieurs *Boisneil* and *Maniald*, Secretaries. The Prince sent a Deputy to the Assembly, namely *De La Haye*, with the Manifesto he had lately published. This Gentleman set forth before them, the great and manifold Advantages which they should reap for their Churches, from their Junction with his Master; and promised them, that he would conclude nothing without their Advices. The Prince's Adherents in the said Assembly, durst not then speak their mind too openly, being aw'd by the Duke of *Les Diguieres*.

Never-

in his Memoirs, that out  
puties, *Desbordes Mercier*, (merly one of the Deputies Gen  
es, and was in a strict Corref<sup>s</sup>  
Marshal of *Bouillon*) adhered  
was a Man of a very great C  
perience in the Affairs ; that  
namely, *Champeaux* and *Ma*  
of his own Dependants ; and  
not that the first was so far e  
Prince, so that, far from mistrus  
ing his Abilities, he wholly trus

They presented two Bills c  
to the King, but they were put  
for an Answer. Amongst the  
ed in the Bills, whereupon th  
first, there was one perfectly r  
to break, or at least to put off to  
the Marriages with *Spain*. A  
*Du Plessis* rightly observes, was it  
for making such a Demand, wh  
was already eighty Leagues go  
tended Journey ? Why did the  
greater Diligence , &c , ..

t Troops, which, however, was so lucky  
get off clear from the Pursuits of Mar-  
le Bois Dauphin, who commanded the  
Army. Some charged that General with  
by his Irresolutions, the Opportunity of  
the Prince's Troops: but others thought,  
had Orders not to engage in a Battle, but  
to amuse the Enemy, till the Exchange  
Princesses of *France* and *Spain*, should  
be accomplished; because the Court expected  
that the Prince would be more tractable.

Deputies of the Assembly were ad- *Their De-*  
to the King's Audience at Poitiers, and *mands.*  
ills of Grievances were examined in the  
l. One of them was general, and the  
articlar, containing some particular Com-  
and Demands of consequence. The  
l contained twenty-five Articles, the Sub-  
whereof amounts to this: That the  
Independency from any other Power  
Earth, should be for the future a funda-  
Law of the Realm, agreeably to the  
of the Commons in the late Assembly  
Some Considerations on the State of France

674 *History of the Reformation, and*

Lewis 13. excepted out of his Coronation Oath  
1615. any Ecclesiasticks of the King's Coun  
*Pope Paul V.* others, notoriously suspected by the R  
should be challenged, whenever any th  
cerning the said Reformed should be  
in the said Council: That the Catholic  
of *Bearn* should not be admitted into th  
cil of that Country; That the Sovereig  
cil of *Bearn* should desist from their  
tions against the Deputies of that Coun  
their attending the Assembly at *Grenobl*  
the said Country might be allowed to  
at its Turn the National Synod, as  
vinces in *France* were allowed to do:  
Promises made in the King's Name to  
sembly of *Rochelle*, by the Lord *De la*  
one of the Deputies General, concern  
Title, PRETENDED REFORMED RE  
and the Tolerance of the Political Pi  
Councils, should be performed: That th  
of *Berger* Counsellor in the Parliamen  
ris, who had turned Catholick, should  
clared vacant, and filled up by another

formed for the King's Independency  
safety, were kindly received. A more strict  
nation about the late King's Death was  
sed. The Challenge against the *Roman*  
~~men~~ of the King's Council, in the Case  
mentioned, was granted: As also the  
Declaration concerning his Coronation.

But as to the Title of Pretended Re-  
d. Religion, they refused to make any Al-  
m in it; but they allow'd a new Form of  
ates, which the Ministers could make  
upon Occasion, viz. *I A. B. Minister of*  
~~which settled in such a Place, according to~~  
~~Mr. do hereby certify, &c.~~ The Attor-  
were likewise allowed when they should  
cation of mentioning their Religion, to  
it; *the Religion according to the Edit.*  
vention of a new Counsellorship instead  
iger's was promised. The Deputies of  
were allow'd to fit in the Ecclesiastical  
political Assemblies conven'd in the King-  
by the King's Licence. But as to the  
Articles, concerning that Principality,  
~~were not favourably answer'd no more~~

676 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13.sembly, that they were not satisfactory. I  
1615. vertheleſſ they were not yet diſmifſed; wh  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> created great Jealousies and Suspicioſes in the  
Assembly. They inſifted for leave to reſt  
to Grenoble, but every day ſome Pretence  
other was given for detaining them longer; laſt when they deſired to have the ſaid A  
nſwers deliver'd into their Hands, they w  
told, that they might ſet out, and that Fra  
Master of the Requeſts, would follow the  
speedily with the ſaid Anſwers to the Asſemb  
And indeed they would have been obliq  
to ſet out without them, had it not been:  
*Du Plessis's reiterat'd Instances, ſetting forth*  
ſad Inconveniences wherewith ſuch a de  
would be attended. The Queen yielded to  
Arguments, and the ſaid Anſwers were deliv  
ed unto them.

*They write to the Duke of Rohan.* We have already declared the Inclination  
of these Deputies, when they ſet out from Gi  
noble. Now we muſt know, that having be  
put off from Tours, or Amboise, to Poitiers

the Reversion of the Government of *Poitou*, Lewis 13.  
 which she had promised him before, with the <sup>1615.</sup>  
 Consent of the Duke of *Sully*, who enjoyed <sup>Pope Paul</sup> V.  
 it at that time. The Duke of *Soubize* his Bro- ~~ther~~  
 ther added new Fuel to these Discontents :  
 he was already engaged with the Prince, and  
 he had no rest till he had won his Brother  
*Rohan* to the same Interest. So that, over-  
 coming the Reluctancy he had at first of en-  
 tering into a Party which he knew to be whol-  
 ly managed by the Marshal of *Bouillon*, whom  
 he looked upon as his Enemy, he yielded to  
 the Temptation, and took this Opportunity for  
 making the Queen sensible, that he was not a  
 Man to be slighted. I don't charge him be-  
 yond his own Confession, for he himself owns  
 so much in his Memoirs, and so much he own-  
 ed to the Queen when Peace was made (g).  
 As he was coming from *St. Maixant* to *St. John's*, he met a Gentleman, sent to him by  
 Count of *St. Pol*, who sollicited him to join  
 with him for thwarting the Marriages of *Spain*,  
 and three other Gentlemen, sent (*as hyperbolically be says*) by all the Governors and the  
 Nobility amongst the Reformed, (*this must be*  
*understood only of some few in GUIENNE, where*  
*the Sun shines very hot :*) who invited him to  
 the same, and named him for their General,  
 they told him positively, that *St. Pol* would  
 put *Fronsac* into his hands as a Pledge of his  
 Fidelity. Lured by such a fine Show, he went  
 into *Guienne*, where he found, to his great Sur-  
 prise, that *St. Pol*, and all the Catholicks with  
 him, had made their Appointment with the  
 Court. Nevertheless having desired a Provin-  
 Y y 2 cial

(g) *Memoires du Duc de Rohan*, Liv. p. 45, 46, & 57.

Lewis 13. cial Assembly at Montauban, where the Mar-  
<sup>1615.</sup> quest of *La Force* and some other Lords and  
Pope Paul V. Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion met toge-  
ther, they resolved, that, while the King was  
detained at *Poitiers*, because of his Sister's Sick-  
ness, they would set on foot an Army of six  
thousand Foot and five hundred Horse ; which,  
however could never be effected, for they could  
not get together any more than two thousand  
Men (*b*).

*Transac-*  
*tions of the*  
*Assembly*  
*at Grenoble.* But we must transport ourselves to *Grenoble*,  
and see what they were doing in the Assem-  
bly. As soon as it was known, that the Court  
was set out from *Paris* for the intended Jour-  
ney, *La Haye*, the Prince's Envoy, and the  
Emissaries of the Marshal of *Bouillon*, did all  
their Endeavours to increase the Suspicions  
and Jealousies of the Assembly, and succeeded  
so far as to engage them to send in all haste  
*Ds Buiffon* to Court with Letters to their Ma-  
jesties, for supporting the Demands made by  
the Prince in his Manifesto. They boldly ex-

from her retentions ; to reform the  
; and to consent to what the whole  
part of the States-General, and the Par-  
of Paris had required. These were the  
ents of the great *Du Plessis*. That Chri-  
ero was vexed to his very Heart, when  
d of the imprudent and rash Proceed-  
d Transactions of the *Gratianopolitan*  
ly ; he wrote a very moving Letter  
hat Subject to the Marshal Duke of *Les*  
es, intreating him to make use of his  
ity for preventing the Mischief where-  
ie Hastiness of some People might be  
d, and for procuring a solid Peace to  
urches. To this, he added a Memoir,  
he desired him to keep secret, that is,  
al the Author's Name, and not to suf-  
o be transcribed. The Perspicuity and  
y of his Reasons are such, that nothing  
Kind can be parallel'd with it ; and  
been a Prophet, he could not fore-  
ore plainly what happened. It is as

IT DOCE that all those of this Com. D. 179.

680 *History of the Reformation, and o*

Lewis 13. That they also have before their E  
<sup>1615.</sup> State and Intentions of the Provinces by  
Pope Paul V. they are deputed, and consider in the  
Conversations the Advantages, or Disadvantages  
which may accrue from thence.

That they moreover consider, that it  
not determine any thing, concerning our  
Affairs, about which they have no Inf  
from their Principals, and on which t  
or bad Fortune of their said Provin  
nevertheless depend, without consulting  
otherwise they endanger themselves, a  
often happen'd, to the great prejudice  
Union which we should, and will prefer  
to be follow'd in every Thing ; beca  
may say, that the Majority cannot be  
except for those Things of which Ch  
been given to debate.

I suppose then, that the End of the  
Company is the Peace and Tranquillity  
Churches, according to their Universality.  
But because it happens very often, th

l for, the Disadvantages of which cannot  
e very great.

e insist upon the deferring of the King's  
ney ; there was some Likelihood of that,  
e the King left *Paris* ; but our Deputies  
n at *Amboise*, and Mr. *De Buisson* at *Poi-*  
s from which one may judge what Possi-  
there is of obtaining that he should go  
and what Means of insisting on that  
le, so much the more because not only the  
e is at the other end of the Kingdom,  
does nothing which can make the King  
back, but he even seems to desist from  
Instance, and to rest satisfied that some  
lation might be made as to the Gover-  
agreeable to the former Ordinances ; by  
means, the Foreigners should not be  
ed into the Council, nor enabled to hold  
and Benefices in the Kingdom.

nd indeed, as soon as the Queen will have  
plished the Marriages, and that the Prince  
ed himself unable to hinder them, there  
doubt, but that the said Lady will

682      *History of the Reformation and of*

Lewis 13. shews that neither side is willing to bring T  
1615. into a desperate Condition; and therefore  
*Pope Paul V.* is some danger, lest all the Odium f  
fall on our Churches.

Mr. *De Venevelle* may according to h  
dility have reported what Posture he  
things in, very different from what is  
out; and that Party is daily seen to d  
those whom the Prince valu'd, in these  
or elsewhere, either accepting Posts against  
or binding themselves by Rewards; w  
cannot conceal, without injuring my Conf  
and the Welfare of our Churches, which  
stick fast to Ruins, which would be ]  
down upon them.

They might, instead of that, make thei  
fit of this Opportunity, by making use  
in due Season, as I said to our Deputies;  
otherwise is in danger of decaying anc  
coming useles unto them, every one doi  
own Busines, and ours, which we shou  
ways prefer, remaining undone. I do no

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 683

For if walking always in those steep Places Lewis 13.  
we happen to fall in the Precipice of War, the 1615.  
following Inconveniences are unavoidable. Pope Paul  
V.

We shall have been willing to shew forth our Union, and it will decay more and more, every one not being capable of consenting to his own Ruin.

The Deputies of the Provinces to whom Peace has been especially recommended will be disapproved on their Return, and they will be asked by what Authority they have concluded Things, on which they even had not Orders to vote.

The King will be advised to make use either of Lenity or Severity ; if of Lenity, by suffering all those to live under the Protection of his Edicts, who shall remain quiet, thereby he will draw away from those who will have taken up Arms, the best part of those who might have assisted them, and so he will easily overpower them, and with the Ruins of the first Places, they will fill up the Ditches of the others ; if of Severity, by prohibiting the Exercise of our Religion, and ill using its Professors in the Provinces which have no Places of Retreat, we shall in one Day lose two or three hundred Churches, and among them, some of the most flourishing ones ; which within these eighteen Years we have had so much Trouble to raise out of their Ruins, in danger of never being able to raise them again ; besides the Massacres which will be committed in different Places, at the Instigation of the Jesuits, who will not let slip that Opportunity, and will find the People every where exasperated at those, whom they will think Authors of the War.

The

Lewis 13. Blessing which we have so often manifestly experienced in our just Wars, which he will  
<sup>1615.</sup> Pope Paul V. crown with Success to the Glory of his Name,  
and the Spiritual and Temporal Advancement of our Churches. Follows an humble Assurance of ever remaining steadfast to the Union of the Churches. (j)

Every Thing which *Du Plessis* foresaw, fell out as he had foretold. That Memoir was dated the 7th of September. Few Days before, that is the 25th of August, the said Assembly had sent two Deputies, one into *Guienne*, and the other into *Postou* and *Xaintonge*, with circular Letters directed to the Dukes of *La Trémouille*, *Roban*, *Sully*, the Count of *Cbatillon*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*; wherein after an Account given of the Situation of their Affairs, especially as to the Prince, they required of them not to engage themselves with either of the two Parties, but to remain free and prepared for executing the Orders which the said Assembly should think proper to send unto

His Party prevailed in the Assembly, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the soberest <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 art amongst them, and the wise Remonstrants of *Du Plessis*; not that any of them pre-<sup>1615.</sup>  
 aded that the Duke of *Robespierre*, ought to be <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup>  
*forsaken to the Mercy of his Enemies*, but <sup>Which is imprudent-</sup>  
 they judg'd rightly, that it was very hard and <sup>ly granted.</sup>  
 ijust to expose so many Thousands of Families to the Danger of being utterly undone for  
 the sake of one who out of Spite and Revenge  
 had rashly attempted to involve them in the  
 fisheries of a civil War; even without taking  
 Advice, much less waiting for the Consent of the  
 Assembly, which represented the whole Body  
 of the Churches. Therefore they thought  
 that it would be more prudent to take the way  
 of Negotiation, and to endeavour to bring  
 Matters to an Agreement, and to reconcile  
 the Duke with the Court, who certainly would  
 not make in the present Circumstances many  
 or great Difficulties. Thereby they would  
 void the Scandal which a Rupture with the  
 Court would certainly give. That Advice  
 was too prudent and too solid for a petulant  
 and a hasty Youth, it did not agree with the  
 ambitious Schemes of others, who had built  
 their Advancement and Fortune upon the pre-  
 sent civil Commotions. These were the strongest  
 in the Assembly, they carried their Point, the  
 Votes of the Majority were for owning the  
 Duke's Enterprize, for taking him under the  
 Protection of the Churches.

But in order fully to evince the Innocency *The Churches* dis-  
 of our Churches, and of the Religion they *own this*  
 did profess, it will be enough to observe, that *Proceedings of the As-*  
 sembly

their Confistories disowned these Proceedings of the Assembly,  
 at least in every Place where  
 the Confistories were free and respected; so  
 that

Lewis 13. that Roban had the Mortification to see himself  
1615. forced to renounce this time, the ambitious  
*Pope Paul V.* Title of General of the Reformed Churches,  
bestowed upon him by the aforementioned provincial Assembly held at *Montauban*, through the stout Resistance of the Ministers and Confessaries of the Churches of the present and former Consuls and all the Magistrates of that City, most part whereof professed the Reformed Religion. And it is very remarkable, that during these civil Commotions, not one Sword was drawn out of the Scabbard in the Provinces of *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and Part of *Grenoble*. True it is, that when the Reformed of the *Cévennes*, heard of the danger the Duke of *Robar* was in, they betook themselves to Arms in his Defence ; but they were obliged to lay them down as soon as they had taken them up, thro' the prudent Care and Management of the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, and some of the soberest of the Assembly. Nevertheless, as the Princes Faction thought themselves to be kept under too great a Restraint by the Marshal of

*The Assembly remo-*  
*bly removed them-*  
*elves*

... Vacances le Court, le Journey, or at  
to excuse their Proceedings, on account of  
want of Liberty at *Grenoble*, and to be-  
his Majesty to approve of the Place where  
had removed, or to appoint them another  
they should not be aw'd by the Presence  
Authority of any Gouvernour. They met  
out at *Angouleme* the 3d, or 4th of Oc-  
and were put off to *Bourdeaux*. (m)

their Royal Highness, *Madame of France*, <sup>The two</sup>  
perfectly well recovered of her late Sick-  
their Majesties were set out from *Poitiers* <sup>wedded by</sup>  
<sup>Princesses Proxies.</sup>

the 28th of September, under the Conduct  
Duke of *Espinay*, attended by a Body  
of about 3500 Men, Horse and Foot,  
a great Number of the Nobility and  
who waited upon the Roads for their  
ies, with their own Retinue and Vassals.  
rested two or three days at *Angouleme*,  
whence they departed on the 4th of Oc-  
and arrived safe at *Bourdeaux* on the 7th  
same Month; the Duke of *Roban* and  
others, being not strong enough to  
new Opposition. On the 8th the Duke

Pope Paul V. Before their Majesties set out from Poitiers,

~~they had issued out, on the 10th of September,~~ a Proclamation against the Prince and his Ad-

~~herents, declaring them Rebels and Traitors,~~

~~if, in a Month after the Date thereof, they did~~

~~not return to their Allegiance. But that hin-~~

~~dered not the Prince from carrying on his~~

Preparations ; and indeed, having assembled

his Army, he was strong enough to attempt

upon several Places in the Neighbourhood of

Paris, to take Chateau-Thierry, and Epernay

on the 30th of September, and to cross several

Rivers, and at last the Loire on the 28th of

October, and to join Roban and Soubise with

the rest of the Malecontents in Xaintonge,

Poitou, &c. notwithstanding the superior Forces

of the Marshal De Bois Dauphin : So that by

that Junction the Prince's Army was increased

to eleven or twelve thousand Men, Horse and

Foot, which caused unspeakable Damages in

the Provinces aforesaid : and wherever they

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 691

were admitted to the King's Audience on the Lewis 13.  
12th of October at Bourdeaux. His Majesty,<sup>1615.</sup> by the Advice of his Counsel, overlooking the <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> Rashness of the Assembly, consented to their Removal, but ordered them to repair to Montpelier, there to continue their Sessions ; and so they were dismissed by the 16th or 18th of the said Month. His Majesty sent Orders to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, to let the Deputies of *Dauphiné* repair to *Montpelier* ; and as for the rest, he approved mightily of his Conduct.

But the Assembly, instead of obeying the King's Orders, remained at *Nimes*, and aggravating more and more their Guilt, to the great <sup>obeyed the</sup> Kings Or-Scandal, not only of the Churches of France, <sup>ders, and</sup> but also of the foreign ones, they concluded a <sup>treat with</sup> Treaty of Adjunction with the Prince of *Condé* <sup>the Prince.</sup> in his Camp of *Sanzai* in *Poitou*, on the 27th of November, whereby they acknowledged the said Prince for their Chief, under very great Restrictions, whereby they thought proper to secure their own Liberty ; they promised him all the Assistance they could afford, and to endeavour, as much as they could, to engage the Churches of their respective Provinces to declare and take up Arms for him ; both Parties agreed not to treat with the Court without the mutual Consent one of the other.

What is remarkable in this, is, that the said Assembly had asked and obtained a Pass from the King, for their Deputies, on pretence of going to the Prince's Camp, in order to engage him to hearken to some Agreement with his Majesty. And indeed their publick Instructions, which they shewed to *Du Plessis*, carried nothing but Peace in the Front ; but their secret Articles, which they were to impart only to

who were the most exposed to  
fects of the War. As to th  
being informed that the far  
this Churches disowned this A  
fisted no more than to live q  
benefit of the Edicta, issued  
mation about the middle of N  
by his Majesty declared, that h  
Protection all those of his re  
who should persevere in their ]  
no considerable Town took  
Assembly, besides those who  
Government of Robes, Sully, a  
er Gentlemen of the same Faci

*The Count  
of Candale  
turns Re-  
formed.*

A thing happened about th  
contributed much to the fore  
rash Resolution. The Count o  
to the Duke of *Espérone*, havin  
fies against his Brother *De la*,  
he thought to be better belov'd  
than himself, resolv'd to join v  
contents; and to shew himself n  
he opened his Design to the Duk

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 693

defeated his Design ; but the violent Passion Lewis 13. he was fallen in at the hearing of that unexpected News, reduced him almost to the Point <sup>1615.</sup> Pope Paul V. of Death. His Son was outwardly reconciled ~~with~~ with the King, and attended the Court at *Bourdeaux*. But here, he asked leave to absent himself, on pretence of visiting another of his Brethren, the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*; instead of which, he went into the *Cevennes*, turned Reformed, was acknowledged General of that Province; and notwithstanding all the Oppositions of the Count of *Cbastian*, having joined with the Duke of *Rohan's* Adherents, he carried the Point in the Assembly, and obliged it to declare for the Prince, and to come to a Treaty with his Highness, as abovesaid (p).

On the 9th of November, *Madame of France Exchange* and the *Infanta of Spain* arrived both on the <sup>of the two</sup> Borders of the *Bidassoa*, which parts the two Kingdoms, and after some Compliments passed betwixt them and other Formalities usual on such Occasions, the Exchange was made. The *Infanta*, whom henceforward we shall call the *Reigning Queen*, proceeded on her Journey, and arrived at *Bourdeaux* on the 21st, and on the 25th after a High Mass said in the Cathedral, and other Ceremonies requisite on such Occasions, the King consummated his Marriage.

On the very same day the Duke of *Nevers A Truce* arrived at Court, in order to make some O- <sup>made be-</sup> vertures of Peace, which Overtures, after many <sup>between the</sup> Conferences and Debates, were accepted, and <sup>King and</sup> <sup>the Prince,</sup> a Truce was agreed on, which was to last from

Z z 2

the

(p) *Vie du Due D'Espernon*, Tom. 2. ad ann. 1615. *Mem. du Duc de Rohan*, Liv. 1. pag. 48. *Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, Tom. 1. ad ann. 1615. But his Conversion was only the Effect of Spite, so he did not persevere.

694      *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. the 21st of January, to the 1st of March en-  
1615. suing. But alas, what Truce ! whereby the  
*Pope Paul V.* poor People fared much worse than they could  
have done by the most cruel War, because they  
were not allowed to defend themselves. *Du Plessis* was not spared in these Desolations and  
Miseries, out of spite for his Steadiness in  
Loyalty. And indeed the Prince had left no  
stone unturn'd in order to draw him to his  
Party ; he spared neither Promises nor Threats ;  
but his Fealty was proof against all manner of  
Temptations, and in the five or six Memorials  
which he sent to the Assembly at *Grenoble* and  
then at *Nimes*, and all the Letters which  
he wrote during these Troubles either to their  
Majesties or their Ministers, or to his Friends,  
are so many authentick Arguments of the Up-  
rightness of his Heart, and the Generosity of  
his Sentiments. No wonder then if he was  
so much reviled, and otherwise ill used by  
those who could not bear without confusion  
the sparkling Rays of his Virtue. Most part

bou, *De Vic*, and *Pontchartrain*. On the side, the Prince, the Dukes of *Longue-Bouillon*, *Rohan*, *Sully*, &c. besides the ties of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, managed selves the Concerns of their own Party. Countess of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Nevers*, the English Ambassador were, as one may Arbitrators; and the Conferences were held in the Prince's House. They agreed upon a prolongation of the Truce. After many warm debates, especially about the private Interest of Individual OF THOSE MIGHTY AND REFORMERS OF THE STATE, I mean PRINCE AND THE LORDS HIS ADHERENTS; it would be too tedious here to relate several Intrigues carried on in that Conference. The variety of the Prince's Adherents and Interests rendered that Negotiation longer and more intricate than it had expected. It lasted near three Months, the Truce was more than once renewed, & great Oppression of the poor People. I relate only what concerns the Reformed.

696 . *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. fulted. The Pretence of that extraordinary  
<sup>1616.</sup> Proceeding was the dangerous Sicknes whic  
Pope Paul V. befel his Royal Highness about the middle c  
April, and lasted till the said Conclusion. But  
the true Reason was, that he, and most of the  
Princes and the Lords of his Party, having ob  
tained their Ends, they cared very little how  
it would fare with the Assembly of the Re  
formed, who very imprudently had engage  
themselves in that Snare. Therefore on the  
3d of May the Treaty was signed by the King  
Commissioners on one side, and by the Prince  
and the Lords his Adherents, each separatel  
in a private Instrument, for avoiding Disputes  
about the Precedence, on the other.

*Edit of Blois.* That Treaty was published under the Tit  
of EDICT OF BLOIS. It contained 54 Articles, amongst which, those which concerne  
the publick Good became quite illusory thro  
the Course which the Affairs took ; and I  
speak only of those wherein the Reforme  
were namely concerned, the 14th Article con  
firmed the Edicts, and every thing which ha  
any relation to them. The next created a ne  
Counsellorship in the Parliament of Paris, to  
be bestowed upon a Reformed in the room of  
Berger, who had turned Catholick, upon con  
dition that he should not be deprived. The  
16th, restored the Exercise of the Reforme  
Religion in all the Places wherein it had bee  
interrupted on account of the last Trouble.  
The 17th, allowed whatever the Prince  
and his Adherents, either Catholicks or Re  
formed, even the Members of the Assembly  
of Nimes then sitting at La Rochelle, had dor  
during the said Troubles. The 24th, relate  
only to the Rochellese. The 47th, ordered the  
Restitution of the Places seized upon by the  
Prince.

: VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 697

Adherents : And whereas, *Tartas Lewis* 13. belonged to the Reformed, had been <sup>1616.</sup> by the King's Forces during the Truce, *Pope Paul V.* Majesty ordered the Restitution thereof to ~~be~~ be instantly, and before any other.

ides those general Articles, there were private ones no less momentous than the mentioned. The first maintained the *Gal-Church* in its Liberties and Privileges. second disowned the Pursuit of the Clergy staining the Publication of the Council of

The fourth maintained *Messrs Ville-Counsellor* in the Parliament of *Paris*, a *Maitre*, one of the Tellers of the Exeter in the Possession of their Charges, of they had been deprived by their reverent Bodies on account of their turning ~~med~~. The 5th, confirmed the Exemption of Taxes formerly granted to the Ministry a Declaration of the 15th of December 1612; which had not been as yet verified. th, abolished the Remembrance of the *Saints of Milband*; and for the security of the Clericks, they were put under the Safeguard of the Reformed. By the 8th the same was done as to that of *Bellestat*, and the ~~med~~ were put there under the Safeguard of the Catholicks. By the 10th, the great Map of the Ordinances was restored to its extent in behalf of the Duke of *Sully*. other Articles contained particular Favors granted to some private Persons. There was a Brief of the Crown of 30,000 Crowns for the maintenance for the keeping of the captive Towns, and for the Salaries of the Ministers, besides what his Majesty had already given them, more than the King his Father. we must not forget here the Grant of

698 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. 1,500,000 Livres promised to the Prince and  
1616. the Lords his Adherents (r).

Pope Paul V. That Edict was soon verified in the Court of

Aides, and in the Parliament, with some Mo-  
difications. The things granted to the  
<sup>verified by</sup> Reformed would have been sufficient to  
<sup>the Parli-</sup> satisfy them, had they been executed and  
performed as they had been promised. The

Assembly at *Rochelle* insisted much upon a fur-  
ther time to remain assembled, till the Court  
had sent Commissaries into all the Provinces  
to put the Edict of *Blois* in execution ; they  
refused to subscribe the Treaty of *Loudun*, should  
that Liberty be deny'd them. At last *Du Plessis*  
found a Medium, and proposed a limited time  
of six Weeks, which being expired, they  
should break up without any further delay.  
The Proposition was accepted on both sides.  
And the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, in order  
to ingratiate himself at Court, engaged himself  
under his own hand to fall upon the said As-  
sembly if they did not break up at the time  
unto them prescribed : and at his Persuasion

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 699

whom the Court picked Messrs *De Berleville* Lewis 13. and *Maniald*, and then they broke up, even <sup>1616.</sup> before the time appointed. *Pope Paul V.*

While the Prince of *Condé* was unresolved whether he should go to Court, there to reap the Fruits of the Peace, the Queen, being unwilling that he should have the Honour of procuring any Advantage to the Reformed, caused a Declaration to be issued out, concerning the King's Coronation-Oath, as they had desired by one of the Articles of their Bills. It imported, that it had never been his Intention to include in his Coronation Oath, those of the Reformed Religion, who lived in the Kingdom under the Benefit of the Edicts, secret Articles and Declarations given in their behalf : And that in order to their better Observation for the future, he confirmed them a-new. It bore date of the 20th of July, and was verify'd in Parliament within a few days after.

The publick Tranquility did not remain *New Broil* long undisturbed. The Prince coming to Court, *at Court.* after several affected Delays, and having taken possession of the great Authority which he had procured for himself by the Treaty of *Loudun*, was very soon attended by a Croud of Courtiers that waited on him, so that the King's Court became almost deserted. But what created the greatest Jealousies in the Queen's and his Favourite *D'Ancre's* Minds, was the Information they had of the disrespectful Discourses which passed against them between the Prince, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Lords of the same Party in their private Meetings. The Prince, however, at the Queen's Request, had taken the Marshal *D'Ancre* into his Protection, and had promised to secure him against all Insulks ; but upon the complaints of those

or her Creatures, without th  
Prince, and to find her self  
a reconciled Enemy, for whe  
had almost abandon'd her, the  
Prince, which was executed  
the first of September ; he was  
one of the Apartments for s  
could be safely conveyed to :  
Marquis of Themines and M  
been the Executors of that A  
Revenge, were made Marquis  
their Trouble. The Dukes  
~~and~~, Guise, and others the Pri  
having timely notice of what  
the Louvre, and being certain th  
served after the same way, an  
instantly avoided the City and  
The Mob of Paris no soon  
Prince's Imprisonment, but th  
ther to the Suburb of St. Germ  
open the Doors of D'Ancre's  
its rich Furniture to the vs  
Pounds Sterling, for three Days t  
and reward for it.

continue, lest she should exasperate them by Lewis 13.  
Opposition. 1616.

The Prince's Imprisonment occasioned great <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> Jealousies in several Provinces. Questioning <sup>Commoti-</sup> not but that a civil War would soon break out, <sup>ons in the</sup> several Lords, such as the Dukes of Montmo- <sup>Provinces</sup> ency in *Languedoc*, *Les Diguieres* in *Dauphine*, upon that <sup>upon that account.</sup> *YEspernon* in *Xaintonge*, &c. formed a Confe- leracy between them for their common Defence against the exorbitant Power of the Favourite. The Duke of *Espernon* was the first Adviser of that Confederacy: And whereas he saw himself more exposed, as being nearer the Court, he thought it the best way to put himself in Posture of Defence. He was willing to raise Troops, but he wanted a just Cause, or even some Pretence for it, without which he would not venture to render himself guilty of High Treason.

While he was thinking upon that, a thing <sup>The Ro-</sup> happened which afforded unto him the Pre- chellese ence he sought for. The *Rochellese*, sollicitous <sup>attacked by</sup> bout the Consequences of the Prince's Impris- <sup>the Duke of</sup> onment, thought proper at all events to seize *Esperton.* upon the Castle of *Rochefort* seated in the Country of *Aulnix*. Here we must observe, that the Duke of *Espernon*, by his Patent, was named Governour of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge* and the Country of *Aulnix*, and upon that ground it was that he pretended to have a right of Commanding in *Aulnix*. But on the other hand the *Rochellese* shewed forth their Privileges, extant time out of mind, whereby it was plain that none besides the Lord Mayor of *Rochelle* could be Governour of the said City, and of the Country of *Aulnix*. So that it was an old Debate between the *Rochellese* and the Gover- nours of *Xaintonge*, which the Kings Predeces- tors

Lewis 13. fors to his Majesty had never thought proper  
1616. to determine. However, the Duke of *Espernon*  
*Pope Paul V.* was at *Bourdeaux* when he received the News  
of the taking of *Rocbefort*, and was very glad  
of that Opportunity for executing his Design ;  
he came to *Saintes*, from whence he sent the  
Vice Senechal to *Rocbefort* with Orders to re-  
store it to its Owner. Those who kept it for  
the *Rocbelles*, answered that they did not ac-  
knowledge the Duke, but only the Mayor of  
*Rochelle*. *Espernon* feigning to be highly of-  
fended at it, levied an Army of about 4000  
Foot, and 500 Horse ; and sent word to all his  
Friends, not only of his Government, but like-  
wise in *Guienne*, to be ready to come to his  
Assistance, that the King's Service was concern-  
ed therein. He published a Manifesto full of  
Invectives against the *Rocbelles* (but this was  
only a Device the better to cover his Game,) and  
marched against *Rochelle* with his Troops,  
who plundered the Country Houses and Cot-  
tages, and committed other like Outrages.

The City, not expecting such Acts of Hosti-

to comply with it, and continued his Outrages : Lewis 13. And all the Satisfaction the *Rochellese* had for 1616. this time was to be certified by *Boissise* himself, <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> that their Majesties disowned the Proceedings of the Duke, and even that he had Orders to declare him a Rebel, which Order however he did not execute, and he was suspected of double Dealing. *Vignoles* being sent by the Court some time after to renew the same Orders to the Duke, found him better disposed. Tho' he did not disarm, nevertheless he withdrew all his Forces from the Territories of the *Rochellese*. He yielded so easily at this time, because, as he saith himself, he was sufficiently revenged by the Devastation he had committed (1).

During these Troubles, the City of *Rochelle* <sup>The Ro-</sup> having required the Assistance and Counsel <sup>chellese</sup> of the neighbouring Provinces, assembled the <sup>convene</sup> Circle, \* according to the Regulation made <sup>the Circle.</sup> at *Saumur* : (that is,) some Deputies of the provincial Council of five neighbouring Provinces, to deliberate about the means of repelling the Duke of *Espérone*. Those Deputies observing great marks of a good Understanding between the Duke of *Espérone* and the Baron of *Vignoles*, and considering that little or no effect was ensued from the fine Promises made unto them by the Edict of *Blois*, suffered themselves to

(1) Vie du Duc D'*Espérone*, Tom. II. ad ann. 1616, 1617. But that Biographer forgets that *Vignoles* was bribed by the Duke, and instead of evacuating *Surgeres*, he changed only the Garrison, and put in it the King's Troops instead of the Duke's.

\* The Name of Circle was an Imitation of that used in Germany, for denoting several Provinces united together for their common Interest. Germany was at that time divided into ten such Districts, called Circles.

Caitie of *Surgeres* near th  
evacuated that Place, as the si  
mised. They sent to Cou  
in order thereunto. But the  
admit them as Deputies of an  
was not convened by his spe  
vertheleſſ he allowed them t  
two general Deputies of the R  
tended the Court, and promi  
to *Du Plessis*, to give the Ro  
faction they required, tho' he  
by any means of their Assi  
looked upon as contrary to h

The ſaid private Deputies  
without any satisfactory Answ  
Grievances, they perſifted in  
convene the general Aſſembly  
this Reſtriction, that if on or  
of March the Rochelleſe receive  
to the Affair of *Surgeres*, th  
ſhould not take place. But w  
the Deputies longed to ſee th  
the Aſſembly gave charge to

*Poitou, Kaintonge and Rochelle,* to convene the Lewis 13  
abovesaid Assembly, or not, just as they should 1617.  
*Pope Paul V.*

The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* was much concerned in that Affair. He was one of the Malecontents, as abovesaid, leagued against the Marshal *D'Ancre*, and had been declared Criminal of State by the King's Proclamation, and indeed he was none of the least guilty ; he was the very Soul of that Cabal ; and he endeavoured to strengthen his Party by the Assistance of foreign Princes of whom he borrowed Men and Money. Therefore he was altogether desirous to make an Interest at home, and his Lady left no Stone unturned in order to secure for him a strong Party in the Kingdom, to the end that in case his other Measures should fail, he might at least be able to make his peace, or to save his Person by the Credit of a General Assembly.

At last, at the repeated Instances of *Du Plessis*, The Rochellese obtained a full satisfaction. Notwithstanding which, the Deputies of *Poitou*, *Kaintonge* and *Rochelle*, which had been left in this last City, appointed the general Assembly of the Provinces to be held at *Rochelle* on the 15th of April. The Reason whereof were the But for all sad Condition the Kingdom was in, having so that a general Assembly is in the East and West on foot : The Apprehensions of the Churches left they appointed should become a Prey to their Enemies, who by them were in Arms while they were disarmed and unprepared : The mighty Influence, or rather the Tyrannical Authority which Marshal *D'Ancre* and his Wife, both devoted to the Courts of *Spain* and *Rome*, had usurped and exercised in the King's Council thro' the Weakness of the Queen-Mother. These were sufficient Reasons for

*The Court  
dissembles  
its Resent-  
ment.* The Court was extraordin  
News, several Councils were  
positions made for averting th  
Some were for issuing out a  
the said Assembly, and dec  
those who should be present a  
it self wherein it should be h  
the Parliament to prosecute th  
cy. Others proposed some i  
to grant the said Assembly,  
to a longer time. However,  
come to any Resolution befor  
sulted *Du Plessis*. His Opinio  
Majesties ought to overlook w  
in the Form of the said Assem  
semble till they certainly knew  
at, and in the mean while to e  
might have a Success advantaged  
Circumstances. For which pur  
very proper to make a choice  
of an unquestionable Justice in  
Bill tendered to the Council by  
General, to give them a spec  
thereon. and to send . . .

That Advice was very well received by their Majesties and the Ministers of State; and on the 6th of April, *Du Plessis* received an Express from Court, who brought him Letters from the King and the Queen Mother, certifying that they were fully resolved to follow it, and give a speedy Satisfaction to the Reformed. The Lord of *La Melleraye*, Uncle to the Bishop of *Luçon*, Secretary of State, certified the same in a Visit which he paid him at *Saumur*. *Du Plessis* told them both that the Disease was grown to such a degree for want of a timely remedy, that now it could not be cured with Words only and Promises, that it required more real and effectual Means without Delay. The Court had nothing else in View but to get time and leisure for accomplishing the Designs of Marshal *D'Ancre*, and other Ministers, who were then at the Helm of the Government, of pushing the Princes (y). And indeed they very narrowly escaped their utter Ruin.

As soon as the Prince of *Condé* had been arrested, <sup>The Court</sup> the Queen Mother, her Favourite, and <sup>raïsesstrees</sup> some others of her own, or Marshal *D'Ancre's* <sup>Armies a2</sup> Creatures, resolved to form three Armies to be <sup>guaint the</sup> put under the command of the Duke of *Guise*, <sup>Malecong</sup> tents. — sincerely reconciled with the Regent; the Count of *Auvergne* newly released from the *Bastille*, wherein he had been confined for Life by the late King, and known henceforward under the Title of Duke of *Angoulême*; and Marshal *de Montigny*. These three Armies had acted every where with such Vigour, and good Success, that the Princes having been beaten out of *Champagne* and *Picardy*, and lost all the Places that held for them in these two Provinces, there remained but *Soissons*, which was besieged by the Duke

708 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

*ewis 13.* Duke of *Angoulême*, and defended by the Duke  
*1617.* of *Mayenne*. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was at  
*Pope Paul V.* *Sedan*, endeavouring to procure for his Party  
some Relief from the Foreigners, but with  
very little Hopes of Success: the Siege was  
pushed on vigorously, *Soiffons* was upon the  
point of surrendering, the whole Party was  
very near becoming a Prey to their victorious  
Enemies, when on a sudden their Deliverance  
came from whence they little expected it; the  
Death of Marshal *D'Ancre*.

*Marshal D'Ancre murdered.* That Favourite had carry'd his Pride and  
*His Character.* Haughtiness to such a degree, that he had  
drawn upon himself the utmost Hatred, not  
only of the Princes and the Lords of the Court,  
but of the whole City of *Paris*, where he had  
caused several Gibbets to be set up in the  
Corners of the Streets, there to hang all those  
whom he suspected. He and his Wife so ab-  
solutely disposed of the Queen-Mother, especi-  
ally since the Prince's Imprisonment, that she  
durst not do any thing without their Advice.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 709

ADDRESS UNTO ME, AND I WOULD HAVE Lewis 13.  
GIVEN IT, EVEN OUT OF MY OWN PURSE. <sup>1617.</sup> Pope Paul  
This happened about the middle of March. V.  
Two days after, he gave a further Instance of ~~the~~  
his intolerable Arrogance; He had caused a  
Levy of about 7000 Men, Horse and Foot, to  
be made in the Bishoprick of *Liege* and in  
*France*; and he would have the World to  
believe that it was at his own Expence, and  
that through the Affection he bore to the  
King and the Kingdom, considering the sad  
Circumstances of the Times, he was willing to  
keep these Troops in Pay for three Months  
together, at his own Charge. These Forces  
having joined the Army in the *Isle of France*,  
he wrote to the King, magnifying the great  
and good Services which he did to the Crown,  
and bragging that *if his Majesty had many Serv-  
ants like himself, who would follow his Ex-  
ample, he would be extraordinary potent.* He  
caused that Letter to be printed, that the Publick  
might read it (z).

The King was much offended at it, and allthese  
things lying heavy upon his royal Breast, he very  
readily listened to the Proposal which *Luynes*,  
whom he had created Great Falkener of *France*,  
made unto him, to deliver himself out of that  
shameful Bondage, by the Death of that Scoun-  
drel, who being come into the Kingdom  
without a Farthing in his Pocket, had fattened  
himself with the Blood and Substance of his  
Majesty's Subjects, and now was carrying it as  
a King, and hectored his Sovereign Lord. Se-  
veral ways were devised to compas his Ruin.  
The more easy, but not the more honest, was  
pitched upon. *Vitry*, Captain of the Life-  
Guards,

A a a 2

Guards,

(z) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. II.  
ad ann. 1617.

*Who ! I ?* said Sir, said the  
unto him the Tip of his St  
the Marshal's Attendants,  
thing was hatching against  
ferred to draw out their Sw  
three or four of Vitry's Att  
Pistols at the Marshal's H  
down dead upon the spot.

lonel D'Ornano went to ne  
his Majesty, who waited ir  
Success ; and hearing that  
done, he leaped for Joy, c  
*praised, my Enemy is dead.*  
The Marshal's Widow wa  
King's Orders, and the Q  
commanded in his Name r  
her Bed-Chamber (a).

I shall not insist much lon  
ticulars of this Revolution  
only, that it is a wonder ho  
be kept secret for so long a  
near two Months hatchin  
sons were concerned in it, a

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 711

raising their Fortunes by that means. But the Lewis 13. truth is, that the Marshal was become the Ob-<sup>1617.</sup> ject of the publick Hatred, and that to such <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> a degree, that his Corpse, which was buried ~~in~~ the same day in the Church of *St. Germain de l'Auxerrois*, was the very next day dug out by a Mob of several hundreds of People, dragged ignominiously thro' the Streets of Paris, hung, cut to pieces, and burnt to Ashes.

Such was the Downfall and the miserable End of *Concino Concini* Marquis of *Ancre* in *Picardy*, Gouvernour of *Perrone*, *Roy*, and *Mondidier*, first Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, Lieutenant-General of *Normandy*, High Steward of the Queen Mother's Household, Marshal of *France*, &c. &c. &c. If *Bassompierre* is to be credited, as indeed he is to be in several respects, and especially in what concerns this Favourite, the said Marquis had had a Foresight of his Misfortune. About five or six Months before it happened, he had told *Bassompierre*, who visited him on account of his only Daughter's Death, that he was a Man able to bear with the present Affliction, but that his own, his Wife, their only Son, and his own House's utter Ruin and Destruction which he saw very near at hand was unavoidable and that it was that which made him so sad ; that his Wife's Obstinacy did put him out of patience, she refused to follow him in his Retirement, which he designed to make in *Italy*; nay, she flew into a violent Passion whenever he undertook to persuade her, tho' in the most submissive manner, and on his bended Knees. He owned that amongst the many great Favours which God had bestowed on him, that of forewarning him to retire from Busines was none of the least. He was a *Florentine* of a noble Extraction, but

712 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13 of so dissolute a Life, that he had been several  
<sup>1617.</sup> times a Prisoner in his own Country for his  
Pope Paul V. Crimes ; he owned that when he came into  
France in 1601 he was not worth a Penny,  
and yet, by his own Confession to *Bassompierre*,  
it appears that when he died, he was worth  
seven Millions 500,000 Livres at least,  
besides the immense Riches of his Wife *Galigai*,  
which were greater than his own, and which  
they had got especially since the late King's  
Death (b). He had all the bodily Accomplish-  
ments which may adorn a Gentleman, he was  
complaisant, of a cheerful Humour with  
his Inferiours, but as to his Morals, he had  
been and continued vicious ; he had been made  
Marshal of France without having passed by  
any military Degrees. He hated the Reform-  
ed, and had resolved their Extirpation, as  
soon as he should have subdued the Princes.  
He left but a Son who was a Youth of 12  
or 14 Years, who was made a Partaker in his  
Parents Misfortune, being deprived of his  
Titles Honour and of his Estate. His

together, when at her own Request she was Lewis 13. transferred into the Castle of Blois (c). 1617.

The first days of that Revolution were employed in making those Changes and Alterations in the Ministry and the Government, which Luynes thought proper, and in receiving the Congratulations of the Princes and Lords of the Court, of the Parliament, the Town-House, &c. The new modelled Ministers were removed, some of them sent to the *Bastile*, others exiled. The old ones Villeroy, Jeannin, Chancellor de Sillery, the Lord Keeper Du Vair, &c. were severally restored to their respective Office. Young Lewis was sitting in the Afternoon upon his Billiard-Table, as upon a Throne, receiving the Compliments of the Court and the City upon this occasion; the poor Prince was overjoy'd, he had never before seen himself courted with such eagerness, as he was then, especially he was exceedingly delighted in repeating these Words, *Now I am King*, tho' thro' the Course of his whole Reign, the poor Prince proved to be born not for governing, but for being governed; not for commanding, but for obeying. Vitry, for having been the Executioner, was presented with the Staff of Marshal of France, vacant by the death of Marshal D'Acre whom he had murdered; the others who had helped him, were more or less rewarded in proportion of their Services. But none got more by this foul Play than Luynes himself, for besides the Forfeiture of the Deceased Estates, Lands, Household-Furniture, and vast Treasure, he obtained his Charges and Offices that stood convenient for him; he was raised to the Dignity of Duke

(c) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. II.  
Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Tom. I. Liv. i.

Lewis 13 Duke and Peer of France, as well as his two  
<sup>1617.</sup> Brothers, and divided between them the Spoils  
 Pope Paul V. of the Kingdom, (as one may say).

However, the News of these Changes had no sooner reached the Ears of the Dukes of Mayenne, Nevers, Longueville, Bouillon and other Princes and Lords, than all manner of Hostilities ceased, and they came of their own accord and submitted to the King, without Condition; but the Prince of Condé was the only one who fared no better by that Change, he continued Prisoner in the Bastile, and the only Favour which the Princess his Consort could obtain, was to shut up herself close Prisoner with him in the same Place.

*Du Plessis's Letter of Congratulation.* Du Plessis having been certified of the Truth of that Event, dispatched his Son-in-Law De Villarnoul to Court, with a Letter to His Majesty; who was so well pleased with it, that he caused it not only to be read over three or four times before him and the whole Court, but even to be published in Print. It runneth thus:

“ S I R,

“ Upon this Act of your Majority, which will convince the whole World that France has a King, I thought it to be my Duty no less than if it was upon a new Accession to the Crown, to send to your Majesty My Son-in-Law, for to receive new Commands, questioning not but that this Revolution will be attended with some other in the Management of your Affairs. The first Good, SIR, which is expected from it, is Peace, which your Majesty shall be in a Condition to grant to your People, and which shall be to

" them the more acceptable, that it was the Lewis 13.  
" least expected ; nay, that you did not give <sup>1617.</sup> Pope Paul  
" them leisure to petition for it. And from V.  
" thence as from a Spring will flow upon  
" him several other Blessings, because your  
" Majesty may consult with his best Servants  
" about the Diseases of his Kingdom, and the  
" proper Remedies to be apply'd to cure them,  
" thereby to acquire in his first Years the Name  
" of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE ; and in a little  
" time after, to recover thro' the Restora-  
" tion of this Kingdom, that glorious Title,  
" (which had cost so much Troubles and Vex-  
" ations for so many Years to that great King,  
" Father to your Majesty,) of Arbitrator of  
" all Christendom, and assured Asylum of all  
" oppressed Princes and States. Forgive an  
" old Servant, SIR, if he dares to tell you,  
" that your Majesty is now to take care, that  
" all Gratuities and Favours which you have  
" a mind to bestow, must flow immediately  
" from your own Good-will, without being  
" solicited to it by any body soever, so that  
" the Receiver might be convinced that he  
" is beholden for it only to your own gra-  
" cious Dispositions, and that all your Sub-  
" jects might be fully satisfied, that they are  
" to expect nothing but from your self. And  
" as to those of the Reformed Religion, upon  
" the Affairs whereof your Majesty has com-  
" manded me heretofore to deliver my Op-  
" nion ; I most humbly and earnestly beseech  
" you to order, that those things of an un-  
" questionable Justice, which have been so  
" many times promised unto them, should be  
" effectuated, to the end that those who upon  
" several Apprehensions are now assembled,  
" might return into their own Provinces, and  
" carry

716 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. " carry along with them some Tokens of th  
1617. " gracious Dispositions of your Majesty to  
*Pope Paul V.* " wards them, to the end that henceforwar  
" they should be sollicitous only to pray Go  
" for your Prosperity, and be ready at al  
" your Commands, &c. I am, &c.

Du Plessis (d).

His Majesty was pleased to answer tha  
Letter, and to express the greatest Satisfactio  
he had received therefrom ; he told him tha  
he would never forget the wholesome Advice  
and Counsels he gave him, but rather endea  
vour to follow them. As to the Reformed, h  
promised him to send without delay Commissa  
ries into the Provinces, to put in executio  
whatever had been promised unto them (e).

*Political  
Assembly  
at Ro-  
chelle.  
They send  
their De-*

Now the Assembly of the Reformed wa  
sitting at *Rochelle*, when that Revolution hap  
pened, whereof having got Notice by *DuPlessi*:  
Letter, they deputed six of their Members to  
Court, to congratulate his Majesty on that Oc

rience the Prince's Character, and how he stood inclined towards them, seeing that contrary to his Oath, he had concluded the Treaty of *Loudun* without their Participation, and without obtaining for them the End they had proposed to themselves when they joined with him in the last Insurrection, it was very imprudent in them, to interfere in such a thing, from which, tho' they had obtained what they demanded, they were sure that no Benefit could accrue unto them by it; and being denied, they saw themselves exposed to the Jealousies of the Court for having undertook to distinguish themselves from the rest of the Kingdom, in a thing wherein they were less concerned than the Catholicks themselves; *Condé* being as superstitiously bigoted, and devoted to the *Pope* as any of the *Romanists*.

But luckily for the Assembly, their Deputies had no occasion for this time to make use of their Instructions, the King having absolutely refused to admit them to any Audience, until the said Assembly, which he would not acknowledge, should be dissolved; which done, he promised graciously to receive, and favourably to answer their Bills and Petitions. Whereupon the said Deputies wrote to their Principals to dispose them to submit to the King's Will; which they did some Weeks after.

About this time, *viz.* the 18th of May, was held the 22d National Synod at *Vitré* in *Brittany*, *Andrew Rivet* Minister of *Touars* was chosen Moderator, *John Chauve*, Minister of *Sommieres*, *John Jammet*, Minister of *St. Amand* in *Bourbonnois*, and *Elijah Bigot*, Advocate of the Parliament and Elder of the Church of *Paris*, Secretaries. After the reading of the Confession of Faith, of the Discipline and

718      *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. and other Ceremonies usual in our Synods,  
1617. proceeding to general Matters, they ordered  
*Pope Paul V.* a Deputation to the King, charged with a  
congratulatory Letter to his Majesty upon the  
late Revolution; which Deputation and Letter,  
as well as the Speech of the Reverend Mr.  
*D'Hesperien*, Foreman of the Deputation, were  
very kindly received, and favourably answered  
by his Majesty, who wrote very obliging Letters  
to the Synod, wherein he praised the Loy-  
alty of the Reformed, and gave them strong  
Assurances of his Protection for the future,  
and to observe whatever was promised to them  
by the Edicts, provided that they should per-  
severe in their Loyalty. That would have  
been enough to satisfy them, had fair Words  
been sufficient to redress the real Evils they  
complained of.

They wrote also to the Assembly at *Rochelle*,  
and exhorted them to obey the King's Orders  
and to break up, promising withal to adhere  
firmly to a strict Union of the Churches. That  
Letter prevailed over the Oppositions of the

proposed in the last National Synod held at Lewis 13. Tonneins. King James had written several Letters to *Du Plessis*, exhorting him to undertake so pious a Work, with a Promise to support him with his Authority, and had desired likewise the said Synod to chuse some of the most eminent Men amongst themselves, that they might be ready to come well prepared to a Conference, if there was any occasion for it. But his Majesty had relented since that time ; therefore this present Synod did not think proper to proceed any farther till they had some new Summons from the same Place ; however, they named the Reverend Doctors, *Rivet*, *Cbaurve*, *Cbamier*, and *Du Moulin*, for to consider what Method would be the properst for obtaining the desired End, being charged withal, that in case they were required by the King of *England*, to fit upon that Business, they should repair to *Saumur*, there to take the Advices of *Du Plessis*, of the Pastors of that Church, and the Professors in Divinity of that Academy ; which however was never executed, several other Affairs occurring, this was let drop.

Another thing which the Synod took into its Consideration, was the Disputes between the *Gomarists* and the *Arminians*, which were very rife, and carried with great Heats and Animosities thro' the Pride of the Divines of both Parties, but more especially of the first, and were very near to occasion the utter Ruin of the *Seven United Provinces*, as we shall say hereafter. But this Synod did not think proper to interfere any farther in that Matter, only *Du Plessis* was desired to impart his wholesome Advices to those of the said *Provinces* who did require them. That Lord thought that

Lewis 13. that it was dangerous to decide any thing upon  
1617. the main Point, because that was of such a  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> Consequence that a Schism might ensue, which  
was to be avoided by all means ; that it was  
more expedient to insist with the sovereign  
Magistrate for obtaining a National Synod : and  
whereas the Churches of the same Profession in  
*England, France, Palatinate, Switzerland, Geneva, &c.* were concerned therein, they ought to  
be exhorted to send some of their Divines, pru-  
dent and moderate, to be Umpires between the  
contending Parties. His Advice was partly  
followed, a National Synod was appointed  
for the next year, foreign Churches were in-  
vited to send some of their best Divines, to  
assist in it ; but after all, the Physick proved  
worse than the Disease.

Another thing which was thought worth  
the Synod's Attention, was the Divisions that  
grew very rife amongst the Churches of the  
Kingdom, but more especially in the *southern*  
Provinces. It would have been very desirable,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 721

themselves with state or political Affairs in Lewis i  
their Sermons.

The Synod received several Petitions of se-  
veral Towns and Provinces, craving for Re-  
lief in their great Wants ; amongst others the  
Town of *Sancerre*, which was a cautionary  
one, was most unjustly persecuted by the Count  
of *Morans*, Lord of the Manor, not  
the Inhabitants should refuse to pay their Rent  
and Duties unto him, but only because they  
would not suffer him to command in the  
Town, that being contrary to their own Pri-  
vileges : So that the said Count had vexed,  
and continued to vex them in a thousand ways  
more unjust and cruel one than another.  
Now that Town being a great deal more large  
than rich, the Inhabitants were almost brought  
into beggary thro' the continual Resistance  
whereto they had been obliged against the Vi-  
olences of the said Lord. Therefore the Synod,  
taking their sad Condition into their Conside-  
ration, provided for them such a Supply as  
their own Circumstances and Abilities could  
afford. They did the same for the Churches of  
*Moire* and of the whole Province of *Auvergne*,  
who were cruelly persecuted, and unable to  
support the Ministry amongst them on account  
of their Poverty. As to the Churches of the  
County of *Foix*, the Synod thought not proper  
to relieve them otherwise than by recommend-  
ing their Case to the General Deputies of the Re-  
formed attending the Court, because the Matter  
in question was rather Civil than Ecclesiastical.  
*Provence* was likewise exposed to great Vexa-  
tions. The Churches in that Province, tho'  
few in Number, were much divided amongst  
themselves, and the Catholicks knew very  
well how to improve these Divisions, which

+he+

Pope Paul  
V.  
1617.

Lewis 13 they themselves had occasioned, and too  
<sup>1617.</sup> to foment, to their best advantage. The  
Pope Paul recommended all these Affairs to the C  
V. Prudence of the general Deputies, an  
did not forget the Edict of Exempti  
Taxes for the Ministers, granted five  
before, but not as yet verified.

They made several wise and good F  
tions which might have proved very be  
to the Churches, had they been put thon  
in execution, and they ended their Sessi  
the 18th of June, having sat a full Mor

Cotton the In the while, *Luynes*, who had the  
King's Conscience as well as his Kingdom at l  
Confessor posal, removed the Jesuit *Cotton* from  
removed, and Ar- Confessor to his Majesty, for his adheri  
noux warmly to the Queen-Mother's Interet  
put in his stead the Jesuit *Arnoux*, th  
that he would absolutely be his Depe  
wherein indeed he was much mistaken,

He However, that Man, known at Co  
preaches some Conferences, and Sermons, where  
a seditionous had got some Reputation, took it in hi

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 723

desired to have it, that he might put it in the hands of the Reverend Mr. *Du Moulin*. Lewis 13.  
1617.

The Ministers were not as yet reduced to suffer every thing without making a Defence. Pope Paul V. Moreover, they were stedfast and vigorous in their Answers, especially when they met a Jesuit in their way, they never fail'd to speak of the Merits of his Sect. Therefore *Du Moulin*, who had a sprightly Wit, a fruitful Imagination, a Heart full of Zeal, and who, as it has been owned by his very Adversaries, wrote with much Politeness as Force and Easiness, was not long before he answered the Jesuit, having first consulted the Reverend Messrs. *Montigni, Durant, Mestrezat*, his Colleagues in the Church of *Charenton*. That Answer bore this Title ; DEFENSE DE LA CONFES-  
SION DE FOY DES EGLISES REFORME'S DE  
FRANCE, CONTRE LES ACCUSATIONS DU  
SIEUR ARNOUX JESUITE, &c. which was dedicated to the King. They mentioned in the Dedicatory Epistle, the great Services the Reformed had done to the State ; and they used the Jesuits in the same manner as every Person of Honour had used them till then. They did not forget the last General Estates held at Paris, and the Controversies moved therein concerning the Independency of Kings, and the bad Success thereof, thro' the Management of the Clergy and their Faction.

*Arnoix* and his Brethren the Jesuits, nettled at this Letter, made a great noise about it ; so, that as soon as the Book came out from the Press, they informed against it, against the Author, and against the Printer. The Lieutenant-Civil, having first taken Cognizance of it, that Affair was soon after removed before the Parliament, which occasioned a Debate in

cree was made, wherein the  
dedicating of any Book to him  
pres Licence. Till this time t  
~~say against the Reverend Mr.~~  
~~of this particular Fact;~~ but  
tion much the truth of the  
follows; which suppressed t  
Ministers, forbade the reading  
it under certain Penalties;  
Provost of *Paris* to *prose*  
thereof. A severe Sentence  
contrary to what *Du Plessis*  
King's Mildness in this Affai  
Letters to the Reverend *I*  
from *Saumur* the 30th of *J*  
him, that notwithstanding th  
to the Ministers above name  
mies, in order to exasperate  
them, nevertheless his Maje  
favourable to them, having  
fair before him. And in a  
verend Doctor *Turretini*, c  
*August*, speaking upon the  
*Ill-will of several against the*

About the same time that the late men-Lewis 13. tioned Synod held their Sessions at *Vitré*, the <sup>1617.</sup> Clergy were assembled at *Paris*, and strenuously pursued the Design laid by them in the last General States, to the utter Extirpation of the <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> *Reformed Religion in France*. *Dinet*, Bishop <sup>of the Clergy.</sup> of *Mâcon* made a Speech to the King, on the 2d of June, at the head of the Deputies of that Body; and it is very easy to judge by the Style thereof, that the Catholicks were no longer inclined to deal equitably with the Reformed. He nick-named them *Monsters*, styled their Church a *Concubine*, and compared it to *Agar*. He boldly asserted that the Catholicks were happier under the *Turks*, where the free Exercise of their Religion was allowed, than in those Places where the *Reformed* were Masters; and plainly declared that the Clergy dissembled with them, and only tolerated them for peace-sake. Amongst the several Complaints he made, he brought again upon the Carpet the Use that was made in *Bearn* of the Lands and Estates formerly belonging to the Church. He spoke about that in the most violent manner, as if it had been a horrid Sacrilege, to apply to the use of the Reformed Churches and Colleges, those Estates which had been so justly forfeited, and taken away 50 Years before from those who possessed them formerly, and who by their Plots and monstrous Treasons against their lawful Sovereign, had justly deserved the most severe Punishments. To move pity the more, he desired that Mass might be restored in above one hundred Parishes of that Principality, affirming with as much boldness, as if he had spoken the Truth, that out of 30 Persons in that Province there were 25 Catholicks; whereas by the best Accounts

Lewis 13. we have of the State of *Bearn* in the w  
16.7. times for the Reformed, which was thi

Pope Paul V. four Years before the repealing of the

of *Nantz*, it is plain that out of about 3 Families that inhabited in that Province, were no less than 7,000 professing the Reformed Religion.

*An Edict of the Council for restoring the Roman Religion, &c. in Bearn.* The Bishop's Speech proved efficacious in this respect. The Court was resolved by hand to satisfy him, and to sacrifice the *Roman* to the Passion of the Clergy. *Du Religio*n, Lord Keeper of the Seal, countenanced Catholicks with all his Interest, if *Du Religio*n Biographer is to be credited; so that an Act was published on the 23d of June, restoring the *Roman Catholick Religion* in *Bearn*, and the *Roman Clergy* in their Churches and states.

*Cospean's Speech.* The Remonstrances made by *Cospean* at the end of their Sessions in the *Chapelle de l'Aire*, at the end of their Sessions finer and more eloquent, was no less violent against the Reformed; he touched at the

\* *The following is a copy of the original manuscript.*

*by endeavouring to stifle him with his own*  
I will not trouble my self to inquire  
the Fact here related is true or not ;  
suppose it true, for God's sake, what is  
us, if two or three Dozen, or if you  
two or three hundred thousand Fanaticks  
ious Men have attempted upon their  
gn's Life ; were they countenanced in  
the Doctrine or Discipline of the Re-  
Churches ? Were they not condemned  
tested by all true Professors of the Re-  
on, either in this or foreign Countries ?  
th what assurance could that Prelate  
o before an Audience, Part whereof  
n Eye-Witnesses of the furious Prangs  
League against the Kings *Henry III.*  
*Henry IV.* their lawful Sovereign ; they  
urd or read the great Encomiums be-  
upon the Murderer of *Henry III.* either  
ions preached from the Pulpit, or in  
printed and published by Authority  
is. The Remembrance of the Gun-  
Treason, and the Endeavours of *Paul*  
*hindering the Catholic Subjects of the*

be heard amidst the Shoutin  
of Mirth of a Million of Catk  
**God and bless the King for his**  
**Majesty shoud accomplish in**  
**your Age what the Marvel of**  
**Father, has desired for above**  
**never able to perform, thi:**  
**COMIUM, ADMIRATION, &**  
**SILENCE (g). A flat and i**  
deed, much unbecoming a  
the more, that it includes  
hood.

The truth is, that Henry  
16 Articles of his Reconcili-  
*Rome*, was obliged to procure  
Restoration of the Roman  
the Church-Lands and  
Clergy in his Principality  
was sensible of the Impossib:  
his Promises ; for he had  
the Queen his own Mother,  
try, as well as all others  
England, Germany, Italy, "

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 729

creed and established by the General States of Lewis 13.  
the Country. That Custom, as the *Bearnese*<sup>1617.</sup> Pope Paul  
say, is the fundamental and the stipulated V.  
Law between the Sovereign and his Subjects. —

Now the *Roman* Religion having been abrogated, and the Lands and Estates of the Clergy forfeited by the definitive Sentence of the States General, on account of the high Crimes and Treasons of the said Clergy against *Jane of Albret* their lawful Sovereign, as we have said in the first Part of our third Volume; *Henry IV.* a Prince just and equitable, would not attempt a thing contrary to the Laws of his Principality of *Bearn*, wherewith he was very well acquainted, and which he had heretofore religiously observed, and found means to evade the continual Instances of the Pope and the Clergy on that account.

But to return to our mean Subject; the *Bearnese* formerly opposed the abovesaid Decree of the Council. But notwithstanding the <sup>pose the</sup> *Edict.* Remonstrances of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France* attending the Court, nothing better could be obtained for them, but a Letter of the King's Council, whereby his Majesty commanded the *Bearnese* to send some Deputies to Court, to be Witnesses of the Compensation which his Majesty intended to make in their behalf for the Church-Revenues, the Replevy whereof had been granted to the Clergy. They appointed an Assembly at *Orthez*, whither they invited the neighbouring Provinces of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, and resolved there, rather to die than to consent to the Infringement of their ancient Laws and Privileges, and to the Abolition of

in that respect. Those wh  
tentions proposed in the King  
**Convocation of the States Ge**  
**Proposition could not be, no**  
lished by any Favourite or  
and the Reason is too obviou  
be insifted upon. Others, w  
court *Luines*, affirmed that an  
Notables would be sufficien  
Juncture. But before they c  
solution, they thought pr  
*Du Plessis*. The wise and pr  
did not think proper that the  
vene so soon either the *Gene*  
*Notables*, but rather that hi  
appoint six Persons of conf  
Experience and Integrity, v  
roughly examine Article by A  
the late General States, and  
what Remedy to apply to th  
the Kingdom groaned under,  
livelily set forth by the said  
the People would be more

o take Possession of the Lieutenancy Province, carried his Point. The voted for an Assembly of the No- which was appointed at *Rouen* for the November. The King summoned the nspicuous for their Capacity among the Clergy and the Nobility, and of his Sovereign Courts, besides the Princes, Dukes, and Officers of the Crown that attend him. *Du Plessis* was not for the King would not admit any Extraordinary, and was not satisfied till he had promised *Rouen* before him.

Assembly was opened the ninth of November, and ended on the 26th. I leave to the reader to consult the Royal and political History of France to re- view the Transactions, the Propositions made, and Advices given. I shall observe only that *Du Plessis*, always like to himself, forced his greatest Adversaries, to admire and even to praise his Wisdom, Sagacity, and Virtue. Nay, Cardinal *Du Perron* himself had a great Respect, and was never

732 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. suffer him to go back to *Saumur*, but to keep  
<sup>1617.</sup> him near himself, as a faithful and wise Coun-  
Pope Paul sellor, for the Remainder of his Days (i).

V. During the sitting of this Assembly, died  
Villeroy's at *Rouen*, *Nicolas De Neuville*, Marquis of  
Death.

Villeroy, the oldest Counsellor of State in  
Christendom, having been Secretary of State  
for 50 Years together, and served in that Ca-  
pacity under four Kings *Charles IX.* *Henry III.*  
and *IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* besides the League  
under the Duke of *Mayenne*; it is observed  
that he died not rich. *Augustus Tbuanas*, the  
great Historian, was dead some time before (i).

1618. This Year 1618 affords nothing but  
Trouble both within and without the King-  
dom; either about civil or religious Matters.  
I shall briefly touch only those wherein the  
Reformed were concerned.

Continua- The Remonstrances of the General Depu-  
tion of the ties upon the Affairs of *Bearn*, those of *Lescun*,  
Affairs of a Counsellor in the Sovereign Council of that  
*Bearn.* Principality, nor the strong Oppositions of the  
*Bearnois*, hindered not the King's Council from

ancient Demesne of *Bearn*; and in case that Lewis 13. were not sufficient, upon the Demesne of the adjacent Countries; according to which it was said, that the Sums should be stated upon the Expences of the Household, as ordinary Charges, which were to be acquitted before all others, the Assignments whereof should not be diverted to any other use. This Compensation was but an Illusion, whereby they designed to impose upon the Publick, and render the said Edict more tolerable to such as only judge of things by appearances. Finally, the Demand of the Clergy, to be admitted into the States of the Country, was put off till the return of Commissaries, which the King was to send thither to put the said Edict in execution.

That Edict put the *Bearnes*, naturally hot, into a violent Ferment, especially when Mr. *Reynard*, Counsellor of State, deputed by his Majesty, for executing the said Edict, was arrived in that Country. The Marquis of *La Force*, Gouvernour thereof, was in the greatest Anxieties, the King's Orders were positive and most urgent, and the People's Oppositions were no less stout and resolute, being afraid lest that Barrier of the former Edicts being once forced by a single Decree of the Council, every day would bring forth some new Infringement of their Privileges, to the utter Subversion of their Liberties. The Duke of *Roban*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*, had several Conferences together upon that Affair; they made several Overtures, both at Court and in *Bearn*, to bring Matters to an Agreement; but every where they met with insuperable Difficulties. From whence it followeth, that the Churches of *Bearn*, in virtue of their Junction

734 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. Junction with those of the Kingdom, held a  
1618. political Assembly at *Orthez*, and required the  
*Pope Paul V.* neighbouring Provinces to send at the same  
place some of their Council, there to advise  
together about means of averting the threat-  
ning Blow. A little after, that Assembly  
seeing the Danger daily increasing, turned it  
self into a General Convocation of some De-  
puties of every Province appointed to meet at the  
same Place, on the 15th of *August*. In the mean  
while the Parliament of *Pau* issued out a  
Decree on the 28th of *June*, whereby they ab-  
solutely refused to admit the Replevy granted  
to the Clergy by the King's Council. So that  
all the Churches of the Kingdom taking part  
with those of *Bearn*, it happened that every  
one of them joined its particular Grievances  
with those of that Country, and brought them  
to the said General Convocation in order  
for a Redress, little considering the Danger  
whereto they all did expose themselves. All  
the true Lovers of the Peace, and of the Wel-  
fare of the Kingdom, did their best endeavours

for *Du Plessis*, its Proceedings were too whenever they offered any thing in behalf of the Reformed in general, and for the *Huguenots* in particular, these Offers came out of the Motives which they betrayed their Ill-will against them rather than any good Inclination to them, and only served to raise Suspicions in their Minds. On the other hand, the *Huguenots* proved too hot-headed for *Du Plessis's* Remonstrances, they were too full of Jealousies, they obstinately refused to yield any part of their Privileges, lest they should give Precedent for breaking through all the rest, and chose to lose all rather than to part with the least part of them by the Cession of one.

Whereas *Orthez*, where they had held the General Assembly, was too far from the other Provinces, they resolved to *Rochelle*, there to meet in December (k).

On the 5th of September died the renowned *Cardinal Du Perron*, whereof I would have given no notice, after what I have said of *Death*, in the seventh Book. was it not for a very

*Yours.* It is remarkable, that  
of such a high Station, who  
Seat of Learning, and of the  
he had been a *Mæcenas*, i  
head to preach a Funeral Ser-  
mon ; nay, there was ha-  
which made several Persons  
latter End had not much  
Church. He was 63 Years

*Affairs of the seven United Provinces.* The seven United Provinces, had been for sev-  
eral Years in great agitation, on account  
between the Provinces of the  
Predestination and Grace.  
Man always thinks himself  
the Secrets of God, disregard-  
Precept, *not to be overwise*,  
himself for a Searcher of the  
of that Infinite Being, and w  
World his own Opinions as  
Standard of Truth ; whereso-  
are no better than the Prod-  
Fancy and Temper, or of the  
Education That Distemper

oints controverted, were merely specu-  
2d. That they did not affect at all the  
ian Religion, in its essential Articles.  
That consequently they might be well  
ed without endangering either Christian  
or Godliness. But far from listening to  
rudent and Christian-like Advices, the  
*ists*, alias *Contra-Remonstrants*, made  
sim, and refused to keep any Communion  
be *Arminians*, alias *Remonstrants*. At  
these last held their Assemblies in the  
es, while the others held theirs in some  
 Houses, tho' the *Arminians* offered  
to make use of their Churches; but af-  
the *Gomarists* having found means to  
 Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* in their In-  
got soon the upper hand, and deprived  
Opponents of their Churches; and in the  
where they were Masters, they carried  
justice so far, as not to suffer them to  
gether for their Religious Worship,  
ly in publick, but even in private; plun-  
the Houses, beating, bruising and

Lewis 13. Arminians. Now, these Disputes which at  
1618. first were merely religious between some Di-  
Pope Paul vines, were become by degrees, an Affair of  
V. State wherein the Prince, the Magistrate, and other heads of the Governments took Party.

Prince Maurice, Stadt-holder of the United Provinces, was suspected of designing to encroach upon the Liberties of the said Provinces. Barneveldt, Attorney-General, and Lord Keeper of the Seals of the Province of Holland, a sincere and zealous Patriot, watched narrowly over all the Prince's Steps, and took all the Precautions which he thought requisite to prevent and oppose his supposed Designs; amongst which, some there were indeed carried too far, especially that of raising the Militia. There wanted not several malicious Persons, who magnified this Proceeding of Barneveldt, as an Attempt upon the Prince's Authority and Prerogative, and exasperated his Highness against him; amongst these was Francis Aersens formerly Ambassador of the States at the Court of France: he was impudent enough

### **VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 739**

y thing was in a greater Confusion than Lewis 13.  
, the Gomarists grew more fierce, as they  
more powerful; the Magistrates and other <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> ~~others~~  
ters that held for the Arminians, were de-  
ed; a national Synod was appointed at Dor-  
be for the 13th of November, notwithstanding  
the Opposition of three Provinces,  
entred their Protest against such an open-  
tion of their Privileges. BARNEVELDT,  
orney-General, and Keeper of the Seals of  
~~and~~; DE HOGUERBEIS, Penfionary of  
~~les~~; and GROTIUS, Penfionary of Rotter-  
; LEYDEMBERG, Secretary of the States of  
~~rbs~~, were arrested and made Prisoners of  
~~z~~, by the orders of Prince Maurice. Such  
Act of Arbitrary Power served to con-  
the Suspicions against that Prince, and put  
upon Mens Spirits (m). We shall resume  
melancholly Subject under the next Year;  
nust now succinctly relate the Effects of  
Proceedings of the Assembly of Oribex. 1619.  
We have said that for the greater Conveni- <sup>Continua-</sup>  
of the Deputies of the other Provinces <sup>ation of the</sup>  
the Bearnese had invited to their Af- <sup>Affairs of</sup>  
sly, they had transferred it to Rochelle,  
re some Difficulties started by the Lord  
or, and the Town-House, having been  
ed, they were admitted, and they opened  
Sessions in January. The news of that  
nge having reached the Court, the King  
his Council were much offended and pro-  
ed at it. And indeed by the Intercession  
he Dukes of Roban and Les Diguieres, and  
Lord Du Plessis, his Majesty seemed some-  
t mollified, and inclined to grant his Sub-  
of Bearn such tolerable Terms, which  
OL. IV. Ccc would

<sup>1</sup> Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. du même,  
n. 1617, 18, 19. Mem. de du Maurier, p. 279, &c.

740 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. would be a sufficient Compensation for what  
1619. they lost by the Restitution of the Church-  
*Pope Paul V.* Lands, &c. to the Catholicks ; but now there  
wanted not violent Persons in the King's  
Council, who were for carrying things to Ex-  
tremes, for proscribing the City of *Rocquelle*,  
and for prosecuting with the utmost Rigour,  
as Rebels, those who should assist in that As-  
sembly. Nay, the Parliament of *Paris* issued  
out an Edict against them ; in virtue whereof  
some of the Members were put to trouble in  
the Provinces. But by the wise Management  
and prudent Advices of *Du Plessis*, these Pro-  
ceedings were superseded ; and at last the Parlia-  
ment's Edict was repealed five or six Weeks  
after.

*The Queen-Mother's Escape from Blois.* While the Affairs of *Bearn* were in that  
State, the Queen-Mother, tired with her Cap-  
tivity at *Blois*, found means to make her Escape.  
*Luines*, who had a mind to know her Secrets,  
put in use a thousand unworthy Tricks and made  
a fool of her and the Duke of *Roban*, on pre-  
tence of an Agreement with that Princeps in

where she was met by the Duke of *Esperton*, Lewis 13.  
with 300 Horse, who attended her to *Angou-* 1619.  
*Hme.* Pope Paul V.

When the News of that Flight came to ~~Paris~~  
Paris, by a Letter which the Queen-Mother  
wrote to the King her Son, the whole Court  
was in an uproar; *Luines*, who had impru-  
dently neglected the Advertisements he had  
received by *Deageant*, one of his Creatures, of  
what was hatching between her Majesty and  
the Duke of *Esperton*, sent a Message to the  
King, who was then at *Ss. Germain*. His  
Majesty came back instantly, and held several  
Councils, wherein it was resolved to enter  
upon a Negotiation with the Queen-Mother,  
and to prepare for War. Thereupon the Queen  
on her side, and *Esperton* on his own, tam-  
pered with their Friends, and those whom they  
took to be so, desiring their Assistance; but  
they did not at first find them as ready as they  
had imagined; the Dukes of *Roben* and  
*De Les Diguieres* were not forgotten, but they  
very prudently declined to interfere in that  
Affair, in any other wise than by their good  
Offices with the King for bringing Matters to  
some reasonable Agreement.

The Queen-Mother and the Duke, had con-  
ceived great hopes that the Reformed would  
readily improve this Opportunity for obtaining  
by force of Arms that just Redress of their  
Grievances, which was denied to their Pa-  
tience; therefore they sent *Chambret*, Son-in-  
Law to *De La Nouë*, to *Rochelle*, for treating  
with the Assembly, but they were much mi-  
taken in their Expectation. *Chambret* was  
desired secretly to leave *Rochelle* without delay,  
for fear of the worst. Besides the Moderation  
of several of the Members of this Assembly,

742 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. the Letters of *Du Plessis* unto them, concurred  
1619. together with their good Dispositions, to this  
*Pope Paul* wise Resolution of theirs. That truly worthy  
V.

Lord had no sooner received the News of the Queen's Flight, but he dispatched an Express to *Rochelle* to inform the Assembly of that Event. He exhorted them to improve this Opportunity. *Send speedily to Court*, said he, *and give his Majesty the strongest Assurances, that our Churches will remain loyal and faithful, notwithstanding the manifold Subjects they have of Complaint, and that we desire nothing else of his Majesty but the free Exercise of our Religion, and the Preservation of our Privileges.*

His constant Maxim was, that the Reformed of France ought not to intermeddle themselves with any State-Party, besides the King's.

He knew very well that the King's Hatred would certainly fall upon his Reformed Subjects, whenever the Princes and the great Lords should have concluded their Treaty with him. Which indeed proved but too true afterwards.

so well how to improve the present Opportunity, he so efficaciously treated with the Court, that the Decree issued out by the Parliament of *Paris* against the Assembly of *Rochelle* was revoked. The King declared that it had been convened with a good Intention and for a good Purpose, he granted them to hold another at *Loudun* in the Month of *September* following. The Deputies set out very well pleased from *Rochelle* for their respective Provinces. They were in hopes that the Affairs of *Bearn* would be amicably adjusted. But greater Difficulties than it was imagined were started in the way. The Assembly broke up the 22d of *April*, having prescribed unto those of *Bearn* the ways and means of an Agreement with the Court, written Letters unto all the Provinces, exhorting them strictly to adhere to the King's Party, declaring fallen from their Union those who should go astray ; exhorted those of *Rochelle* to persist in the same ; and deputed again to Court to give his Majesty the fullest Assurances of their Loyalty (*n*). Lewis  
1619  
Pope Pa  
V.

As to the Affairs of the Queen-Mother, we Negotiations  
have said that his flight threw the Court into a *confusion* with  
great Consternation, being afraid lest her Party *the Queen-  
Mother.*  
should be greater or would increase daily ; that  
therefore they prepared for War, in order to  
make a more advantageous Peace. The Com-  
mand of the Army that was to act against her  
was given to the Duke of *Mayenne*, because  
the Favourite took him to be the most exas-  
perated against her, and the most devoted to  
himself. The Negotiation for an Agreement  
and Peace was committed to the Count of

**Ccc 3** *Bethune,*

(\*) Vie de Du Plessis, liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. IV. ad ann. 1619. Vie du Duc d'Espernon, Tom. II. ad ann. 1618-19. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.

744 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. *Betbune*, Brother to the Duke of *Sully*, because  
<sup>1619.</sup> he was thought to be one of the most accept-  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> able to that Princess. *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Lugon*,  
who had been sent in exile to *Avignon*, at the  
beginning of her Disgrace, was recalled, upon  
the Promise he made by his Brother-in-Law,  
*Pont-Courlay*, that he would endeavour to en-  
gage the Queen-Mother to make Peace with  
the King upon his own Terms, and to create  
Jealousies between the chief Deliverers of that  
Princess, which last he faithfully executed.  
But none succeeded so well in bringing her to  
the Terms of the King her Son, as Father  
*De Berulle*, afterwards Cardinal, and Fundator  
of the Oratory. After several Altercations, and  
goings and comings, Peace was at last con-  
cluded and signed on the 30th of April between  
the King and his Mother. By the Treaty, all  
her Servants were preserved in their Estates  
and Dignities, especially the Duke of *Espinay*;  
she resigned the Government of *Normandy*, in  
lieu whereof she had that of *Anjou*, the Castle  
*of Josselin*, *Duke of Cleve* and *Cleves*.

*She con-  
cludes the  
Treaty  
with her  
Son.*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 74.

me, I hope, my silence upon the Transactions Lewis  
of that Assembly, which, it seems, had taken 1619  
in several respects, the Council of Trent for Pope Pa-  
their Pattern. These Transactions are now too V.  
well known, and deserve rather to be buried in  
eternal Oblivion, than to be any more re-  
corded, unless it is for confirming this Obser-  
vation of *Gregory Nazianzen*, That he had  
never seen any good proceeding from a Coun-  
cil, that the Diseases of the Church are rather  
increased than cured thereby. This Synod,  
having examined with the greatest Partiality,  
the five Propositions of *Arminius*, and without  
allowing his Adherents the Liberty of asserting  
their Opinions, no more than the Council of  
*Trent* had allowed it to the Protestants, pub-  
lished about the latter end of *April* their Hy-  
pothesis about Predestination, the Death of Jesus  
Christ, the Corruption of Man, his Conversion  
unto God, and Perseverance of Saints. Upon  
every Article they condemned the Opinion  
contrary to the Synod's. *Episcopius* and other  
*Arminian* Ministers, summoned by the Synod,  
were deposed, and branded by the Sentence  
as Corrupters of the true Religion, and Di-  
sturbers of the Peace of the *Belgick* Churches.  
Such a gross Calumny of the *Belgick* Min-  
isters assembled in that Synod, went not un-  
censured by all *Europe*, as indeed it deserved.  
But no more of this. The purest Societies being  
composed of Men, are obnoxious to the same  
Affections as the most impure. Tho' the  
Churches of *France* had been forbidden from  
sending their Deputies to *Dort*, nevertheless  
the Decisions of that Assembly, were solemnly  
admitted by two of their Synods held the 1<sup>st</sup>  
at *Alets* in the *Cevennes*, and the 2<sup>d</sup> at *Charen-*  
*ton*. Nothing at all obliged them to take  
Ccc 4 that

Lewis 13. that step, contrariwise they were obliged in  
1619. Honour and Conscience to remain Neuters, at  
*Pope Paul.* least, as to the Articles of *Grace* and *Predestination*,  
*V.* seeing that they insisted so warmly upon  
a Reconciliation with the *Lutherans*, who  
were extremely offended at the *Dordracenian*  
Condemnation of their Tenets about these two  
Points. *I* may say the same of *James I.* who  
caused the said Opinions to be condemned by  
the Synod, at the same time that he was so  
eager after an Union between the Protestants and  
the Reformed, of what Denomination soever,  
and who set up himself for a Divine at the  
same time, when he ought to have acted like  
to himself, a King, and to take in hand the Pro-  
tection and Defence of the *Elector Palatine* his  
Son-in-Law.

*Trial and Condemnation of the Prisoners of State in Holland.* During the Sessions of this Synod, they were  
very hard at work at the *Hague*, for trying the  
Prisoners of State; whereupon I shall observe  
only this, that had they lived under the Govern-  
ment of the Duke of *Alva*, those illustrious  
Confessors and Martyrs of the People's Liber-

brought to receive their Sentence. *Barneveld Lewis 13.*  
 was condemned to be beheaded, and they had <sup>1619.</sup> *Pope Paul V.*  
 Cruelty enough for executing that unjust  
 Doom upon that venerable Magistrate to whom  
 they were beholden for their Liberties and  
 Privileges, very little less than even to *Wil-*  
*liam I. Prince of Orange:* he fell a Victim to a  
 certain State Party; he asserted to the last the  
 People's Liberties, his Head was sever'd in the  
 Morning the 13th of May, in the 72d Year of  
 his Age. *Grotius and de Hoguerbeis* were con-  
 demned to a perpetual Imprisonment, and ac-  
 cordingly brought to the Castle of *Louvestein*,  
 from whence *Grotius* found means to escape  
 some Years after. As to *Leydenberg*, he was  
 found drowned in his own Blood, having had  
 his Throat cut in the Night before he was to be  
 confronted with the other Prisoners; so TAN-  
 TUM POTUIT RELLIGIO SUADERE MA-  
 LORUM.

To return to *France.* The Prince of *Condé* *Condé is*  
 was set at liberty about the 20th of October. *set at li-*  
*He was beholden for that Favour to the Fa-* *berty.*  
*vourite, who designed to oppose him to the*  
*Queen-Mother, whenever she should return*  
*to Court. Deageant, Creature of the Favourite,*  
*being suspected to keep Correspondence with*  
*the Bishop of *Luçon*, lost the Favour, and was*  
*sent back into *Dauphiné* to execute his Office*  
*of President in the Parliament of *Grenoble*.*  
*However, for to conceal his Disgrace from the*  
*Eyes of the Publick, he was charged with a Com-*  
*mision to offer the Marshal Duke of *Les Di-**  
*guires, in the King's Name, the Constable's*  
*Staff, if he would turn Catholick. The old am-*  
*bitious Man listened readily to the Proposition;*  
*and to convince the Court that he was sin-*  
*cerely resolved to be obsequious in that respect,*  
*and*

Lewis 13. and to renounce his own Religion, unto which  
1619. he was beholden for his wonderful Rise, he  
*Pope Paul V.* did not scruple to impart to *Deageant* whatever  
Propositions were made unto him by the Re-  
formed, and to take his Advice on the An-  
swers he was to return; nevertheless, he  
did not change outwardly his Religion, but  
acted the Part of a downright Hypocrite from  
this time till he was sure of the Constableship,  
which happened three or four Years after.

*Assembly of Loudun.* While these and several other Intrigues were  
carried on at Court between *Luines* and the  
Queen-Mother, and the Prince of *Condé* while  
he was Prisoner, the Reformed opened their  
Sessions at *Loudun* in the Month of *September*,  
according to the King's own Appointment;  
the Vidame of *Chartres* was named President  
of the Assembly, the Reverend Doctor *Chartre*  
Minister of *Sommieres* in *Languedoc* was his  
Assistant, and Messrs. *De Chales* and *Malleray*,  
Secretaries. Now, whereas the State-Ministers  
had taken no care to give any Satisfaction to

tion of the Officers professing the Reformed Religion in the superiour Courts ; the Removal of *Fontrailles*, Governour of *Leytoure*, who had turned Catholick, and was consequently incapable of that Place according to the Edict of *Nantz*, because that place was one of the Cautionary Towns ; the Exemption from Taxes for the Ministers ; the sending of the Commissaries thro' the Provinces for causing the Edicts to be executed ; the Change of Places granted for religious Worship, and which were too far distant from the abode of those who were to make use of them ; a Continuation of the Cautionary Towns, and especially that an Account should be given of those that were held by Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, who had all along refused to give any account of them to the Churches ; lastly, a Revocation, or at least a Suspension of the Decree given in behalf of the Roman Catbolick Clergy in *Bearn*, till the *Bearneſe* had been heard. The Deputies met the King at *Compiegne*, and followed him to *Chantilly*, where the Prince of *Condé* with his Consort had been brought, to make their Submissions to his Majesty. The King was advised not to receive their Petitions before they had drawn the general one, containing their whole Demands, and the Deputies were dismissed without being heard. Whereupon the Assembly resolved to obey the King's Will, and to send their general Bill of Grievances and Petitions ; but at the same time, they resolved not to depart from *Loudun* till they had received real Satisfaction. This General Bill was sent to Court by new Deputies, who set out from *Loudun* the 13th of December. But they were told, that the Assembly ought to name their Deputies and to break up instantly, and

Lewis 13. and then their Bills and Petitions would be favourably answered, and what was promised  
<sup>1619.</sup> Pope Paul V. faithfully executed. The Court affirmed, as  
boldly as if it had been true, that it had been always usual for these Assemblies to break up as soon as they had delivered their Bills and Petitions, and named their general Deputies, without waiting for an Answer to the said Bills and Petitions ; that was utterly false, and subverted the main Design of these Assemblies, which was chiefly to consider the Grievances of the Churches, the ways of redressing them, and to represent the same to his Majesty by proper Deputies, and to insist till they had obtained a Redress. That had been the Custom before *Henry IV.* was set upon the Throne of *France*, and it had lasted till the Assembly of *Châtel-beraud*, when the Duke of *Sully*, betraying the Cause of the Churches, forced that Assembly to break up before they had obtained the Redress and Satisfaction which they expected. The same thing was done in the Assembly of *Saumur* at the beginning of this

General Deputies, and then to break up. notwithstanding that unkind Treatment, these Deputies were received with the utmost Respect by the Assembly. But they resolved to send another Deputation to the King, to re-state upon that Subject. They were admitted to the Audience about the 25th of February; the King having heard their Speech, bid them to obey and depart, without entering into the Merits of the Cause; and as they were ready to reply, his Majesty bid the Deputies to turn them out; all the Favour they received was, that the Chancellor told them, if the Assembly would send some proper Persons with Power to treat with the King's Council, they would find ways to some Settlement. This rude Usage of the Assembly's Deputies was like to bring Matters to a desperate Issue. Being arrived at Loudun on the 7th of February, and having made their Report to the Assembly, some were for breaking up abruptly, without naming the general Deputies. They resolved at last to consult the

the great Lords that resided at

Lewis 13. thought proper to accept the said Proposition,  
1620. and this the more, that *Belluon*, Governor of  
Pope Paul V. *Villemur*, was arrived that very same day at  
Saumur, being sent by the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, (who was then at Paris, in order to be  
sworn Duke and Peer of France \*,) to im-  
part unto him a Scheme which he had drawn,  
conjointly with the Count of *Cbatillon* on one  
part, and the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke  
of *Luines* on the other, for bringing Matters  
to an Agreement. The Scheme was such,  
1st, That the Assembly should break up before  
the end of *February*. 2d, That immediately  
after their Separation, the King should answer  
their Bills and Petitions favourably. 3d, But  
that he should forthwith remove *Fonsrailles* (†)  
from the Government of *Leytoures*. 4th, That  
he should grant the keeping of the Cau-  
tionary Towns for a Year longer besides the  
three that still remained to come. 5th, That  
he should oblige the Parliament of *Paris* to  
receive the two Counsellors so often mentioned.

All this was to be performed within six Months

Resuming of the Ecclesiastical Estates. Assembly being informed of all this by *effis*, and expecting to obtain something yet, followed his Advice, and sent a Deputation to Court, with a full Power in their Name. But while they were on the Road, *Luines* obtain'd a Declaration from the King, bearing date the 26th of February, whereby supposing that there were disaffected Persons in the Assembly, who sought to inspire ill designs into the rest of the Peace and Quietness of the State, granted a new Delay of three Weeks from the date of the present, for naming their Deputies General after the usual way, and then took up; which if they refused to do, he declared the said Assembly unlawful from that instant, and those that should remain attainted, after the said Term of three Weeks, of high Treason, and deprived of all the Privileges of the Edicts, and commanded all Magistrates, and others to whom it became to execute them as Disturbers of the

754 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. promising to receive them, tho' so irregularly  
1620. chosen. The Prince of *Condé* himself carried  
*Pope Paul V.* that Declaration to the Parliament in order to  
get it verified, and not content with such a Step,  
so much contrary to the Honour of a Prince  
of the Blood, who not only stood beholden to  
those whom he persecuted, but who had en-  
gaged his Word to support their Interest in  
this Occasion, he seconded it with virulent  
Speeches against them, which might reasonably  
be looked upon as a Declaration of War.

This Proceeding was a Thunder-bolt for  
the Deputies, and very likely they would have  
gone back to *Loudun*, had they had notice  
thereof before their Arrival at *Paris*. The  
Enemies of the Reformed, or those who sought  
nothing else but an opportunity to fish in  
troubled Waters, left no stone unturned to  
mortify the Assembly, to put them out of pa-  
tience, and to break the Negotiations on foot;  
so far they went, that the Attorney-General  
sent the abovesaid Declaration to the Assembly,

with all their Might, by kindling a Civil War Lewis 13. in the Kingdom, in order to make a Diversion of 1620. the King's Forces, and hinder him from <sup>Pope</sup> Paul giving any Assistance to the Emperor ~~Ferdinand~~ V. ~~II.~~ But more of this presently. The King bewitched with such false Notions instilled into him by our mortal Enemies, *Spain* and *Rome*, thought, that in Conscience he was obliged to prevent the Execution of that pretended Plot ; and for this Reason it is, that he dealt so roughly with the Assembly of *Loudun*, wherein he was seconded by several of his Officers in the Parliament. For having several Money-Bills to be verify'd in that Court, in order to bring them to a Compliance, they promised the Extirpation of Heresy out of the Kingdom. The Jesuits, and other like Preachers, inflamed the People by their seditious Sermons, and obtained a Licence to preach in the Cautionary Towns, contrary to the express Words of the Edict of *Nantz*, so that every thing was like to tend to a general Confusion : The Reformed saw themselves exposed to the Mercy of an implacable Enemy, without any Hopes of Redress or Relief from those who held the Reins of the Government, and obliged to shift for themselves. But when things were in that seeming desperate Condition, a favourable Turn happened, whereby their Ruin was superseded for a while. *Du Plessis* resenting, as he ought, the Injury done to the whole Reformed Body, in the Persons of their Representatives assembled at *Loudun*, wrote to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, and shewed unto him the dangerous Consequences of such a violent Proceeding of the Court ; dangerous for himself, who should lose all his Credit amongst

..... Grievances and to c  
He wrote also to the Du  
Father-in-Law to the Duke  
vourite, and told him plain  
Son-in-Law's Interest not to  
vil War on any Pretence w  
his Enemies would not fai  
Opportunity for executing t  
out of Jealousy, they ha  
him.

These Letters had the de  
Duke of *Les Diguieres* di  
*Gillier* to *Loudun*, to assur  
that notwithstanding the K  
above mentioned, their Depu  
mited to audience; and th  
Intention in their behalf was  
vertheleſſ these Hopes were  
present; the Deputies who  
King to *Amiens*, were not  
dience, at which the Assembl  
ted. Fresh Letters were sent  
*Les Diguieres*, whereupon  
der to settle his Cade.

ius the Assembly obeyed, being persuad-  
*Les Diguieres, Chatillon, and Du Plessis*,  
had received Assurances by the two first,  
as soon as they should break up, Satisfac-  
tion should be given them about the Affair of  
*ures*, the keeping of the Cautionary  
is, and the Reception of the two Coun-  
s; that in the next place, the King  
would hear the Remonstrances of those of  
; and that in case all that was not per-  
formed within seven Months time, they should  
Leave to assemble again, and the Prince  
*adé* and the Duke of *Luires* would ob-  
t of the King for them. They insisted at  
to have the said Assurances in Writing, but  
Persuasion of the above-said Lords, they  
ced, and so fell into the Snare. They na-  
ix Persons to the King, who chose the  
unt of *Favas* for the Nobility, and *De-*  
*s*, lately first Consul of *Nimes*, for the  
nons, to be their General Deputies at  
. In acknowledgment of their Obe-  
King granted them five years in-

the Favourite. The Queen ardently to come to Court, *Lugon*, who was not come before himself with her in the endeavour'd by all means to fire. Had the King been Inclinations, he would soon his Mother's Desire ; but, as observed, he was not born to be governed. *Luines*, who that Princess should snatch authority out of his Hands, above all the superior Genius posed to his utmost her Royal Malice went so far, as to Master's Mind with the designs of being poison'd by him designed, as he said, to set Duke of Orleans on the Throne. Catherine of Medicis had a Charles IX. her Son.

*The Queen-Mother forms a* <sup>an</sup> *thoroughly known to the Queen*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 759

ms to do her Justice, and formed a Party Lewis 13. ainst him strong enough to crush him and 1620. Brothers, had the good Advices of the Pope Paul V. Duke of *Espéronn* been followed. The Coun-  
is Dowager of *Soissons*, the Count her Son,  
Duke of *Vendôme*, the Great Prior his  
other, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*,  
*vers*, *de la Tremouille*, *Roban*, *Retz*, *Roua-*, &c. withdrew from Court, and went most  
of them to their respective Governments ;  
Duke of *Espéronn* was already in his own ;  
they all declared themselves for the Queen-  
other against the Favourite. *Mayenne*, Go-  
rnour of *Guienne*, set on foot an Army of  
5,000 Men ; *Espéronn* another of 10,000 :  
Opinion was, that the Queen ought to  
them with what Forces she had by her,  
which would have made an Army of above  
5,000 Men, all fine Troops, with whom  
ines would hardly have been able to cope,  
it been rightly managed. But *Richelieu*,  
ined by the Duke of *Lünes*, and blinded by  
nbtion, betrayed his Mistress, opposing with  
his Might the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Espé-*, and *Roban*'s Counsels, and engaging that  
incest not to stir out of *Angers*.

While they were deliberating in the Queen's *The King* muncil, the King was upon Execution. By *takes the* Advice of the Prince of *Condé*, his Ma-field.  
ty marched in Person into *Normandy* ; in a  
days he subdued the whole Province, and *He sub-*  
e Duke of *Longueville* was obliged to flee *dues Nor-*  
*Dieppe*, where he remained 'till Peace was *mandy*.  
ade, without daring to stir.

That Expedition damp'd the Queen-Mo-  
er ; she did not expect that the King her  
a would so soon take such Methods in or-  
r to bring her to a Compliance. She re-

degrees from her high Preter  
to insist any more upon the  
val from Court.

*He forces his Mother to accept of his Terms.* Nevertheless, as the King  
ved, that her Majesty sough  
and carried the Negotiation  
than they desired, they ad-  
pursue his Conquest ; and a  
7th of August, they attacked  
Bridge of Cé, without any  
on their side, and made a  
the Garrison, which consis-  
sand Men \*. This new La-  
ciously, and engaged the C  
the Treaty which had be-  
two Months together : I  
both sides the 11th of Aug.  
Mother was to return to Co-  
ces and Lords who had folk  
be received into the King's  
that they should make their  
ance at Court, wherever it sh

e the Queen his Mother came to pay him <sup>of the King  
and his  
Mother.</sup> fit, on the 13th of the same Month.  
He followed his Army to *Poitiers*, from <sup>He goes to</sup> *Bordeaux* on the 9th of *Bour-  
mber*: His Majesty's Council gave out, <sup>deaux.</sup>  
it was to cause *Leytoure* to be restored to  
lands of an unsuspected Reformed; but  
Design of that Journey was to force  
*Bearne* to a Compliance. His Majesty  
to *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, requir-  
his Advice: That Lord answered to Mr.  
*Beaux*, one of his Majesty's Secretaries,  
this his Majesty's Undertaking could not  
be very good, provided that every thing  
be done in their proper Order; to wit,  
the Promises made to the Assembly of  
should be executed first of all; that  
should be restored; the two Coun-  
admitted in the Parliament of *Paris*;  
State of the Cautionary Towns delivered  
provided for; the *Bearne* admitted to  
te their Reasons for their Oppofition to  
Decree; then his Majesty might

Lewis 13. But the King was no sooner arrived at *Bour-  
deax.*, than the *Bearneſe* were commanded to  
*Pariſ* submit and obey. True it is indeed, that his  
Majesty had obliged *Fontrailles* to resign the  
Government of *Leytoure*, and had put it into  
the hands of Mr. *De Blainville*, professing  
the Reformed Religion; but that was only a  
small Part of what had been promised. The  
Parliament of *Pariſ*: insisted upon their former  
Oppositions to the Reception of the two Coun-  
sellors; nay, they were not ashamed to say  
now, that the *Bearneſe* ought first to obey, and  
then the rest should be performed, quite  
contrary to what had been stipulated at *Lou-  
dun*. Nevertheless, we must not dissemble;  
the King had several Reasons for being dis-  
pleased with several Lords amongst the Re-  
formed, as well as with the Obſtinacy of the  
*Bearneſe*; the Duke of *La Trimouille* had joined  
his Interest with the Queen-Mother in the  
last Insurrection; and the Inhabitants of *St.*

*John d'Angely* made heavy Complaints against  
the Duke of *Rohan*, for that his Deputy Ge-

of *La Force*, that the said Decree would be  
vited to by the Parliament of *Pau*: The  
ties of the Parliament arrived at last;  
nstead of the Ratification of the King's  
ce, they brought nothing else but a Disown-  
if what their Governour had promised in  
Name, and a Refusal of verifying it, on  
ce that the said Parliament had been  
temed and put in fear by a vast Number  
Country-People, who had besieged them  
e Parliament-House, and committed se-  
Outrages. The King, having heard the  
ties, did not think proper to put off any  
er his Journey into that Country. He  
out at the Head of part of his Army;  
though he was met upon the Road by the  
Parliament, who brought him the Verifica-  
of the said Decree, without any Amend-  
t, he continued his March, and arrived at  
the 16th of *October*; on the 17th he caused  
to be said in the old Temple, and on the  
he went to *Navarins*, the strongest Place  
Country, where Mass was said by his

764     *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13 of the Country, wherein he united the Sov-  
1620.     *reignty of Bearn and Navarre to the Crown*  
*Pope Paul V.* of France, and thereby reduced the Bearnes  
to the same Condition as his other Subjects in  
France, as to Religion ; that is to say, that they  
were to live, in that respect, according to the  
Rules of the Edict of Nantz. So that the Roman  
Catholick Religion, from being only tolerated  
in the Suburbs, became the National Religion,  
and the Reformed Religion became only tolera-  
ted, obliged to yield to the Catholicks all the  
Churches they had been posses'd of for fifty  
Years in the Cities, and to meet together in  
the Suburbs. The Conternation was gene-  
ral amongst the poor People : The Catholicks  
insulted their Misery in a thousand ways, more  
offending one than another. This, it is true,  
they had drawn upon themselves by their Ob-  
stinacy ; by refusing the tolerable Terms they  
had been offered by the Court, notwithstanding  
the moving Intreaties of their best Friends,  
who endeavoured to persuade them to submit.  
But as the Duke of Rohan observes, they knew

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 765

The King having settled every thing in Lewis 13.  
Bearn to his liking, set out for Paris the 20th <sup>1620.</sup> of October, where he arrived about the 9th of November. Before I proceed any further — I think proper to make some particular Observations upon these Affairs of Bearn, which occasioned the Desolations and Ruins of so many of our Churches for above nine years together; and at last the Loss of so many valuable Rights and Privileges granted us by the Edict of Nantz.

*First,* It is certain, that by an Edict of the States of Bearn in 1564, the Roman Religion was interdicted in that Principality, and the Ecclesiastical Estates and Church-Lands were forfeited for ever on account of the unnatural Treason of the Catholicks, especially the Clergy of that Country, against their lawful Sovereign Queen Jane of Navarre.

*Secondly,* It is certain that the Reformed Religion was so deeply rooted in the Hearts of the Bearnese, that very little notice was taken by them of the repeated Orders the King of Navarre, their lawful Prince, sent them to turn Catholicks, when he had been himself forced to do the like on Bartholomew's Day in 1572.

*Thirdly,* It is as certain that that great Prince, very well acquainted with his true Interests, and no less careful of the Privileges and Liberties of his Subjects than of his own Prerogatives, would never consent to make, of his own Authority, any Alteration in the Government, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, of his Principality of Bearn; tho' his Proctors at the Court of Rome had, of their own accord, promised so much, when he was reconciled to that See; and tho' the Pope's Legates and Nuncios had oftentimes insisted with him on the

try, than to divert the Reve  
any other Use than those w  
been design'd by Queen Jane

Fourthly, It is certain, th:  
had made a dangerous Pre  
Privileges and Liberties, wh  
quest, they were admitted to t  
Reformed Churches of *France*,  
tional Synod of *Rochelle*, hel  
then by the political General &  
*Saumur* in 1611, as making a  
self, who had a Right to send  
Assemblies, either ecclesiastic  
which should be held for th  
Reformed Churches \* : And  
Enemies failed not to make us  
ment in the King's Council  
when the Question was to unit  
lity and *Navarre*, &c. to the Ci  
It is true, that after having acc  
mission given unto them by th  
nud held at *Tonneins* in 1614,  
the next National, on condi  
should observe the Decr.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 767

the bad Consequences it would be attended Lewis 13.  
with.

1620.

*Fifthly,* But if the Union of *Bearn*, &c. to <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> the Crown of *France* was not, absolutely speaking, contrary to the Laws of Justice and Equity, nor even to the known Laws of the Country, it is certain, that the fundamental Laws of the Country were violated by the Alterations made in the Government, either ecclesiastical or civil, without the Consent of the States General of *Bearn*; and that the *Bearneze* had a Right to oppose with all their Might such a Subversion of their Liberties and Privileges.

*Sixtly,* But on the other hand, the *Bearneze* ought to have consider'd at first whether they were able to cope with the Forces of their Sovereign, without exposing not only themselves, but all their Friends who should join with them, to a certain Ruin. Had they weighed seriously the vast Power of a King of *France*, and compared it impartially with their own Weakness, they would not have flattered themselves as they did, and hazard their All rather than to yield a single Tittle. The Compensation which the King offered, was more than sufficient for what they yielded to satisfy them; nay, they were expressly promised, that in case of Non-performance, they were allowed to re-enter into Possession of the Church-Lands, and other ecclesiastical Estates, but nothing could satisfy them; and they did as a Man, who being attack'd by thirty or forty Highway-men, would chuse to be beaten, abused, deprived of all, murthered rather than to deliver a small Piece of Gold which he is asked for: Would that Man be deemed wise?

But

Lewis 13. But lest I should be deemed either ignorant  
1620. of the Case, or too partial in the Judgment I  
~~Pope Paul~~ V. pass, I think proper to translate here the unex-  
ceptionable Authority of the most venerable  
and worshipful *Du Plessis*. The Duke of  
*Roban*, as we have said above, tells us, that the  
Bearnese knew neither how to obey, nor how  
to defend themselves. *Du Plessis*, in his Let-  
ter to the Dutches Dowager of *Roban*, dated  
at *Saumur* the 3d of November 1620, has  
these Words: *I bewail with you the Desola-*  
*tions of BEARN, and find no other Comfort but*  
*in the Grief I feel for that these Wretches will*  
*never listen to any Counsel.* A sad Comfort in-  
deed! The same Words he wrote to Mr. *Au-*  
*jorant*, Agent for the Republick of *Geneva* at  
the Court of *France*, in his Letter of the 6th  
of November, only instead of these Words,  
*TO ANY COUNSEL*, he says, to the Counsel of  
their faithullest Friends; and in another to  
the Marquis of *La Mouffaye* of the same  
Date, he says: *This Comfort I have now that*

bt of the Affairs of Bearn, and what my  
ces have been, always inclining, as well as  
self, to some reasonable Agreement, whereby  
own Safety would have been provided for,  
ell as the King's Authority. And never-  
s, these poor wretched People have drawn  
themselves their own Misfortune, in dan-  
f communicating it to others. I might  
increase my Quotations, but these me-  
s are more than sufficient; and am in-  
s, that being screen'd under such a Vou-  
, no body will deem me partial, when I do  
ively affirm, that Passion, Self-Interest,  
of some were more concerned in these  
bles, and in the Civil-Religious, or ra-  
Irreligious Wars, wherein we were invol-  
the very next Year, than Religion itself,  
ch Assertion I am very sorry to be so  
able to make good, and wish to God that  
y be found a Lyar, for the Honour of  
Religion, or rather the Professors thereof.  
let us return to our main Subject.

these Transactions in Bearn, and for *The 23d*

Lewis 13. fessor ; and the Rev. Mr. *Nicholas Vignier*,  
1620. Minister of *Blois*, with *Thomas Papillon*, Ad-  
Pope Paul vocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and Elder  
V. of the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries.

Many Complaints were brought before this Assembly, of the Injustices done to the Reformed in several Parts of the Kingdom ; some Churches there were where the free Exercise of Religion was opposed : The Affairs of *Leytoures*, *Sancerre*, and *Privas* were consider'd. But one of the most important Affairs of this Assembly, was that of the Ministers who had preached their own Opinions about Civil Matters, at *Loudun*, against the Resolutions of the Assembly : There were several such Men in the *Lower Languedoc*, who occasioned several Disturbances in the Political Assemblies of that Province, because the Deputies that composed them being nominated by the Churches, there were too many Ministers nominated for the said Deputation ; and even such as could not obtain to be chosen by their Church, endea-

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 771

National Synod, for Deputies of the Reformed Churches in France to the Synod of *Dort*,<sup>1620.</sup> accounted for their Absence, and the unperformance of their Commission. The King forbade them to go thither, so that *Chamier* and *Chauve*, who were already arrived at *Genève*, were obliged to come back. They were let out without having asked the King's Leave; the two others thought it more adviseable and prudent to ask it, but were refused. His Majesty did not think proper that his own Subjects should assist in an Assembly, wherein, (*as he was very well informed*) Matters would take a turn quite contrary to the strong solicitations he caused to be made to their High-Mightinesses by his Ambassadors. The present Synod, not being able to do more, not only accepted the Decisions framed at *Dort*, but took an Oath upon them and subscribed them, not only for the Sake of Union, but on account of Faith; not considering, that hereby they intirely subverted their Scheme for an Union between the *Lutherans* and *Calvinists*, and that they estranged the first from them more than ever. Nevertheless they added to this Act of their Adherence to the *Dordracenian* Doctrine, an Exhortation to the Ministers to whom the Cure of precious Souls is committed, " That they should walk together evenly and harmoniously in one and the same way; that they should abstain from all idle, unprofitable, and curious Questions; that they do not pry into the Sacred Ark of God's hidden and unrevealed Counsels and Decrees, above or beyond what is recorded in his written Word, the Holy Scriptures of Truth, but rather that they would humbly own and acknowledge their Ignorance of those pro-

**772      History of the Reformation and of the**

**Lewis 1 3** “ found and unfathomable Mysteries, than in-  
**1620.** “ trude themselves into things unlawful ; and  
**Pope Paul V.** “ that they would so order their Discourses  
“ and Sermons concerning Predestination, that  
“ it might promote Repentance and Amend-  
“ ment of Life, comfort wounded Conscien-  
“ ces, and excite the Practice of Godliness ;  
“ that so all Occasions of Disputes and Con-  
“ troversies may be avoided, &c.” Nothing  
more fine, just and reasonable could be said :  
But had these godly Rules strictly been ob-  
served at *Dort*? Had these truly modest Sen-  
timents prevailed in the Synod ? Let the Rea-  
der of the History of that Synod of *Dort* be  
judge for himself.

The Affair of *Bearn* caused great Agita-  
tions in this Synod ; some were for taking  
their Cause in hand, for sending a Deputation  
to the King in their behalf, and in case it  
proved ineffectual, for engaging in that Quar-  
rel all the Reformed Churches of the King-  
dom : But others, more moderate and more

has little considered, either what the Gospel requires of its sincere Professors, or what was requisite for the Welfare of our Churches, in true Policy, in the Condition they were then in, or the favourable Circumstances of our Enemies. Christianity calls us to suffer the Loss of our Temporal Concerns when our Spiritual ones are safe; whereby I mean, Liberty of Conscience, Freedom of Worship, and such like; rather than to expose ourselves to the Danger of losing these, without any certainty of preserving the others. Now it is certain, that at that time, in general, we enjoyed every where (fifteen or eighteen Places excepted) the Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of Worship. It is true, that as to the Freedom of Worship, or the free publick Exercise of our Religion, it was attended in several Places with great Inconveniences, because the Places appointed for Divine Service, were far distant from the Places of our Abode: but that was mostly the fault of those who had drawn up the Edict of Nantz, who were not careful enough in that respect, and left several like things undecided, which ought to have been clear'd at first, as the Reverend Author, just now mentioned, rightly observes in the 1st Vol. of his History. As to the Situation of the Reformed in those Days, it is certain that Peace and Quietness were very requisite, in order to retrieve not only the Kingdom in general, but the Reformed Party in particular, from their former Losses, and to restore it to its former Splendor: They were but in small number, in comparison of what they had been under the three last Reigns of the House of Orleans, and the beginning of Henry IV. They had no Support within nor without whereupon they could depend, as

Lewis 13. they had had in the former times, when they  
1620. had been supported by the Politician Party  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> at home, which was very considerable, and  
abroad, by the formidable Armies of *Reifters*  
and *Landskenets* sent to their Assistance by  
the Protestant Princes of Germany. Their  
Cause was no longer the same, they had to  
fight in the former Wars for the Honour of  
their Wives and Daughters, for their Liberty,  
for their Lives, for their Consciences, in a  
word for whatever is the dearest amongst Men:  
But now they were to fight for more or less  
of Civil Rights and Privileges, and even for  
less than that. Could the Chiefs amongst our  
Reformed expect to be supported by the whole  
Body, when a great part of them were bet-  
ter informed of the true Motives that induced  
them to take up Arms? Besides that,  
there was no such an Union and good Un-  
derstanding amongst themselves as was requi-  
site for expecting any good Success from an  
Insurrection. The great Lords had each of

and sought sincerely the Welfare of the  
nes ; but his long Experience made him  
, that one Year of a Civil War was a  
great deal worse then twenty Years of  
-Administration ; and his Godliness  
ed him to postpone all Temporal Con-  
to the Spiritual : so that being not well  
d as to THESE, that they were so much  
ted, as it was commonly reported, (for he  
very where good Correspondents, who  
ed him exactly of every thing) he could  
ar with the thought of bringing Af-  
o extremes, as long as they enjoy'd  
ccious Liberty of Conscience, and Free-  
f Exercise, which he valued above  
ngs. There was not such a harmony  
between the Commonalties themselves  
to have been, besides the different  
thinking in the Provinces this side the  
rom those beyond ; the Commonalties  
*Southern Provinces* did not agree one  
other, but followed, for the most part,  
s of their Governor, who had,

776 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

*Louis 13. part of the Protestant Princes of Germany for  
1620. the Support of the Elector Palatine, King of  
Pope Paul V. Bohemia, was especially formed for the De-*

*struction of the Roman Religion, he did not  
think proper to meddle himself in the Trou-  
bles of Germany, any further than by send-  
ing his Ambassadors to Vienna, to negotiate  
an Agreement between the contending Parties,  
which however was of none effect; but there  
being no Diversion of his Forces, which were  
ready to take the Field, I cannot apprehend  
how the Rev. Mr. Benoit has been so unpo-  
litical, as to charge with Bribery and Corrup-  
tion those who opposed all violent Schemes  
in this Synod, which having sat for two full  
Months, and dispatched several things relating  
to Discipline, and settled their Accounts of the  
King's Monies, ended their Sessions the 2d  
Day of December.*

*Affairs of We have given some hint of the Elector  
the Elector Palatine, Frederick V. having been elected  
Palatine. King of Bohemia in September, 1619, in the  
room of Ferdinand II. Emperor, who had*

## CHAP. VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 777

t the Gates of *Frankfort* had been shut Lewis 13.  
to their Ambassadors, which they had sent <sup>1620.</sup> Pope Paul  
the Diet of the Electors, for to protest in V.  
is Name against *Ferdinand's* fitting in the ~~new~~  
Diet as King-Elector of *Babemia*. There-  
seeing that *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding  
Remonstrances, had not only been ad-  
mitted to sit as Elector, but had been also  
ordained to be Emperor, the States of the King-  
dom were assembled, and in Presence of the  
Princes of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusatia*, they  
took an Oath to shake off the Yoke of the  
House of *Austria*, and to elect another King  
instead of *Ferdinand*; and accordingly on the  
1st of September, 1619, they declared *Frederick*  
Elector Palatine, duly elected King  
*Babemia*. He was preferred to the three  
other Candidates, the King of *Denmark*, the  
Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Savoy*,  
account of his Proximity and Power; but  
especially because he was not united with  
the House of *Austria*, as the Elector of  
*Savoy* was: besides that he was meek and ge-  
nerous, and they were in hopes that *James*  
First would support his Son-in-Law, and  
at the States-General of the United Pro-  
vinces would freely join their Forces with  
them for their common Defence, in considera-  
tion of Prince *Maurice*, Uncle to *Frederick*.  
They also much rely'd upon the League of  
the Protestant Princes of *Germany*,  
whereof the Elector Palatine was Head. Fi-  
nally, they flattered themselves that the Duke  
of *Bouillon*, Uncle to *Frederick*, would pre-  
vail with the Court of *France*, and obtain  
an Affiance for his Nephew, and that the  
Reformed Nobility of that Kingdom would  
easily enter into the Service of a Prince of  
their

778 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13 their Religion. But they were much deceived  
1620. in their Expectation; King James infatuated  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> with the Notions of an arbitrary Power in the

Prince over his Subjects, was very far from supporting the Cause of the *Bohemians*, he wilfully suffered himself to be grossly imposed upon by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*, and chose to sacrifice the Honour and Interest of his Son-in-Law to these wild Notions of Government, and to his idle Temper, rather than to exert himself in a princely manner, notwithstanding the Remonstrances of his Parliament, and their generous Efforts to support *Frederick*. The Affairs of *France* were not in a posture that could permit the King to interfere in a foreign War, so that the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*'s Endeavours and Expectations were frustrated. The Elector of *Saxony* forsook the Protestant League, and joined the Emperor. Nevertheless the *Bohemians* would have been able to cope with *Ferdinand* and his Allies, had not two Overthrows almost ruined the Affairs of *Bethlem*.

every where.

The Bohemian Army commanded by the General *Thurn* was marching in all diligence from *Austria*, in order to join the *Transylvanian* Army. *Thurn* would have carried *Vienna's* fortifications, had it not been for the stout Resistance of the Count *Dampierre*. *Thurn* consequently Marched towards *Hungary*, and for hindrance junction with the *Transylvanians*, sent a detachment of *Buquois* attacked with 5000 Men under command of *Gabor*, who had with him 10000 Men, but for the most part raw recruits, who were beaten; nevertheless *Buquois* having not a sufficient Number of Troops to hinder the *Transylvanians* from joining the *Bohemians*. They marched to *Vienna*, where the Inhabitants were in a great Condition. That City would have been besieged, but *Gabor* having received Advice of the arrival of *Stephen Ragozzi*, General of his troops in the *Upper Hungary*, this second General obliged him to part with *Thurn*, and *Thurn* all speed into *Hungary*,

Lewis 13. proceed to the Proclamation of *Gabor*, <sup>1620.</sup> King \*, and that Prince imprudently accepted *Pope Paul V.* of a Truce with the Emperor. As to the *Bohemians*, *Frederick* was crowned at *Prague* the 4th of *November*, and *Elizabeth* his Consort two or three Days after. But not having found that Assistance whereupon he had too easily relied, he lost by degrees all his Advantages, 'till at last he was totally ruined by the loss of the Battle fought before *Prague* the 9th of *November* 1620, a Year and five Days after his Coronation. His Majesty was obliged to save himself by flight: in less than ten Days he lost not only his Acquisitions, but also most part of his own Patrimony, all his Titles and Dignities, and was obliged to seek for a Refuge in the Court of the Elector of *Brandenbourg* (r). Such was the State of Affairs in *Germany*. The seven United Provinces were in no better Condition to afford any Assistance to the Reformed of *France*. Their Truce with *Spain* was near expiring, they wanted the *French* King's Assistance in

### III. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 781

this time by our Ancestors, as con- Lewis 13.  
only to their Duty to God, their Al- 1620.  
to the King, but even to their own <sup>Pope Paul</sup> V.  
self; as I shall make it plainly appear  
quel.

withstanding the King's Declarations *The Polit-  
ing all political Assemblies without his cal Affir-  
mance, on pain of Death, the Depu-  
tys at Ro-  
chelle.*  
Provinces being arrived at *Rochelle*,  
ing celebrated a Fast, opened their  
on the 24th of December. Their  
e was to mollify his Majesty's Heart,  
h purpose they drew up an humble *They send  
to him, wherein they set forth in a an humble  
l manner the Reasons which had Address to  
the Reformed Churches to hold an Af-  
and the manifold Grievances they had  
re suffered, through the Infraction of  
ia. They put him in remembrance,  
order to oblige them to depart six  
before from *Loudun*, his Majesty had  
proper that the Prince of *Condé* and  
e of *Luines* should promise upon their  
f Honour to the Duke of *Les Di-*  
and the Count of *Châtillon*, that if  
eyed his Command to break up, his  
would be pleased to order some of the  
1 Articles of their Petitions to be exo-  
six Months Time at the furthest; and  
other Articles should be afterwards fa-  
y answered. Furthermore, that the  
s of *Bearn* should be heard in their just  
a Month after the six expired. Last-  
in Case of Non-performance of these  
they should be at liberty to assem-  
n; that the Prince of *Condé* had pro-  
hem upon his Word, that he would  
for them the King's Writ for that  
pur-*

Lewis 13. purpose ; that the Duke of *Luines* had assured  
1621. them, that his Word, which he engaged at  
*Pope Paul V.* the same time, was equal to his Bond, and

might be depended on ; that they had added  
in the King's Name, that it was for the first  
time that he engaged his Royal Word with  
his Reformed Subjects, and that they ought  
to look upon it as an inviolable Promise.  
That upon all these Securities they had obeyed  
without Delay. That his Majesty had him-  
self ratified with his own Mouth to those who  
spoke to him in their Name, that he would  
cause whatever had been promised unto them  
by the Prince and the Duke of *Luines* to be  
faithfully executed. That before breaking up  
they had drawn up an Instrument of their  
Obedience, in consequence of the Promises  
made unto them, and had charged their De-  
puties to summon another Assembly, if the  
Premisses were not performed within the six  
Months. That these Things had not been  
done in secret ; his Majesty could not be igno-  
rant of it, no more than the Lords of his

very大力 but not beyond their Power against them. And they concluded thus : Sir Alarms, Sir, oblige us to beseech Majesty, not to hearken to the Calumny of our Enemies, to consider the Justice of your Cause, and to grant us Leave freely to stand at your Majesty's Feet our Complaints and Prayers. If we obtain some Token of your good Will to us, those of Religion will be persuaded that you are minded to protect us against our Enemies Attempts. By securing unto us our Liberties, Estates, and Life, your Majesty will cause us to employ them to your Service. Solemnly do declare before God and in our own and in our Principals' Conscience, that if we require the Liberty of serving God according to our own Conscience, it is with an Intention to remain constantly adhering to your Service, to endeavor to procure the State's Welfare, and Prosperity of your Majesty's Reign. Almighty grant us that we may be dealt with by you, and that you

Lewis 13. the King, wherein one may see some Part of  
1621. that antient and generous Liberty which was  
<sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> not as yet totally extinguished in France, and  
which the Reformed preserved longer than any  
other ; and no wonder, the Popish Religion  
depresses the Mind ; but the Principles of Re-  
formation do quicken and raise it, they do  
enable it better to know and to speak the  
Truth. Nevertheless Liberty not governed  
by Prudence and with a due Regard to what  
we owe to our Superiours, is the most danger-  
ous thing in the World, and it is not such a  
Liberty which the Principles of the Reforma-  
tion inspire its Professors with.

*The King  
will not  
receive it.* However, the King absolutely refused to  
receive any thing that came from the Assem-  
bly at Rockelle ; no, not even from the gene-  
ral Deputy Favas, who arrived the Beginning,  
the 2d or 3d Day of January, tho' graciously  
received by his Majesty : when he attempted  
to speak in the Assembly's Name, the King  
told him, that he would not receive any Let-

azzle the Reader with hyperbolical or imper- Lewis 13.  
fect Narrations, or even with such as are en- 1621.  
tirely false; to give out as Causes, what were <sup>Pop. Paul</sup>  
ly Consequences; in a word, to justify in ~~any~~  
any thing that Party for which they had  
been declared; to blame and condemn in eve- V.  
ry thing the contrary Party. Such a Method  
serves to be detested by every sober Man;  
overthrows the fundamental Laws of History,  
the chief of which is, always to speak  
truth, as far as we know it: it is only fit to  
adden the Mind, to produce in it unjust Pre-  
judices, or to strengthen them, and to excite  
violent Passions in the Heart. So, without  
any regard to what has been written by  
ignorant or unfaithful Historians, con-  
cerning the Causes of our civil religious Wars  
under the Reign of Lewis XIII, we will take  
them out of contemporary Authors, and parti-  
cularly out of the Letters and Memoirs of the  
noble and virtuous *Du Plessis*, and out of  
a History of his Life; out of the Duke of  
Bouillon's Memoirs and Political Discourses, not  
neglecting the Informations and Assurances  
which we may receive of the Biographers of  
the Constable *De Les Diguieres*, and of the  
Duke of *Espérone*, out of the Memoirs of Mr.  
*Pontis, Bassompierre*, and other Contem-  
poraries.

There are two Sorts of Causes of our Fore- *Primary*  
fathers Calamities to be distinguished, *viz.* the *Causes*.  
Primary and Secondary. I do not intend in this  
place to set up for a Preacher; but I cannot,  
without blinding myself, but perceive in them  
the Finger of God provoked against our Fore-  
fathers, because of their scandalous Sins. The  
same Nobility among us sacrificed all to their  
ambition, to their Avarice, to their Luxury,  
or

but on those who had any  
and for poor Tradesmen  
as for the others, they ei  
Censures, or if they subm  
Joke of it, or else it wa  
ested Views. In one wo  
introduced itself even in  
there were seen but too m  
Pride, Vanity, Ambition,  
stituted their Talents to :  
who even sacrificed Truth  
shall I say ? I am ashame  
Sentence pronounced by  
*Alez* against eight Minis  
posed for Apostacy, six c  
victed of Adultery and c  
heinous. Can one after  
that God sent down on ou  
of Confusion, which hurri  
Precipice which they migl  
following even but the Ri  
dence.

*Secondary  
Causes.*      The Secondary Causes v  
reduce our Ancestors to th

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 787

vourite, to endeavour with his Master to com- Lewis 13.  
pass our Ruin. The Ambition with which Luï- 1621.  
*ues was agitated*, made him fall into the Snares Pope Paul  
which those two Courts had laid for him. V. 

The House of *Austria* was reduced almost to the last Extremity in *Germany*, and would certainly have fallen quite, had *France*, sensible of its own true Interest, seconded the Efforts which *Bohemia*, *Hungary*, and the Princes of the *Protestant League* made, to throw off the Yoke of its tyrannical Government. The Ministers of *Spain* and *Rome* knew it very well; it was in order to prevent this Misfortune, that in the Year 1619 they dazzled in such a manner Lewis's unworthy Favourite and Prime Minister with the Hopes of a rich and glorious Settlement for his Brother *Cadenet*, who by that means became Duke of *Luxembourg*, and of the first Dignity in the Kingdom after the King, for himself; that he engaged to do whatever they pleased, and strongly opposed the Advice of the ancient Coansel-lors of State, and hindered his Master from taking the Resolution which the Honour and Interest of his Crown required him to take. He failed not to alledge for a Pretext the different Factions in the Kingdom, and particularly the Discontents of the Reformed, who would not fail to improve the Opportunity, if the King should be engaged in a foreign War, to right themselves.

Thus sacrificed he the publick to his own private Interest, and he chose rather to see the French cruelly butchering each other, than to suffer them to go and acquire immortal Glory, by assisting the ancient Allies of France, for fear of losing the Constable's Staff, which he aimed at. That was the first Cause of the

way or satisfying it by  
those who had saved his L  
ture of their Goods and E  
zealously embraced *De*  
*Views*, not knowing, ne  
End which this one air  
sane to which he himself  
he certainly deserved in al  
better than the other. Sc  
his own Passion by Meth  
than contrary to the We  
which his Birth oblig'd hin  
gard; he effectually laboure  
Man's, and reaped therefr  
fit, and still less Honour.

Add to that the contiu  
Jesuits, and of a Clergy e  
the first absolutely governed  
by the Means of Father A  
his Conscience, the greatest  
lived; who being the Fa  
directed his Penitent's Con  
to the Views of that ambitio  
others long since

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 789

the third Estate concerning the Independency Lewis 13.  
of Kings. 'Twas they, who on the same 1621.  
Occasion warmly solicited the King to execute Pope Paul  
the Oath which he had made at his Corona- V.  
tion, to extirpate the Hereticks. And 'twas  
they who, to encourage his Majesty to fol-  
low the Councils of his Favourite and his Ca-  
bal, offered him a large Sum for the Charges  
of the War against the Hereticks.

Not only that, but as there was very little likelihood that the Reformed should become Aggressors as long as they should be suffered to live quietly under the Benefit of the Edicts, it was absolutely necessary to do something which, by putting them out of Patience, should give the Court a specious Pretence for putting in Execution those pernicious Defigns. This was not very difficult, the *Roman Religion* teaching its Followers that it is a meritorious Deed to break one's Word with Hereticks, when the Service of the Church is concerned, they did not fail to put this holy Maxim in Practice. The Edict of *Nantz* was infringed in several of its Articles; they would and did make *Jesuits* preach in cautionary Towns; they did not pay the Garrisons of the said Towns, or they gave them but bad Assignments; they took away Reformed Children from their Parents, to educate them in the *Roman Religion*; they dug up their Dead; they ill-used their sick People in the Hospitals, to force them to turn Catholicks; they deprived them of the Offices, to which their Birth, their Services, or their Merit gave them a Right, and even of those which they enjoyed already, and that, only on account of their Religion. The Parliaments did them no Justice on their Complaints. Those of

the different Provinces whe  
I shall not here relate the ma  
tions, the many Violences an  
cited and committed against  
Places where they were the  
willing to believe that the Cou  
of it, and that it was not alway  
them, by reason of the Di  
tions prevailing in it. But d  
the Grievances which it might  
No, they gave fair Words w  
endeavoured to perform ; the  
whole Years together, Things  
require above half an Hour,  
willing to give the Reformed sc  
on their just Complaints, their  
their Words. All which coul  
their Minds with Jealousies and I  
was considerably increased by  
Sermons of the Preachers, Jesui  
who dar'd to threaten them wit  
Ruin. *Du Plessis* gives us an Int  
A Capuchin preaching at Saum

## Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 791

'ben you are for Peace ! let whoever be of- Lewis 13.  
'ended thereat, I fear no body, we must have <sup>1621.</sup> Pope Paul  
War, &c. Thus every Thing was made use <sup>V.</sup> of to tire the Reformed's Patience, to reduce them to despair, and thus by accusing them of Crimes, they were actually hurried on to the Commission of them. That was the first Secondary Cause of our Calamities.

The second proceeds from our selves ; and first of all here appears the Affair of the Bearnese, who by their stubborness and obstinacy, set on fire all the Reformed Churches of *France*. I confess that 'tis hard to lose all on a sudden Privileges which one has enjoy'd many Ages ; but ought they not to have considered the Circumstance of Times, and that their lawful Sovereign was no longer a petty Prince, but a King of *France*? Besides, had they not themselves given rise to the Alterations which happened among them, when, as one may say, weary with being a separate Body, they eagerly and against the Court's Will, and the Advice of their best Friends, sought to make a strict Union with the Reformed Churches of *France*, not only in Point of Doctrine, but also in that of Discipline, not only for the Spiritual, but also for the Temporal, sending Deputies not only to the National Synods, but also to the Political Assemblies, and that as Members of the same Body ; this also was practised by the Catholicks of that Country. So that it is not strange, that there being so much Conformity, and so strict an Union between *France* and *Bearn*, the King hould think of re-uniting his ancient Dominions to the Crown of *France*. The same Thing had been practised heretofore, *Britanny*, *Dauphiné*, *Guienne*, &c. had afforded Examples thereof.

natural Perfidiousness, mig  
them a just Cause of Disc  
Right to complain of the  
damental Law of the Cou  
an Act which had been paſ  
only to hinder the Count  
the Hands of a foreign P  
ſerve the then present Ki  
and Father from the Snar  
against their Liberty and L  
and Ages to come will  
Strength of the Reasons v  
use of, and the Noble Fr  
he produced them before  
Sovereign Lord. Neither  
gether fruitless, for if the C  
proper to repeal the Decre  
that of Union, it however  
a Satisfaction, as not only  
nods of *Tonneins* and *Aletz*,  
tical Assembly held at *Rochef*  
to be reasonable and sufficier  
the Bearneſe ought to have  
~~then want~~

a powerful Army. In vain did the King non them from *Bourdeaux* and *Cadillac*, ceive his Decree on the stipulated Cons; they would by no means submit, they forced the Sovereign Court of *Pau* to Deputies to the King, to disown the quis *De la Force* their Governor, who had to carry him Promises of their Submis- they confided in the Situation of their ity, and were so infatuated as to imagine the badnes of the Weather, the bad ls, a large River which must be passed, d be insuperable Obstacles to that Mon- s Designs. He overcame them all, he ar- with part of his Army before the Gates of when they thought him as yet in *Guienne*; bination spread it self every where, all way. The *Bearneſe*, as Monsieur *De Ro-* observes, knew neither how to submit, nor to defend themselves. The King made if be obey'd; he executed his Decree, not said, that there was any Bloodshed on uion. It is nevertheless certain that

tie to go and compel the  
he has anticipated the Time  
which he had granted the  
pired. But can one believe  
have been more obsequious.  
Weeks later, suppose the  
from *Bourdeaux* to *Paris*,  
against them as he did; w  
that they knew, that he w  
with his Troops, they ne  
obstinate, as we have said  
not their Behaviour after  
ture from their Country,  
would have done, had he

A third secondary Cause  
Misfortunes, was the Tre  
count *De Favas*, one of th  
ties-General at Court.  
Man, was not ashamed to  
and Happiness of the Chi  
Ambition. He would, as  
observed, obtain the Gover  
for his Son ; he was even  
threaten the Country.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 795

he Party. He deceived alike the Court Lewis 13. and the Assembly of *Rochelle*, according as <sup>1621.</sup> Pope Paul his Interest directed him, and as he stood <sup>V.</sup> more or less in need of the one, or of the other, to compass his own private Ends. He was intolerably Arrogant; I will single out but one Instance thereof: At the persuasion of the old State-Councillors, the Court had thought proper to desire the Dukes of *Roban* and *Le Tremouille*, jointly with *Du Plessis Mornay*, to endeavour together to find out some Means of Agreement with the Assembly of *Rochelle*; the said Assembly had even consented that those Lords should undertake it. *Favas* conceived thereat an extreme Jealousy, as if they had encroached upon his Right; he had the Boldness not to deliver the Letters which those Lords were writing to the King, pretending they were worded in too submissive a Manner according to his liking, and those Lords were obliged to send him a Blank Paper signed, for him to fill it up as he saw fit.

A fourth secondary Cause, is the Assembly itself and its Proceedings. It is certain that its Convocation was contrary to the ordinary Forms. It could not be held without the King's Licence, and they had not so much as ask'd for it. It is true, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luines*, had engaged themselves with the Assembly of *Loudun*, that in Case those Things which were promised them, were not performed in six Months time, they might meet again at *Rochelle*; but there was this Clause, THAT THE PRINCE ENGAGED TO OBTAIN THE KING'S PERMISSION FOR THAT PURPOSE. Now had the Prince been summoned to make good his Promise before the Letters of Convocation were sent? Not in the least

the meeting voice there  
Gand; they made this  
very Time that the King  
he had promised : He h  
*Fontrailles* of the Govern  
invest therewith, *Blainvi*  
formed ; and his Majesty  
*Paris* in *November*, had al  
so much disputed Reception  
formed Councillors in the  
then true that this Assemb  
precipitately, unseasonably,  
lawful Authority. If we c  
of which it was compos'd,  
surprized to see that it ca  
greatest Extremities, sever  
of the Provinces beyond  
were Persons who had muc  
their own private Interest,  
mon Welfare of the Churche  
to make themselves be p  
Court at a greater Price, by  
Bustle at *Rochelle*; accordi  
seen some of the hotrea . . .

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 797

Not only that, but there were even Traitors <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> in that Assembly, (and among those, were <sup>1621.</sup> some who feigned to be the most zealous for <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> the common Cause;) so that nothing was transacted therein, but what they immediately sent Notice of to Court. The Marquis *De la Force*, and the Count *De Chatillon*, fail'd not also by their Agents to sollicite the Assembly, to take Measures agreeable to their own private Views; the former impatiently bore the diminishing of his Authority, and then the loss of his Post in *Bearn*, and the latter aim'd at the Dignity of Marshal of *France*. Such was the Character of those that governed the Assembly, who hindered it from hearkening to any wholesome Advice, and from forming Resolutions suitable to the present Circumstances of the Churches, or even agreeable to the Instructions which the Provinces had given their Deputies. What could be expected from a Body whose Head was so crack-brain'd, and whose Members were for the most part distemper'd? Nothing but what was dismal; as Experience made them but too sensible. I shall not speak of all the Faults which their Imprudence made them commit during the Negotiations, undertaken by the Dukes of *Roban*, *La Tremouille*, and *Du Plessis*, to endeavour to reconcile them with the Court. It is enough to say, that they exceeded so far, as to intend to form among the Chutches, an Independent Republick; that for this Purpose, they had appointed a Committee, composed of nine Commissioners, who drew up several Regulations which they thought necessary to carry on the War. The first and most considerable of these Regulations, was the dividing of all the Reformed Churches of *France* into

SECOND Circle, and was  
tany, in Anjou, and in  
Circle consisting of Ang  
and the Neighbouring Is  
Duke of *La Tremouille*,  
pos'd the fourth Circle,  
the Marquis *De la Force*,  
fifth contained only the P  
and was allotted to the N  
*Upper Guienne*, and *Upper*  
the sixth, of which the I  
General. The Count D  
have the *Cevennes*, *Givau*  
which made the seventh Ci  
Decency, left to the Duke  
*Burgundy*, *Dauphine*, and  
compos'd the eighth Circle, b  
Part thereof was already in  
as they mistrusted him, they  
quis *De Montbrun* (Son to  
General beheaded at *Grenobi*  
ning of Henry the IIId's 1  
Lieutenant-General in *Prov*  
an Eve on his D.L.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 799

Country of *Aulnix*, without being subject to Lewis 13.  
any other General.

1621.

Pope Paul  
V.

The Assembly which was to subsist at *Rou-*  
*belle*, referred to it self a sort of Super-In-  
tendance and Superiority. Three of its De-  
puties had a Right to assist and vote in the  
General's Council, as well as the principal  
Lords in the Army. It was the Assembly,  
that was to give the Commissions of those  
Places which were to be sealed with its Seal,  
upon which was engraven an Emblem of Re-  
ligion, with this Motto, *For Christ and for  
the King*. Besides these Regulations there  
were others concerning the Authority of the  
Officers, Military Discipline, the good Order  
in the Troops, the Finances, and several other  
Things which they thought necessary and of  
Consequence. They gave Orders for seizing  
the King's Money, and the Ecclesiastical Re-  
venues in those Places where the Reformed  
would find themselves the strongest.

Now we cannot reflect upon all these Do-  
ings, without being forced to own that God  
had certainly given up the Authors thereof,  
to a Spirit void of all Judgment, to do those  
Things which were not fit to be done. And  
indeed they were about those fine Regulations,  
at which the King was so much provoked,  
and which hastened their Ruin, at the very  
Time when the Mediators were actually seek-  
ing Means to bring Matters to a happy issue,  
and when they were on the Point of reaping  
the sweet Fruits of their Labours. Besides,  
how imprudent were they in the Choice of the  
Generals of their Circles? *Les Diguieres* serv'd  
against them from the Beginning; *Bouillon*  
declared himself Neuter; *La Tremouille* sub-  
mitted without the least Resistance; *Chatillon*  
sent

not or so serious a Nation  
Gentlemen Commissioners de-  
vinces as if they had been  
naming for Generals, Lord  
part loudly condemned them  
would willingly have taken  
immediately, had not som-  
economy restrained them.

Those are the chief Causes  
with which our Fore-  
selves, as it were over-weighted,  
of which we are now Warned  
made any Mistake, or if I  
any Thing, 'tis after two  
cannot be suspected, since the  
chief Direction of the Affairs  
The first is the Illustrious Dr. —  
whose whole Life was but a  
to procure the Establishment  
Happiness of our Churches,  
Honesty and Disinterestedness,  
and long Experience, great  
and Veneration of the Foes,  
Friends of our Religion, &c.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 801

'aumur, who was then at the Synod of *Aleiz*, Lewis 13. dated October 23d, 1620, he says, "Upon <sup>1621.</sup> Pope Paul receiving the Letters of Monsieur *De Fa-* V. *vas*, and at the Intreaties of the *Bearnese*, *the Rochellese* appointed six Commissaries out of the Town-House, and six out of the Burghers, to deliberate on the Convocation of the Assembly, which was resolved upon the 14th, and appointed for the 25th of next Month. The Day after Monsieur *De la Cbenaye* arrived there, from the King, with Threatnings temper'd with his Majesty's good Intentions to make good what had been promised. The said Commissaries having met again, thought that they could not repeal this Convocation; especially since part of the Letters had been sent to the Provinces.—*You know how far that may lead us—I should have thought that it would have been proper to have some Patience; I fear that this Convocation will retard the Restitution of Leitoure, will make the Condition of Bearn worse, and will provoke the King against all our Churches.*" In another Letter to the Duchess Dowager of *Roban*, dated November the 3d, "I have not thought for several Reasons, and in the present State of Affairs, that this Convocation (of *Rochelle*) was suitable. And this I have declared where I ought, and in proper Time. For it was needless for Bearn, and dangerous for our other Churches." **BUT OUR MISFORTUNE IS, THAT WE ARE TAUGHT NEITHER BY OUR FAULTS NOR TROUBLES.** He uses almost the same Expressions, in a Letter to Monsieur *De la Moussaye*, dated the sixth Day of the same Month. In the Conference which he had with the Count

*Le Tremoulinie*, and to the  
Rivet, both dated November  
enough on the Convocation  
hear what he says of their I

In a Letter to Monsieur  
dated December 31, speaking  
nary Ambassay which the S  
about to send to his Majesty  
“ *a Council worthy a good Ne*  
“ *the King from the Viol*  
“ *People would make him*  
“ *As it would also be a Coun*  
“ *Brother, and a good Frien*  
“ *to insist upon every Thing*  
“ *that all that is lawful is n*  
Assembly had been opened ev  
the same Month. And on  
writes to Doctor Rivet ; “  
“ *cry'd out, that this Convoc*  
“ *was useless, unseasonable,*  
“ *gerous, and that it would*  
“ *ral Affairs, without ameni*  
“ *any Particulars. They i*  
“ *been willing to enter into*

He informs him of some Particulars on the Lewis 13. Conference of *Niort*, which had not yet been sent him; the Resolution which the Assembly at *Rochelle* had taken to maintain it self notwithstanding the King's Orders, and the Advice of the Great Men of the Reformed Religion; the Methods made use of by some of the hottest of the said Assembly, in order to carry their Point against the most moderate, who spoke of submitting to the King's Orders, which Methods were to stir up the Mob at *Rochelle*, who in a tumultuous Manner and with Threats entered the Place where the Assembly was held, demanding the Continuation thereof; and lastly the Promises, which the Dukes of *Roban*, of *Soubize*, and out of Complaisance the Duke of *La Tremouille*, had rashly made to the Deputies of the Assembly, as well as of the City of *Rochelle*, not to abandon them, whatever Resolution they should take: in which they own'd, that they had done wrong, when Remonstrances were made to them on that Subject by the said Gentleman, and by Monsieur *De Parabere*. In another of *Du Plessis*'s Letters, to the Duke of *Roban*, dated April 6, he says, "Monsieur "Des Iles baib shewn me a Letter which was "wrote to you, in whicb, out of Revenge for "thoſe Decrees of Bourdeaux, ſtrange Resolu- "tions are taking at Rochelle, whicb would "force the King to come direclty to us, thougħ "be bad no mind to do it". (He meant thoſe fine Regulations above-mention'd, and a Mani- festo which they had publish'd.) I know not precisely what had happened at the said Assembly at the Easter Communion, nor of what Nature was the Excess which it had committed; but I find it severely censured in a Letter

“ Misfortunes, and while  
“ Shew of that great Zeal,  
“ little Respect for God, a.  
“ with regard to Men ; tb  
“ so little Remembrance also  
“ we have caused to be cel  
“ the whole Kingdom, whick  
“ will hereafter be looked on  
“ —I do not remember see  
“ sembly of our Churches rec  
“ in a Body. But is it p  
“ Condition in which we n  
“ have such Thoughts ? And  
“ many Fore-Runners of Ct  
“ Members ? And are ther  
“ us, who are bribed to p  
“ shame” ? Very likely th  
scandalous Dispute among th  
on their going to the Tal  
Holy Sacrament. One m  
Memoir which that great l  
in-Law, *De Villarnoulx*, A  
as an Advice to the Assen

" Sider thoroughly, Gentlemen," says he in his Lewis 13.  
 Letter to the Deputies of Anjou at Rochelle, <sup>1621.</sup>  
 May 8th, " and yet quickly, what Council  
 " you are to take, and give, and lay before ~~the~~  
 " you with a solid Prudence and Charity,  
 " the Condition of other People, no less than  
 " your own ; of the Provinces which are ex-  
 " posed and quite helpless, no less than of  
 " those which think themselves safe ; and let  
 " it not be said of you as of another Jerusa-  
 " lem, that you let yourselves be drawn a-  
 " way by some Zealots. Suffer my Age to  
 " speak in this Emergency.— I know, Gen-  
 " tlemen, that your Sentiments are sincere,  
 " &c. but yet there must be some in the As-  
 " sembly who do amiss, since the most secret  
 " things are immediately known at Court, in  
 " all their Circumstances ; and I could give  
 " you such a proof thereof, as would astonish  
 " you. And those to whom those Informations  
 " are directed, protest that they receive them  
 " from those who pretend to be the most stout  
 " and resolute of the Assembly."

In his Memoir on the Alteration which had happened at Saumur, he says, That " the Constable (the Duke de Luines,) expatiated on the absurd and intolerable Proceedings of the Assembly, such (and indeed be bad very thoroughly studied them,) as made the Words die in my Mouth, so well was I convinced of the Truth of most part thereof. Above all, he dwelt much upon a Form of a Commonwealth, establish'd in the Assembly on pretence of a just Defence, which divided the Kingdom ; gave Orders concerning the Governments, appointed a Generalissimo, gave him power to besiege Cities, to give Battles, and made itself superior to

" of our symmetry, when  
" lem, as the pretended Z  
" You are, Madam, to tu  
" Son take counsel, neither  
" of those violent Spirits, i  
" bension of Futurity, nor  
" of Saumur; but from i  
" Affairs, from what be  
" be ought to do, &c. I  
in his Letter to Monsieur  
31st,) " I know not, wha  
" sembled at Rochelle n  
" seeing the Fruits tbey re  
" cils. Is it not time to  
" Confidence, and to part  
" so many poor Cburches  
" And is it enough for  
" help us; when we take  
" him? — I fear, that thi  
" when I consider either th  
" State, or our Obstinaç  
" Good, which appears in  
" Cburches. Which I sa  
" of Blood. laying before

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 807

he says, “*As I see those who began the dance,* Lewis 13.  
“*are the first to fall off,* since the Bearnese 1621.  
“*recall their Deputies from the Assembly;* Pope Gre-  
“*what will Monsieur de Lescun say to* gory XV.  
“*that?* Would it not have been better to sub-  
“*mit, than to pretend to sail against the*  
“*Wind?* But let them say what they will,  
“*the Bearnese are Frenchmen, wise when it*  
“*is too late, and not even so.*” And to the  
Reverend Monsieur Boucereau, June 1.  
“*The Bearnese return to their Senses when*  
“*they have spoil'd all.* Frenchmen, in spite  
“*of their teeth in this respect, that SERO'*  
“*SAPIUNT.*” There's enough to shew  
what was that great Man's opinion on the  
Affairs of those times, which occasioned the  
Calamities of our Churches (1). It is now  
just to hearken to the Duke de Roban, their  
great Protector, concerning what he thought  
of the Affairs of Bearn, and of the said As-  
sembly. Two or three Passages extracted  
from his Memoirs, and his political Dis-  
courses, will be sufficient to give us a just Idea  
thereof. In the Beginning of the second  
Book of his Memoirs, he accuses Favas, for  
having for his own private ruined the public  
Interest, writing to the Rochellese to convoke  
the Assembly, and to work at their Fortifica-  
tions; and that because he had not been  
able to obtain the Government of Leitoure  
for his Son; and some Lines lower, he adds,  
that the great Men of the Reformed Reli-  
gion were of opinion, that it should be dis-  
solved on certain Conditions, which they  
were made to hope for from Court; “*Judg-*  
“*ing, says he, that their Stubbornness would*  
G g g 3 “ do

(1) Letters and Memoirs of Du Plessis, Tom. IV. ad  
Ann. 1620, 1621. Vide his Life, Lib. IV.

Discourse on the Reasons  
before Montpellier, in 162  
says he, " name him who  
" vok'd UNSEASONABLY,  
" assembled, made it infit  
" and who, when it was  
" it ; and who, after ba-  
" vate Treaty with the Co-  
" to egg on the City of Re-  
" Affenitie : for it is suffi-  
" was the Deputy-Gener-  
" (Favas deputed by the N  
blames la Force and Chatel  
things he had blamed them  
in the 9th Discourse, wh  
own Apology : *The Orig*  
says he, was the general  
Rochelle, summoned by Fa-  
was to remedy the Affair  
were irrecoverable ; but th  
the Refusal of the Governm-  
bis Son, &c.

After these two illustrio-

s which befel our Churches, and which we thought more proper to set down together in a full open View, than to relate by piecemeal.

Now, for to resume the Thread of our Story. The King having refused to receive the humble Address, or any thing else, came from the Assembly of *Rochelle*; *Petition of* s presented a Petition of his own fram. Favas.

nd in his own Name, wherein he beseeched his Majesty to revoke his Declaration made against the said Assembly, and to give its Deputies to an Audience; he had said something therein tending to justify their invocation, which had been abstracted from their own Address. But when it was shown in the King's Council, it was rudely received as injurious to his Majesty, and full of falsehoods; and he was told himself, that the petition deserved to be burnt; that the Assembly ought to ask the King's pardon, instantly to break up; and that it was only means to obtain the Abolishment

But the ancient Counsel  
ferent opinion ; they had  
Welfare of the Kingdom  
think of entering upon a  
be but detrimental to the ]  
cess be as favourable as  
They earnestly desired that  
moderate amongst the Re  
terfere for bringing Matter  
able Agreement. Accordi  
ed the Duke of Roban and  
Plessis de  
Mediators, and ordered  
<sup>fired to be</sup>  
Mediators, inform the last of the pres  
fairs, and of their earnest  
with him and the Duke as  
in their power, to proc  
Good.

*They ac- cept.* For avoiding any Je  
thought proper to join the  
mouille in the sameCommissio  
to have the Approbation c  
whereto the Duke of Roban  
*And sit up-* That being done, these thi

however it could not be denied, that they Lewis 13.  
had drawn that Calamity upon themselves 1621.  
by their too great and unseasonable Obsti- Pepe Gre-  
nacy ; that otherwise his Majesty would ne- gory XV.  
ver have proceeded so far, considering the  
Season and the Badness of the Roads. That  
he knew very well that our Enemies at  
Court designed our Ruin, and were ready to  
improve every Opportunity for compassing  
their Ends, either by Artifice or by Force ;  
but that there were still many good French-  
men near the King, to whom they ought  
to afford means for preserving the State, to-  
gether with our Churches. That the Resti-  
tution of *Leitoure* was a strong Argument  
that there was as yet no settled Resolution  
in the King's Council to destroy us, and as  
little in his Majesty's Royal Breast to con-  
tinue such means made use of to subdue the  
Obstinacy of the *Bearnes* ; considering the  
Importance of that Place, they would never  
have restored it unto them, they might have  
kept it upon one pretence or another. But  
after all, supposing the worst, they ought  
to consider that the King was armed, and  
his Forces dispersed in their best Provinces ;  
whereas they were themselves unprepared for  
a defensive, much less for an offensive War.  
That it was not enough to have a just Cause  
on one's side, if Power is wanting to support  
it. Therefore his opinion was, that they  
ought carefully to avoid all ways tending to  
extremes, and to seek in the King's Cle-  
mency, in the Interest of the Duke of *Länes*,  
and in the Prudence and Sagacity of the  
sober Men of his Majesty's Council, the  
means to extricate themselves out of that  
Labyrinth ; and endeavour to bring the As-  
sembly

812 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. sembly to make the requisite Submission to  
1621. his Majesty, representing unto them the  
~~Pope Gre-~~ threatening Dangers, wherein their not com-  
gory XV. plying will certainly hurry all our Churches ;  
for which purpose they ought not to be flat-  
tered, but be told the plain Truth, and ob-  
lige them by that means seriously to mind  
the publick Safety or Danger as well as their  
own.

The two Dukes applauded that Advice,  
and promised to conform themselves to it,  
and to persist in it. Furthermore they re-  
solved to write each of them at the same  
time a Letter to the King, the Meaning and  
Scope thereof was to be the same, but the  
Expressions different ; and *Du Plessis* was de-  
sired to draw the Minute of it, which he  
did. They are the same Letters mentioned  
above, wherewith *Favas* was so much offend-  
ed, finding fault with the word **CLEMEN-  
CY**, instead of which he put **MEEKNESS**,  
as less mean and servile ; he erased out this  
Expression, *That they waited for his Ma-*

that the Forms requisite for the Convocation of Lewis 13. an Assembly, have not been observed in that at <sup>1620.</sup> Rochelle. We shall see presently how the Pope Gregory XV. Court resented this wicked Proceeding of this ~~Deputy~~

Du Plessis's wholesome Advices were not well relished in the Assembly, they gave way <sup>bly follows</sup> Favas's to Favas's pernicious ones; he had written un- <sup>bad Coun-</sup> to them to let them know how rudely his <sup>fels.</sup> Remonstrances had been received at Court, and exhorted them to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Thereupon they wrote to the Provinces, they ordered the Cautionary Towns to be instantly strengthened and repaired. They raised extraordinary Subsidies, and they made the Promotion above mentioned of Generals and other Officers to command their Forces. Besides that, they sent some of their Members into the Provinces, to inspect into the State of their Strong-holds, &c. and for exciting the People. De Veilles, Deputy of the Nobility for the Provinces of the Upper Guienne and Upper Languedoc, was sent to Saumur for to know Du Plessis's Intention, to inspect into the Condition of that important Place, because of its Bridge upon the Loire. Du Plessis required 3 or 4000 Men for the keeping and defending Saumur. Then he opened his Mind with the Deputy, and told him,

" That a wise Man never enters upon a War  
" to make his Condition worse, but rather  
" for bettering it ; that he who begins it by  
" a Defensive, must of Course make his Con-  
" dition worse. That our Fathers suffered  
" many Infractions before they rose in Arms,  
" whereby they got Justice always on their  
" side, and when they were forced to a just  
" Defence, they shewed their Prudence and  
" Magnani-

Lewis 13. " Magnanimity by seizing in one Day, and all  
1620. " at once, upon several good Towns, at which  
*Pope Gregory XV.* " their Enemies were at first confounded ; and  
" if they did lose some of them by one or  
" two Years War, they got enough remain-  
" ing unto them by a Peace which was con-  
" cluded with a good Edict, whereby their  
" Condition was bettered and secured. Our  
" Assembly is now about taking quite con-  
" trary Measures. For two or three Articles  
" ill observed, they run the Hazard to lose  
" an advantageous Edict ; far from advancing  
" they go backward, far from strengthning  
" they weaken themselves. In a word, far  
" from getting, they lose."

*Du Plessis* Though *De Veilles* relished much these Coun-  
*Advice* sels, he could not prevail with the Assembly ;  
*upon four* they were heated by *Favas*, and prepared  
*Articles* proposed by themselves in earnest for War, they deputed  
*the Assembly* some of their Members to the great Lords  
and the Chiefs of the Party, to let them know  
that they designed to send some of their  
Members into *Holland* and over to *England*, in

either reasonable nor reasonable, and if  
the Court had Notice of them, as cer-  
tainly would, considering the Composition  
Assembly, our Enemies would make  
reof for more exasperating the King  
us. His Majesty will no longer hearken  
Remonstrances for Peace, and those  
ould be so daring as to speak about it,  
be rebuked as People ill affected to his  
's Service. As to the third, whereby  
desired to send a Deputy to the Assem-  
bly to swear in his Name, That he  
stand by whatever the said Assembly  
determine ; he said, That the first  
f their Union was sufficient ; that so  
ecated Oaths served only to multiply  
s ; that whenever the Assembly should  
any good Resolution, they would not  
e followed ; that that blind Obedience  
hey required, was not agreeable with  
nciples of our Religion ; that even we  
it to the Decisions of general Councils,  
at after all, every sober Man was  
when he recollects the rash Pro-

Lewis 13. Opinion. The *Reformed*, says he to the De-  
1621. *Pope Gre-* puty, must have been taught by Experience,  
gory XV. that their Union with Princes and Lords of a  
contrary Religion to their own, has been al-  
ways detrimental unto them. All those PRE-  
TENDED REFORMERS of the State seek only  
for its Dissipation. Things are now upon a  
certain footing, that we should endanger our  
Liberty of Conscience, should the King's Au-  
thority come to be weaken'd. What a pity that  
such wise Remonstrances should be bestowed  
upon such hard-hearted Men! The Duke of  
*La Tremouille*, sensible of the Strength of  
these Arguments, ordered his Agent in the  
Assembly to delay the taking of such arbitrary  
and tyrannical an Oath till further Orders.  
But as to the Assembly it self, they were so  
bewitched by *Faues*'s Letters, that they pro-  
ceeded further, and being insensible to their  
own Interest, they were deaf to all manner of  
Arguments.

The Court As to the Court, being thoroughly informed

again on foot the Militia of the Coun-  
town by the Name of *Peasants*, so *Du*  
calls them, but *Benoit* names them the  
, very likely he has mistaken an *i* for  
the King had suppressed that Militia,  
indeed, if *Benoit* is to be credited, was  
in Strength of the Province. For he  
ls that these P A R S A N S were Cantons,  
ch all the young Men were inlisted un-  
laptain, at the Command whereof they  
oliged to take up Arms. So that in two  
e Days time, each Captain was able to  
Body of five or six Thousand Men:  
at there was six such Cantons in the  
ce, which by that speedy Convocation,  
ble to oppose any Invasion. I believe  
was that Militia composed of so great a  
r of young lusty Fellows from 16 to 25  
of Age; but if it was so, there must  
een above 900,000 Souls inhabiting the  
ality of *Bearn*, which is incredible, con-  
g the small Compafs of the Land and  
on. However, *La Force* having

*La Force*; but he had done  
by too openly encouraging  
the Motion of the *Bear*,  
highly resented it; and  
spurring him to Revenge,  
difficulty in stirring up the  
rebellion, they bearing very  
Alterations made in their

*Espéronn*      The Court being exactl  
*sent for to* Step which they took in c  
*suppress* Privileges and Liberty, c  
*that Insur.* *Espéronn* with a Commissi  
*rection.* Obedience. He accepted  
he wanted of every thing  
Design, and succeeded before  
A vast number of Nobility  
their Vassals resorted to it  
upon the Road; and he made  
that the Marquis of *La F*  
to have stayed him by two  
sent to him with Promises  
mission, was much surprized  
that he was at the Gates of

necessary Orders for that purpose. But they Lewis 13. were deceived in their Expectation; and Or-<sup>1621.</sup>  
*tbez*, though provided with a strong Garrison, and with every other thing requisite for a long Defence, surrendered without waiting for the Cannon. That Stroke was a decisive one. *Orbez* was the only Place able to stop the Progress of the Enemy. Had the Garrison and the Inhabitants improved their Advantages; *Espérone* would have been obliged not only to raise the Siege, but even to quit the Country, having but very few Foot, and in want of every thing else necessary for subsisting an Army for any considerable time. But now this Place being taken, the Consternation was Universal amongst the People, all over the Country. Every Town opened its Gates, every one submitted to the Victorious Army; in less than three Weeks he over-run the Country; and the Inhabitants, who at first had fled from their own Habitations through the dread of his Severity, came back a-pace when they heard of his Clemency. He restored Order amongst them, and made such equitable Regulations; that both Reformed and Catholicks were satisfy'd with them, and submitted unto them; and henceforward caused no Disturbance, but lived peaceably together while the neighbouring Provinces were all in flames. The Marques of *La Force* fled from the Country, and was deprived of his Government; his eldest Son of the Reversion of his Charge, and the youngest, who was in great favour with the King, was banish'd from Court.

I have thoroughly examined what the Duke of *Robes* and *Du Plessis* have written about the Revolutions of *Bearn* at this time, since the coming of the King into that Country,

Facts, wherein nothing but Truth must be found. I of Passion and Partiality, Historian unworthy therefore likely that the Duke of Bassompierre, De Pontis, & cially the two first, would an odious Circumstance, whether to justify the Insurrection or the very Proceedings of the *cabelle*? *Du Plessis* speaks of it in two or three Letters, but it as a piece of great Imprudence. But not a word of executions and cruel Massacres is mentioned. Nevertheless we must suppose such things passed without Blood, it is not likely that apprehended went all of them to Justice. Is it reasonable to expect Welfare requires that some of them should be set as an Example to deter them from such like Crimes.

which I have a little anticipated, not to be Lewis 13. obliged to break the Thread of my Narration. 1621.

The Conferences were continued at Court Pope Gregory XV. for bringing Matters to an Agreement. The ~~Assembly~~<sup>Conferen-</sup> had at last desisted from its Preten-<sup>ces continu-</sup>sions of treating by their own Deputies, and had ~~ed.~~<sup>ceas ed.</sup> consented to treat by the Deputies General con- jointly with the Dukes of Roban, *La Tre* The King mouille and *Du Plessis*. But as they would not set out from Paris, and consent to break up, till they had been ac-<sup>issues out a</sup> knowledged as a lawful Assembly, and re-<sup>Decree.</sup> ceiv'd some Satisfaction upon their Grievances; the King, being provoked at their Obsturacy, set out of Paris about the 8th of April in order to force them. Before he set out he issued out a Declaration, promising his Royal Protection to all those of what Rank and Condition so-ever, who should behave themselves peaceably under the Benefit of his Edicts.

Before he left Paris, his Majesty had been Luines is pleased to raise the Duke of Luines to the Dignity of High Constable of France\*. The Constable

H h h 2      Court of France.

\* That Dignity had been offered, some Months before, to the Duke of Les Diguieres, upon Condition that he should turn Catholick: the Duke had accepted the Terms, but had desired to keep the Transaction secret for a while. When he was ready to declare openly, the Duke of Luines, who had a burning Ambition to obtain that Dignity for himself, sent *De Bréfieux* and *Bullion* to sollicit *Les Diguieres* to a Compliance, offer-ing to make him Marshal General of the King's Camps and Armies, with a Stipend of six thousand Crowns per Month, and that he should not be obliged to turn Catholick. Though *Les Diguieres* resented the Affront put upon him by the Favourite, nevertheless he yielded to the Importunities of *Bullion* and *Deageant*. But this was not all, for he was himself obliged to intreat the King to bestow that Dignity upon *Luines*, who being sensible of his own Unworthiness, durst not venture to ask it himself of his Majesty. *Les Diguieres* yielded to these Intreaties, out of Fear, rather than out of Generosity; He declined the Sword of the Constable, which the King (whō

Lewis 13. Court staid at *Fontainbleau* till the 19th of  
1621. *Pope Gre-* April, and then proceeded, but by short Jour-  
*gory XV.* nies, upon the intended Expedition against the  
Assembly. During all that time the Confe-  
rences went on with some Prospect of a hap-  
py Issue. The old Ministers of State, who  
were against a Civil War, had advised *Du Plessis*  
to endeavour to find out some Medium or  
other, though it was only Palliative, where-  
by his Majesty might be satisfy'd as to his  
Authority, and that as to the rest, the Grie-  
vances complain'd of by the Assembly would  
be instantly redrefs'd, and their just and rea-  
sonable Demands comply'd with.

*A way de-* Whereupon the Governor of *Saumur*, after  
*wised by* a mature Consideration, devised a Scheme  
*Du Plessis* which ought to satisfy both Parties, viz. That  
*for com-* the Assembly should break up, to obey the  
*pounding* King's Orders, and depart out of *Rochelle*; but  
*the Diffe-* whereas the Members thereof were proscribed,  
rences. they should remain in some safe Place not far  
from *Rochelle*, till the Decree issued out against  
them should be reversed; and if the King fail

relate. 1°. That the Reformed should not be obliged to style themselves, OF THE PRE-<sup>Lewis 13  
1621.</sup>  
~~TENDED REFORMED RELIGION~~ \*. 2°. That the Grievances either Ecclesiastical or Political of the Principality of *Bearn* should be redres'd. 3°. That the Marques *De La Force* and his Sons should be maintain'd in that Country, in the same Offices and Pensions as heretofore, and under the late King, and the Arrears due unto him be paid out of hand; *Lescun* Counsellor of the Great Council of *Pau* be restored to his Charge, notwithstanding the Decree issued out against him. 4°. That a State of the cautionary Places in *Dauphiné*, should be delivered into their hands, as it had been promised by the Treaty of *Loudun* †. 5°. That the Modification of an Article of that Treaty concerning the Reception of the two Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris* should be made void. 6°. That the two Petitions of the late Assembly at *Loudun* should be speedily and favourably answer'd. 7°. That Provision should be made for the Salary of the Ministers, and for the Payment of the Garrisons of the cautionary Towns. Lastly, That the Troops quartered in *Guienne*, *Xain-*  
*songe*, *Poitou*, &c, which created great Jealousies and Fears, should be instantly remov'd. These Articles had been agreed upon with some little Restriction between the Lords Mediators, and the Ministers of State; they were to have the King's Approbation, which was Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

H h h 3 ta

\* That had been granted to the Reformed by the Treaty with the Duke of Rohan in 1612, and by that of London in 1616, but never verify'd in Parliament.

† That depended intirely upon the Duke of *Les Bignonnières*, who, willing to gratify his own Avarice, refused to give any Account of the Places that were under his peculiar Care.

Lewis 13. to be granted immediately after the breaking  
1621. up of the Assembly ; and that they might do  
Pope Grt. gory XV. it safely, his Majesty should reverse the De-  
claration, whereby they had been proscribed  
as guilty of High Treason.

*Favas*, Deputy-General, and the Agents of the Lords were set out for *Rochelle*, in order to bring the Assembly to a Compliance : The Deputy had hardly made his Report of the Situation of Affairs, on the 23d of April, when they received Letters of *De Chalas*, Deputy General for the Commons, who had staid at Court, advising them, that the very next day after *Favas* was gone, a Council had been held in his Majesty's Presence, wherein it had been resolved to have 40000 Foot and 8000 Horse, to be distributed in the Provinces as Occasion should require it. That the Marques of *La Force* had been deprived of the Government of *Bearn*, the Marquess's Son of his Company in the Guards, and *Maupouillon* his youngest Son, had been exiled from

they fell upon the *Reformed*, they wounded and Lewis 13. otherwise abused, those who came into their hands without distinction; this happened on 1621. *Pope Gregory XV* the 18th of April. The next day the Seditious went to the Church-yard, they digg'd up the Corpse, and tore it to pieces. From thence they went to the Church and burnt it, and plundered the Sexton's House. That Fury lasted three days together. The Magistrates, who endeavour'd to oppose it, were themselves abused; however some of the Rioters were sent to Jail. The Court having received Information of that Violence, sent a Master of the Requests to Tours, to try the Prisoners without Appeal; he condemned some of them to Death, whereupon the Sedition was renewed, and the Mob more furious than before ran to the Jail, broke open the Gates, released the Condemned, plundered the Reform'd Houses, the Commissary himself was in danger of his Life, and obliged to take shelter in a Baker's House, from whence he fled in disguise. The Seditious could not be appeased but by the Promises they extorted from the Magistrates, of the Abolition of their Crimes, and of the Discharge of the Prisoners. But the King understanding this last Sedition, came directly to Tours, on the 7th of May, with part of his Household, and ordered five or six of the most Seditious to be hang'd out of hand.

Now, as I have observed, the News of that *which* Disaster having reached Rochelle, added fresh *adds now* Fuel to their Discontents; they took for a great *Fuel to Breach of Trust in the King's Council, what* <sup>*the Discoun-*</sup> *they had taken for a Master-piece of Prudence in themselves, to prepare for War during the Negotiations of Peace: The Bearnese* <sup>*tent at*</sup> *Rochelle.*

Lewis 13. Insurrection was very just and innocent in 1621. itself; it was a high Crime to have suppress~~Pope Gre-~~ it; the Marquis of *La Force* had behaved as gory XV. it becomes a Governor of a Province, when he countenanced and supported openly the said Insurrection; he ought to have been rewarded for it by his Master, and it was in his Majesty an heinous Piece of Injustice to have deprived such a faithful Servant of his Government. *Du Plessis* himself was not spared, he was deemed no less than a Traitor to the Party, he had sold *Saumur* to the King; some were bold enough to assert, that they had seen *Villarnoux*, his Son-in-Law, delivering the Keys thereof to his Majesty, and receiving for his Father-in-Law the promised Reward. Nothing can satisfy them but the securing the Place for themselves, and giving the Government thereof to the Duke of *Soubize*; for which purpose they caused 1800 Men to march to *Saumur*, and questioning much whether *Du Plessis* would receive them, and submit himself to *Soubize* (because he did hold his Go-

, and what is the more surprising is, the Duke of Rokan was deeply concerned in that dirty Work. It was found out in time, that he had outwardly disseminated his real Sentiments while he was employed in reconciling the Differences between King and the Assembly, till he had obtained the Restoration of *Du Parc d'Archiac* & the Lieutenancy of *St. John d'Angely*, of the King had deprived him the last on account of his Violences complain'd by the Inhabitants. And that the said Duke did underhand encourage and foment Discontents and the Obstinacy of the Assembly, contrary to what he had so many times promised, and by words of mouth and by his own hand. So far his Ambition led him, as to sacrifice, on this Occasion, even Honour, in order to be deemed the chief of the Party, and to get the upper-hand over his Equals, who were more modest than he.

However the Court, which was instantly *The Court* of every minute Particular of the marches to

Lewis 13. at *Amboise* on the 7th, where he sojourned for two days, and continuing his Journey <sup>1621.</sup> ~~Pope Gre-~~ ney, he arrived the 11th at *Saumur*. On the 9th, *Du Plessis* had sent his Son-in-Law *De Villarnoux* to meet the King upon the Road, and to receive his Commands about his Reception into that City. The Constable told him, that he might do as usual without any Alteration, and that when the King should come to see the Castle, he should order the Garrison to draw out, as usual, &c. Moreover, he promised several times, that nothing should be altered at *Saumur*, *no more than in the Ball of the Eye*. The very same day arrived the Harbingers of the Court, to prepare the King's Lodgings, which they did in a House in the Town, wherein his Majesty had lodged before, and the King his Father too, and even they set up his Bed in it. But on the 11th, the first Harbinger came in the Morning to the Castle, and told the Governor that he could not find a proper Lodging in the

of the Gates, of the Draw-Bridges, and of the Lewis 13. Store-Houses. The Garrison was sent out of <sup>1621.</sup> the Castle, to *Varreins*. Nay, not a single Room was left in it for *Du Plessis* and his Family: and Lady *De Villarnoux* his Daughter was obliged to follow the Garrison with her Children, without being allowed time enough for packing either their Household Furniture, or even their Wearing Apparel, or for securing any thing in the Castle; so that every thing being left at random, that occasioned the Plunder, little less than if the Castle had been taken by Storm. The King arrived about Four of the Clock, *Du Plessis* receiv'd him at his landing, for he came by the River. His Majesty seemed very kind to him; and when he was come up to the Castle, he told him that he had not designed to be there before the next day. What had been done was excused upon the Necessity of the Times, and the hurry wherein the Resolutions of the Assembly at *Rocquelle* had put them. The Governor was obliged to leave the Castle, and to take his Lodging in the Town.

On the 14th of May, he had a Conference with the Constable, the Duke of *Chaulne* his Brother, *Bullion* and *Deageant*. The Day before he had been offered in the King's Name, a hundred thousand Crowns, with the Payment of all his Arrears, and a Staff of Marshal of *France*, if he would resign his Government; but he generously refused these Offers. So that, being unmoveable upon that Point, the Constable did not think proper to insist any more. But he endeavoured to persuade him, that the King could not intirely trust to the Reformed, how faithful soever some of them had been to his Majesty's Service at all,

Lewis 13<sup>th</sup> all times. That as to himself, his Fidelity  
1621. indeed could not be questioned. But since  
*Pope Gre-* gory XV. that very Fidelity made him very obnoxious  
to the Jealousies and Hatred of those who pro-  
fessed the same Religion as himself, it was to  
be expected that they would endeavour to  
deprive him of his Station, and seize upon his  
Government, that he would be obliged to  
yield to a superior Force, with which he was  
not able to cope, whereby he would be the  
occasion of an irreparable Prejudice to the  
King's Affairs. *Du Plessis* undertook the De-  
fence of the Provinces, and told the Constable,  
that he had read the Instructions of several  
Provinces given to their Representativeds in the  
Assembly at *Rochelle*, and was very sure that  
most part of these Deputies had far exceed-  
ed their Instructions; that his Majesty having  
expressly forbad to hold any Provincial Assem-  
bly, it had been, and was still impossible, for  
the Provinces to take any Measure as to the  
Proceedings of their Representatives; that it

eech him to grant him leave to retire, Lewis 13.  
lie in Peace in his own House. 1621.

ie spake these Words with some Ma-<sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
ie Constable taking notice thereof, en-<sup>gory XV.</sup>  
red to appease him, and told him, that  
nothing was resolv'd upon that Point ;  
Majesty would do nothing but agree-  
his own Satisfaction ; and that he was  
l to desire him to set down in writing  
inion, about the Difficulties above-men-  
and what could be done for the Secu-  
the Place.

ordingly he delivered a Memoir to the  
of *Les Diguieres* ; \* whereupon two  
ls were held on the 15th, and they were  
erplexed about it. But though he pro-  
some reasonable Ways for securing  
ice to the King's Service, all his Re-  
ances produced no other Effect than that  
ing a Reformed Lord to fill the Func-  
of Governour in his stead, and he was  
to keep the Title thereof. It was re-  
to leave in the Suburbs two Compa-  
f *Switzers* ; Count *De Sault*, Grandson  
*Diguieres*, was named Commandant of  
ice ; besides the *Switzers*, there were two  
anies of the King's Guards quarter'd in  
tle. The King positively promised *Du*  
that he would restore him to his Place  
ee Months time, or sooner : The Con-  
stable

will insert here the Preamble of that Memoir,  
Lord *Du Plessis* don't bargain with the King  
fafter, he is wont to pay all Obedience to him ;  
he only calls into his Majesty's Mind the word  
h his Majesty has been pleased to give him, that  
ng should be altered in the Place.—  
ugh the free Obedience he has paid to his Ma-  
s Will, be a Dependance of his Allegiance unto  
&c.

Lewis 13 stable affirmed the same with many Oaths,  
<sup>1621.</sup> and desired him to draw up himself the In-  
~~Pope Gre-~~  
strument, whereby whatever had been pro-  
gory XV.  
mised unto him should be ratify'd. The In-  
strument was signed on the 17th by the Con-  
stable; and the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, but  
the King setting out that very Morning, be-  
fore it was ready, signed it at *Thorars* on the  
27th, and sent it from *Niort* to *Du Plessis*,  
who was then at his House of *La Forest* up-  
on *Saivre*, for it had been agreed that he  
should be at liberty to retire thither, till he  
was fully restored to his Government, and ac-  
cordingly he was set out from *Saumur* on the  
18th in the Afternoon.

*Some Re-  
flections on  
the dealing  
of the Court  
with Du  
Plessis.* This Usage of the Court with *Du Plessis*, looks  
not only exceedingly rude, but also monstrously  
unjust and ungrateful. Nevertheless, had the  
King been as good as his Word with his faith-  
ful Servant, as soon as his Affairs allowed him  
to perform his Promises, there was nothing  
in it but what either could be justified by the

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 833

*Du Plessis* was in no Condition to withstand Lewis 13. *Soubize*, for want of a sufficient Number of <sup>1621.</sup> Forces, he had not 200 Men in the whole, <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> and 4000 were not too much for defending <sup>gory XV.</sup> the Place, because of its large extent ; and had he had a sufficient Number for his Defence, the Court questioned much, whether he would employ them against his Brethren, or not. Therefore the King's Council thought it more expedient not to put him upon the Trial, and make all haste possible for preventing the Succours commanded by *Soubize* from entring *Saxmur* ; and no wonder, if in such great Hurry, the usual Formalities were omitted, and several things committed contrary to good Order and Decency. Thus far can we excuse and even justify the Court's Proceedings, as to his particular Occasion.

But on the other hand, I do question much, whether there is any sober Man, that could reflect without the highest Indignation, upon the Usage that great Man receiv'd from Court, from this time down to his Death. Not only, he was not restored, as most solemnly it had been promised unto him, but neither his Household Furniture and Goods, nor his Library, nor the Ammunition which he had bought at his own Expence, and left in the Castle, nor the Debts he had contracted for fortifying or repairing the Place, and for the payment of the Garrison, none of these things were restored unto him. The King's Service permitted not that he should be restored to his Government ; I will allow that. But did the King's Service require, that such an useful and faithful Servant, who for 53 Years together had been indefatigably and almost always successfully employ'd in procuring or promoting

834 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13.ing the Safety and Glory of the Crown, and  
1621. the Welfare of the Kingdom, should be so  
~~Pope Gre-~~ basely, so wretchedly robbed, plundered, and  
gory XV. deprived of his own, not of the Profits he  
had made in the Crown's Service, for he got  
nothing thereby, but of what he could save  
upon his own Revenues, nay, of what he  
had bought at the Expence of part of his own  
Estate? Oh wretched Condition of a King-  
dom, when the Prince is so weak, or wick-  
ed, as to suffer himself to be imposed up-  
on, or wholly over-ruled by a haughty am-  
bitious or covetous Favourite or Prime Mi-  
nister, against the Notions, nay, the Motions  
of his own Conscience! LEWIS was sensible  
enough that *Du Plessis* was, by his great and  
manifold Services, intitled to the greatest Re-  
wards which a Subject like him could expect  
from a grateful Prince; but LEWIS had not  
Heart enough to venture upon his own No-  
tions, he basely, as much as blindly, follow-  
ed his Prime Minister's Directions; to which

Some modern Historiographers have been so <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 daring as to blame that truly great and good <sup>1621.</sup> *Pepe Gre-*  
*Man,* as if he had left every thing undone for <sup>gory XV.</sup>  
 preserving his Place. But I dare to say, that it <sup>~~~~~</sup>  
 is easier to follow the Motions of the ZEA- <sup>DuPlessis's</sup>  
**LOTISM,** than to consider attentively the <sup>Apology.</sup>  
 Situation a Man is in, his Circumstances, and  
 to read over and over with a sober Judgment,  
 what he himself has written upon that Subject.  
*Du Plessis*, from the beginning of the As-  
 sembly at *Roc belle*, wrote unto them many  
 times, and sent several Memoirs about the Con-  
 dition his Place was in, desiring their Con-  
 currence to put it in a state of Defence against  
 any Surprize; they sent twice a Deputy of  
 their own to *Saumur* to examine it, and to  
 confer with the Governor, he visited the Place,  
 he owned that he alone (*Du Plessis*) had done  
 more, for the Preservation and the good Re-  
 pair of his Place, than they all together for  
 theirs; but that he wanted 3 or 4000 Men in  
 order to keep it. He told him, that the As-  
 sembly was about borrowing twenty thou-  
 sand Crowns at *Roc belle*; that six thousand  
 whereof were designed for a Supply for him,  
 and six thousand Pounds of Gunpowder. *Du*  
*Plessis* told him, that he would be much oblig'd  
 to the Assembly, if they would assign him  
 only six thousand Crowns upon some Mer-  
 chant at *Saumur*, who kept Correspondence  
 with some other at *Roc belle*, and who should  
 pay him ready Money what Sums he should  
 be oblig'd to lay out, which, however, he  
 would not touch till he had exhausted his  
 own. The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, had  
 written to the Assembly, that he did not  
 think that five thousand Men were more than  
 sufficient for keeping *Saumur*, and exhorted

Lewis 13. them to send such like Assistance to *Du Plessis*.  
1621. He himself declared openly in one of his Letters to the Assembly, that indeed he had been  
able almost to build Saumur, and keep it in  
such Repair as it was, but that he was unable  
to defend it all alone. Lastly, he said to the  
same Deputy on the 18th of April, when he  
came for the second time, *I see that your Assem-*  
*bly has no regard at all for our poor Churches,*  
*and that you have deliver'd them to be a Prey*  
*to the Enemy, but God will take care of us,*  
*and provide for us.* What regard had they for  
their Promises, or for the Remonstrances of  
this brave and truely Christian Nobleman?  
None at all. They sent him no Assistance  
either of Money or of Troops; nay, they  
diverted to other Uses what he might  
and ought to have expected from *Beauffe,*  
*Dunois, Blaivois, Vendemois, &c.* True it is,  
that those brave Carvers of the Fortune of  
others, at the last Extremity, will send to  
Saumur a Succour of 1800 Men; but to be

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 837

cessity of Times? What could he have done Lewis 13.  
with less than two hundred Men, in a Place <sup>1621.</sup> Pope Gre-  
that required above four thousand for holding gory XV.  
a Siege?

But the last Difficulty seems the more pregnant, What *Du Plessis* would have done had he had a sufficient Number of Troops and every other thing necessary to hold a Siege? Would he have broken through his own Principles, and opposed the King? I answer, that it is ridiculous to argue upon things that never have been. No doubt but he would have acted in a way suitable, both to his Allegiance to the King, and to his sincere Love and Affection and unwearied Care for the Churches; this is fully demonstrated by his repeated Letters, Instances, and Remonstrances to the Assembly, and to several Members thereof, wherein he desired and intreated them earnestly to provide his Place with what was necessary against any Surprize: Therefore I shall not insist any longer upon that Subject.

Now we are to enter upon a bloody War, *The first Civil War of Religion* which for about two Years ruined the Country, and made a havock of its Inhabitants, under especially in the Western and Southern Provinces. Lewis 13. After what I have said all along concerning this Assembly at *Rochelle*, I need not to insist now for proving that this War was unjust on the Reformed side; and all the Sophistry of *Le Vassor* and *Benoit*, can serve only to prove, that it is lawful for a Subject to rise in Arms against his Sovereign, because he takes a Cabbage and a handful of Spices out of his Garden without his leave; and to set his House on fire, without considering that it contains many Families, that

Lewis' 13. have nothing to do with his Fancies, and ne-  
<sup>1621.</sup> vertheless must perish for his Frolicks. And  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV indeed, after a thorough Examination of the  
true Causes of this War, we can find nothing  
better than some small temporal Concerns,  
some Government of a Town to gratify the  
Ambition of one, some Charge or Office for  
another, the Exemption of some little Taxes,  
the Alteration of a Name, a Cabbage, a hand-  
ful of Spinage. Certain it is, that they want-  
ed the only Case wherein it may be lawful  
for Subjects to repel Force by Force, an open  
Persecution to force them to forsake their Re-  
ligion. Nay, they did not so much as fol-  
low the Rules of common Prudence, which  
obliged them to consider, whether they could  
with a hundred Men fight two thousand, one  
against twenty ; they knew that they could  
expect no Assistance from the Provinces on  
this side the *Loire*, very little from those  
where *Les Diguieres*, *Chatillon*, and *Par-  
daillan* commanded ; and they had no Pro-

, when the very Chiefs of it have blamed Lewis 13.  
when they have recollect'd in cool Blood  
& they had transacted and done in the  
of Passion? And is it not what any so-  
Reader will conclude from the Political  
ourses of the Duke of Roban? (x)

The King being then set out from Saumur  
the 17th of May, as abovesaid, he met  
no Difficulty in Poitou; all the cau-  
Towns opened their Gates to his Ma-  
the Duke of La Tremouille, the Lord Pa-  
re, and other Governors, submitted with-  
hesitation; the Prince of Condé secured  
erre; the Duke of Vendôme, Vitré; the  
it of St. Pol, Gergeau; nay, De Chateau-  
Governor of Pons, that very violent Man,  
fomented the Obstinacy of the Assem-  
was one of the first who surrendered  
lace upon a Reward of some thousand  
ns. On the 27th of May, the Siege of  
obn d'Angely was resolved upon. And  
the same day, the King being at Niort,  
l out a new Decree; wherein after hav-  
declared all the Places and Men that sided  
the Assembly, guilty of High Treason,  
especially the Cities of Rochelle and St.  
, he forbade all the Reformed to adhere  
at Party, or to acknowledge either that  
other Assemblies, Circles, &c. &c. cor-  
nding with the Assembly of Rochelle, and  
med without the King's Special Licence.  
over, he obliged all the Reformed, of

I i i 3                    what

It would have been tedious to quote at the bot-  
f the Pages, the same Authors out of which I  
bstracted all the Facts related in the three or  
st Sheets; they are taken out of *Du Plessis's Life*,  
IV. ad ann. 1621, and out of *Du Plessis Letters*  
moirs, Vol. V. ad ann. 1621, till June, out of  
*Mieres's Life*, Book XI. and XII.

1621.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

executed at first with a great  
but afterwards was somewhat  
**Parliament of Paris upon D**  
**frances.**

*Siege and  
Surrender* contented with the Court, r  
of St John hand the CAUSE of the Asser  
d'Angely. out the Siege of St. John.

Brother in the Place, which  
Men and Ammunition ; and  
enne for to raise Troops, and  
other requisite Preparations.  
ing summoned, by an He  
Sou'ize, to surrender the Pla  
and by the Practices of a Ti  
it, the Duke was obliged  
Month after. The King p  
hands nothing else but Life  
berty of Conscience, to the I  
which Pretence it was, that  
at Cognac, issued out a Decl  
verified by the Parliament of  
by he commanded to demo

And so did the Court, and those who ab- Lewis 13.  
used the King's Name, begin to keep no ac-<sup>1621.</sup>  
count of their Word ; so did they treat not Pope Gre-  
only the Places that held against the King, but gory XV.  
even those which surrender'd at the first Sum. <sup>Breach of</sup>  
mons ; the milder Treatment which they re Fairb.  
ceived, was to be dismantled. Nay, notwithstanding the King's Declaration of the last April, whereby he received under his Royal Protection, Cities, Towns, Commonalties, &c. Persons of what Quality soever, who should live quietly and peaceably under the Benefit of his Edicts, with whatever belonged unto them, Castles, Houses, Goods, &c. Nevertheless, it was observ'd, that those who trusted to that Royal Word, fared no better than those who were declared Rebels ; nay, many fared worse ; several Towns and Commonalties were obliged to redeem themselves from Plunder, three, and even four and five times. The Lord of *La Tabariere*, Son-in-Law to *Du Plessis*, tho' one of the most faithful to the King's Service, was, as one may say, besieg'd in his own Castle, and almost ruined by having for several Months part of the Army quartered upon his Estate, and living there at discretion ; several others had the same Fate, either because the Court connived at it, or that the Hatred of Religion prevailed over all the Laws, even of Nature ; but it is certain, that never was a War attended with so much Injustice, Barbarity, and all manner of Licentiousness than this was.

The King, going on with his Conquests, arrived in *Guienne*, and found there the like Eafiness to reduce the Places that held for the <sup>The King's  
Progress in  
Guinne.</sup> Reformed, as he had found in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*. *Clairac* was at that time the only

War, were sealed up with  
of the most unfortunate, w  
to the Fury of these mercile  
greatest part of the Garrison  
by the rapacious Hands of  
were drowned in crossing th  
Barbarity of them who w  
them in a safe Place.

*He receives a congratulatory Brief of the Pope. dovisio,* who had succeeded in January last, and had t  
Gregory XV. He exhorted him upon his Conquest. I  
lay down his Arms till he  
cbelle, and deprived the H  
Cautionary Towns, and w  
to their Security. (Philip  
too at Madrid, on the 31<sup>st</sup>  
was succeeded by his Son.

The Reformed were unfor  
The Duke of Mayenne too  
Places in the District of his

would be besieg'd, was in the Neighbourhood Lewis 13.  
of *Castres* and *Albi*, to provide for its Defence, <sup>1621.</sup> Pope *Gregory XV.*  
and stood with a great deal more of Courage  
than Success. The Assembly at *Rochelle* made  
fruitless Endeavours to receive some Assistance  
from within and without the Kingdom. All  
the Foreigners denied them. The Intrigues  
carried on in *Normandy* for the same purpose,  
became abortive, by the Death of the Under-  
taker. *Montbrun* could do nothing in *Dau-  
ppiné*, because the Duke of *Les Diguieres* his  
Grandfather-in-Law, was sent thither to ap-  
pease the Motions of that Province. And the  
Count of *La Suze* was very near paying with  
his own Head the Enterprise he had concerted  
upon *Grenoble*, thro' the Treachery of his  
Guide. The King had met almost with no  
Resistance, *St. John of Angely* and *Clairac* ex-  
cepted. About fifty Towns, several of which  
were as able to resist as *St. John*, had opened  
their Gates without waiting for the Cannon,  
from the Middle of *May* to the End of *July*.  
And *FAVAS*, the very *FAVAS*, the first Au-  
thor and the hottest Promoter of these Mis-  
eries, sent orders to his Son to surrender *Castel-  
jaloux* and *Castetz*, two of the Cautionary  
Towns, tho' twelve or fifteen Leagues distant  
from the Roads where the Royal Army  
march'd.

At last the King being Master of all the Montau-  
Places, *St. Antonin* excepted, round about *Montauban*, pitch'd his Camp before that Place *sieg'd*.  
the 21st of *August*, according to the Duke of  
*Roban*; but the 17th, according to *De Pontis*,  
which is confirm'd by *Bassompierre*, both pre-  
sent at that Siege. The King's Army was of  
about 24,000 Men, commanded by the Con-  
stable: The Dukes of *Chaulnes*, *Luxembourg*,  
*Mayenne*,

ing Camp of no less than  
4000 Foot. Nothing v  
King's Army, but more  
Pride in the Constable, fo  
good advice. The Marq  
his two Sons, and the Com  
the Duke of *Sully*, got in  
was abundantly provided  
fary for holding a long S  
with an undaunted Courage.  
The King had intelligence  
part of them became usele  
tors were served as they d  
ther were discovered. T  
found means to throw a S  
the Place. On both sides t  
ders in that Siege. But t  
ing on a pace, the Sicknes  
the Royal Army, and the  
disheartned by any Effort  
King after three Months c  
raise it; having lost goo  
either by Sicknes, or by

Besieged's side, was the Reverend Doctor Lewis 13. *Chamier*, Minister and Professor in Divinity <sup>1621.</sup> in the Church and Academy of *Montauban*, <sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> who had his Head carried off by a Cannon Ball.

Before, and during this Siege, the Negotiations for Peace had been still on foot ; therefore there had been great hopes of a happy Conclusion thereof, while the King was still in *Xaintonge* ; but the Assembly of *Rochelle* would not pass this Article, that they should break up at the first Command of the King. During the Siege, several Conferences had been held between the Constable and the Duke of *Roban*, tho' the Court insisted upon a particular Treaty, and the Duke upon a general one, for all the Churches without exception ; however they were like to come to an Agreement, when the Jesuit *Arnoux* endeavoured to create some Jealousies in the King's Mind against the Constable, for which he was paid as he deserved a few Weeks after.

The bad Success of the Siege of *Montauban* <sup>The Constable's</sup> proved pernicious to the Constable, he was lost in the King's Favour, his Majesty could bear no longer with his haughty Deportment. One day as he was passing by, he told *Baf-sompierre*, Lo ! THE KING, LUINES. Nevertheless he had still Interest enough with the King to oblige that Prince to expel his Confessor *Arnoux*, and to take another in his stead. He was made sensible of the Decay of Favour, especially at *Toulouse*, where the Court went after the Siege of *Montauban*, and repented a little too late for not having followed the prudent Advices of his best Friends not to enter upon a Civil War, which would afford to his Enemies too many Opportunities of doing him several

that Place, about the Mid Years and about six Mon  
Marshal *D'Ancre*, to who in every thing, his Bit Good-manners excepted.  
of a noble Extraction, education ; he was affable, serve, when asked after a  
was not so much as a any further Education th  
the Faulconry ; by which himself into the King's I  
tion and Avarice carried Lord-Keeper *De Vair*, b  
at Tonneins, he immediate to promote him to that se  
long Gown in *France* ; at as to wear hanging at hi  
the little Chest, wherein together with the Cross c  
Holy Ghost. All the le amongst the Long-Gown highest Indignation the P

fulness, Treasons, nothing was ever too black Lewis 13.  
for that Man that might serve for compassing 1621.  
his Ends. Pope Gregory XV.

The Misunderstanding between the Duke of ~~Rohan~~<sup>Misunder-</sup> and the Count of *Cbatillon*, caused very ~~standing~~<sup>between</sup> strange Motions in *Languedoc*. The first, as above said, had been named by the Assembly *Rohan and Chatillon*. at *Rochelle*, General of the Upper *Languedoc*, and Upper *Guienne*; and the second commanded in the same Capacity in Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Givaudan*, and *Vivaretz*. But *Cbatillon*, as well as many other Lords of the same Persuasion, did not approve the violent Resolutions of the said Assembly; and consequently was very cautious not to engage himself too far in a War ill undertaken, and worse concerted: therefore some ZEALOTS were always crying out against him, as if he had Intelligence with Court, and betrayed the CAUSE. The Duke of *Roban* countenanced and supported these Zealots; his ambitious Zeal prompted him to break thro' the Rules; as he designed to relieve *Montauban*, he ordered Levies to be made in the Provinces under the Command of *Cbatillon*, without asking his leave, whereat this Lord was much offended. Nevertheless, *Roban* ceased not; but as he wanted more Troops for *Montauban*, knowing that *Cbatillon* would not suffer him to raise them in his Government, as the first time, he thought proper to oppose to that Governour an Assembly of the Churches of the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Vivaretz*, and *Dauphiné*, held at that time at *Nimes*, causing them to order, That the Troops of those Provinces should continue to serve under the Duke of Rohan, and that any other General could not recall them.

This

Lewis 13. This Act of the Assembly put *Chatillon*  
<sup>1621.</sup> quite out of patience ; he positively affirmed,  
*Pope Gre-* that he really designed to march to the Relief  
*gory XV.* of *Montauban*, but was dissuaded from it by  
the Duke of *Roban*, who was unwilling that  
another should partake with him the Glory  
of that Action. *Roban* was so generally e-  
steemed, and had acquired such a great Re-  
putation not only in *France*, but in the foreign  
Countries, by relieving *Montauban* so season-  
ably in sight of the King, and obliging that  
Prince to raise the Siege notwithstanding his  
much superior Forces, that almost the whole  
*Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and the neighbouring  
Provinces, declared themselves for him. But  
the misfortune was, that he was so much puf-  
fed up with his Success, and the Credit he had  
acquired thereby, that he did not care to keep  
fair with *Chatillon*. This Lord seeing plainly  
that *Roban* aimed chiefly at the supreme Au-  
thority over all the Provinces and their Go-  
vernors, put it in his head to recall the Troops

## VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 849

is widened the Breach between *Chatillon* Lewis 13.  
the Assembly ; and whereas that Body 1621.  
composed of hot-headed Men, who lift-<sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
every violent Counsel ; they, of their ~~private Authority~~  
private Authority, deprived that Lord of  
Employments and Charges, without  
regard either to his Rank and Merits, or  
Memory of his Grandfather, who had  
deserved of the *Reformed Churches* :  
they were not ashamed to carry their  
dencé so far, as to cast the blackest Ble-  
s upon his Reputation, charging him in  
black Act with being a Traitor to their  
. *Roban* connived at all these Doings,  
was not sorry to see his Antagonist mor-  
by these Calumnies, and obliged to quit  
*Montpellier*, where he resided, for avoiding  
jury of the Mob raised against him by  
mighty Champions of the Assembly of  
. Those of *Montpellier* detained his  
Son and his Mother-in-Law, as a Pledge  
is future Behaviour. The *Nemauian As-  
sembly* had no sooner begun to set up them-  
for so many petty Sovereigns, that they  
d no longer suffer any Superiority. But  
people soon grew weary of the Domina-  
of these petty Tyrants, more minding  
own private, than the publick Welfare.  
became so odious and intolerable, that  
Duke of *Roban* was made General of  
*Languedoc, Cevennes, &c.* as he was  
iy of the Upper *Guienne*, and Upper  
*Aude*. Such was the Origin of that great  
ority, which that Duke acquired amongst  
Reformed. For having repaired to *Mont-  
pellier* at the Beginning of the next Year,  
the Count of *Chatillon* and the Marquis  
*a Force* had made their private Agree-  
ment

stir up against the Reformation  
but more especially at *Paris*  
the first City the People  
notwithstanding all the  
the Magistrates, they  
from burning to the galleys  
*Charenton*, wounding  
the Reformed that fell in  
were spurred by a professed  
took the Name of *Dominic*  
bare-footed *Carmelite* ;  
and bloody Counsels a  
of *Germany*, had acquired  
of Sanctity in *Spain*, It  
was a *Spaniard* by his I  
Education. After som  
and to *Vienna* ; his Far  
degree, that the greatest  
of his Counsels, as if th  
God himself. He was  
*Bohemian War*, because  
and Adviser of all the  
tions carried on against  
the *Huguenots*

VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 851

ngth, and a Foot in Breadth, represent- Lewis 13.  
e Nativity of our LOR.D, That Picture 1621.  
en found in a heap of broken Wood. Pope Gre-  
lesSED Virgin had her Eyes put out, and gory XV.  
retched Monk published, without any  
Evidence but his own Word, that the  
ts were the Authors of that Prophana-  
He never shewed that Image without  
g a thousand Curses against those who  
much abused it. After his Excursions  
many, especially in *Bohemia*, and the  
ld barbarous Executions of the poor  
nts which he caused to be made in  
untry, he came into *France*, pretending  
nt to the King by the Duke of *Bava-*  
ut with the same cruel Views of de-  
; the Reformed by Fire and Sword.  
was received at *Paris* as a Man imme-  
sent by God himself, and whose Ac-  
ere so many Miracles. The People  
I after him, and even People of Qua-  
sipped him. He lodged in a Con-  
f his Order ; and to render himself  
nerable, he affected to keep himself  
his Cell, and appeared in publick but  
ne to time, when he thought seasonable  
he Farce. Then the wicked Hypo-  
ceived the Homages that were paid  
xt to Adoration ; they kissed his Feet ;  
ought themselves sanctified, by touch-  
Hem of his Garment ; they carried  
eces of it, which they kept as Relicks.  
n Influence the Speeches of such a Man  
r a People so superstitiously prepossessed,  
easy to apprehend. He preached no-  
ise unto them but Sedition and Vio-  
But the Chancellor, the Duke of  
zon Gouvernour of *Paris*, together with

had been so kindly an  
thirty-two Years togeth  
massacre their Fellow-Ci  
ed Profession, which they  
executed, had they not  
the Diligence of *D'Aigues*  
manded in the City, duri  
Count of *Sault*, and w  
of the City, and quartere  
House-keeper, so that th  
desperate Design were pi  
But at *Paris*, all the C  
the Magistrates, of the  
nor, of the Chancellor,  
sellors of State, was to  
had exhorted the Reforr  
publick Exercise, judgin  
ance thereof would be a  
to the King's Authorit  
Duke of *Montbazon* w  
upon the Road that lead  
*renton*, for securing the  
to, and came back fron  
hindred not the furio

pher says, that on both sides, some of them Lewis 13. were killed. At last, that Sedition was suppressed by the Parliament's Care, which issued <sup>1621.</sup> Pope Gregory XV. out a Declaration, whereby they took under their special Protection all the Reformed in the whole Extent of their Jurisdiction. Some of the chief Rioters being apprehended, were put to death (x).

After the Death of the Constable *Luynes*, <sup>1622.</sup> the Affairs were managed by the Cardinal of *Condé and Retz*, the Count of *Schomberg* and *De Vic*, <sup>the new Ministers</sup> who by their means was created Keeper of the Seals. They did their utmost for keeping their ground ; but the Queen-Mother, and the Prince of *Condé*, suffered them not to enjoy long that Station. *Mary of Medicis*, now freed of her Enemy, entertained great hopes of resuming her former Authority. *Condé* endeavoured to prevent her. He set out with all diligence to meet the King upon the Road ; he met him between *Bourdeaux* and *Poitiers*. His first care was to persuade his Majesty to continue the War against the Reformed. That greedy Man was sensible enough, that he would be much better enabled to satiate his Avarice during the War than in time of Peace. The Forfeiture of the Estates of those who were in Arms against their Sovereign offered him a plentiful Harvest ; he was so base as to sollicit in the King's Council, the Forfeiture of the Duke of *Raban's* Estate : his Woods were cut down, &c. and he (*Condé*) having obtained the Commission for executing the King's Decree against the Duke, discharged it with all the Passion that could be expected from the worst Foe, and possessed himself of all that escaped from Fire and Sword.

K k k 2

He

(x) *Vie de Du Plessis*, Liv. IV.

Loyalty ; and notwithstanding repeated Declarations in distinction was put between them, but they were still abused. Breach of Faith approved of by these traitors, whom *Condé* adhered to, for compassing their Escape, singles out some Instances in this respect, which Memory for ever (y). could to retard the King's return, being sensible that they must certainly be opposed by the old Counsellors of His Majesty came to the Knowledge of January. A very few Ministers, Chancellor and President *Jouffroy*, with the King as to Passe from Peace, shou'd have been aware of their former Error, the requisite Submission was resolved to employ the

very secret, lest his new Counsellors should Lewis 13. form too great Oppositions against his Intentions. That Negotiation had no Effect for the present, though it was carried very far.

*Pуйилю*, Secretary of State, a Slave of the Court of *Rome*, and bribed by that of *Madrid*; *Pуйилю*, I say, *Condé*, the Cardinal of *Retz*, *Schomberg*, and *De Vic* prevailed in the King's Council, and obliged that Prince to sacrifice the true Interest of his own Crown to the cruel Ambition of the House of *Austria*, and to eat up his own Subjects, and lay waste his own Kingdom, in order to please an unworthy Priest. The Duke of *Les Diguieres* had had several Conferences with the Duke of *Robas* at *Laval*, a small Town near the Bridge of the Holy Gbost; they had agreed together as to four of the most essential Articles, the rest was left to the Determination of the King's Council. The Deputies of several Reformed Lords, together with those of *Roban* and *Les Diguieres* were already upon the Road in their way to *Paris*, when on a sudden, the King set out from that Capital, by the Advice of *Condé*, *Schomberg*, and others of the same Cabal, who were affraid lest his Majesty should be prevailed upon by the Counsels of *Jeannin* and others, to grant Peace to the Reformed, if he waited till the Arrival of the Deputies. His Departure was more like a flight than any thing else, for he went out by a back Door of the *Louvre* in the Evening of the 21st of *March* after Vespers, though he had declared a few days before that he would spend *Easter* Holy-days at *Paris*.

During the Winter, some Actions had passed between the two Parties in the Southern and South-Western Provinces. *Bourniquet* and *Negrepelisse*

other Places, lost in the  
they received a terrible  
of Riez in Lower Poitou.  
*Soubize*, who had seven  
seven hundred Horse, &  
fifteen hundred were ki  
fifteen hundred taken Pris  
Gallies, and most part  
down by the Peasants, fe  
ty hardly escaped : The  
this Action. *Soubize* ver  
a Visit, and gave no oc  
Prudence, when he eng  
Army in a Country, full o  
he could so easily be si  
much discomposed at the  
Army.

*The King's* After that Victory the  
great Suc- March towards Guienne ;  
cess. in all his Enterprizes, &  
the beginning of May, by  
and burnt to Ashes afte  
*Royans* was forced to surre  
tion to the Marshal of Vi

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 857

was followed by the Lords of Sully, Orval, Lewis 13.  
Theobon and Lufignan.

1622.

On the 8th of June the Royal Army came <sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> before Negrepisse, which was taken by Storm two days after, and by the King's Orders all Negre-the Men were put to the Sword, the Town <sup>plisse de-  
stroyed by  
Fire and</sup> burnt to Ashes, two hundred Soldiers that had retreated into the Castle, forced to sur-Sword. render at Discretion, were all hanged without Mercy, all the Women and Virgins, very few excepted, exposed to the Brutishness of the Soldiery \*. Such was the JUSTICE of Lewis the JUST ; it consisted chiefly in Acts of Cruelty and Barbarity. True it is, that Town deserved a Punishment for the Perfidiousness above-mentioned ; the Ringleaders deserved Death, and to the utmost : Had the King ordered the Men to be decimated, that would have been a great Severity indeed, but such a one as the necessity required ; but to treat the Town in such a manner, there is nothing in that Action but what shews a great Brutishness and Ferocity, which Ferocity is wholly to be ascribed to the bloody Coun-sels of the cruel Condé, a base Soul if ever there were any ; who never failed to sollicit the King to some barbarous Action or other, whenever he found an Opportunity. Next to that unfortunate Place, St. Antonin was besieged, and forced after twelve days Siege to surrender at Discretion. Then Lunel, Sommieres, and several other Places were either forced or bought ; the Count of Chatillon received the Staff of Marshal of France at Aiguemortes, which the said Count delivered to his Majesty on the 22d of August.

K k k 4

During

\* Mem. de Pontis, Tom. I.

Lewis 13. During these Expeditions, the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, who aimed at the Constable's Sword, 1622. Pope Gre-gory XV. and who knew that he could not attain to ~~the Duke of Les Diguieres~~ that high Dignity, without turning Catholic, to which, for several Years before, he was fully resolved, took at last that dangerous Leap at *Grenoble* the 24th of *July*; and the very same day he received the King's Letters Patent, which created him High-Constable of *France*, and on the 26th he was installed Knight of the *Holy Ghost*. — He was eighty Years old when he cast such a great Blemish upon his Fame, and confirmed by that odious Act, what *Solomon* says, that *the Adulteress will hunt for the precious Life of a Man*, Prov. vi. 26. *Her Mouth is a deep Pit: be that is abhorred of the Lord shall fall therein*, Prov. xxii. 14. For had it not been for MARY VIGNON, heretofore mentioned, first his W—e, though she was married to an Apothecary, and now his Wife, whose Ambition and Avarice was unsatiable, and who govern'd him absolutely, none likely he would never

of marrying the Prince of *Wales* with the Infanta, Sister to Philip IV. And though the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, provoked at the Treatment his Lordships, Houses, &c. in <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> <sup>1622.</sup> <sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> *Guisenne* and *Languedoc*, had received even by the King's Orders, (for *Negreplisse* belong'd unto him) though he had accepted the Neutrality, was treating with the Administrator of *Halberstadt* and the Count of *Mansfield*, for engaging them to assist the Reformed, by making a Diversion in *Champaign*, with the powerful Army of *Reisters* and *Landskenets*, which they had under their Command; that Negotiation came to nothing through the wise and prudent Management of the Duke of *Nevers*, Governor of *Champaign*. *Rocquelle* could send no Relief, being itself blocked up, by Land by the Count of *Soissons*, who built a Fort, namely *St. Louis*, at a little distance from that City, and which commanded the Channel; and by Sea, by a Fleet commanded by the Duke of *Guise*, so that they had much ado to defend their Walls. Nevertheless, the great Activity, Prudence and Courage of the Duke of *Roban*, and some brave experienced Officers that commanded under him, would have supply'd several of these Losses, had a strict Union been kept between the Reformed. But the Misunderstandings were carry'd to such a degree, not only between Persons of the first Rank, but even between the Commonalties themselves, that they were in danger of being consumed one by another; a perfect Anarchy reigned among them, especially at *Montpelier*, there was a Party of certain Fanaticks which carry'd every thing to extremes, and whose violent Deportment caused several great Mischiefs; among others, they murdered

Lewis 13. dered, about the beginning of this Year, Pre-  
1622. sident *Du Cros*, though a Reformed, who had  
*Pope Gre-* been sent thither by the Duke of *Les Di-*  
gory XV. *guieres*, to confer with the Duke of *Rohan*  
about the Articles of Peace; they entered his  
Chamber and told him, *Thou Traitor, are you*  
*come here to bribe the Duke of Rohan in the*  
*name of that fine Les Diguieres, who*  
*wishes no better than to see us quite undone?* and  
thereupon they fell upon him and stabbed him.  
These Miscreants deemed Traitors to the  
CAUSE, all moderate Persons who endeavoured  
to bring Matters to some Agreement. The  
Duke of *Rohan*, the Magistrate, and the Con-  
suls of *Montpelier*, resented that Barbarity as  
they ought, and caused all the Guilty that  
could be apprehended, to be severely punished  
as they deserved (y).

Such being the Condition of the Reform-  
ed, which is so lively described by their noble  
Chief in his Memoirs, it is very plain that,  
without a Miracle, they could not avoid their

Royal Protection, being come back with Lewis 13. absolute Refusal of the Inhabitants, ground-<sup>1652.</sup> upon the Fears which the Brave Condé<sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> suggested unto them, that if they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the promises made unto them, the King would sooner be in their City, but he would put every thing to Sword and Fire (2). Thereon the King assembled his Council, and notwithstanding Bullion's and several others En-  
avours to engage his Majesty not to insist on his Admittance into the City, Condé carried his Point, it was resolved to force them a Compliance, and the Siege was begun.

It was one of the longest, and of the most arthering; the Besieged, commanded by the Duke of Roban, and Calonge his Lieutenant, made a brave and stout Defence; the Besiegers, sides a great Number of their Troops, lost several Noblemen and brave Officers, amongst the first was the Duke of Fronsac, Son to the Count of St. Pol. The Conferences for Peace were secretly carry'd on by the King's Orders at St. Privat, between the Constable, the Marshal of Crequi, and some others for the King, and the Duke of Roban, for the Besieged. The King's Commissaries insisting upon his Majesty's Entry into the City, the Duke of Roban yielded, and went to Montpelier, being conducted by the Marshal Crequi, in order to persuade the Inhabitants to do the same, and to impart unto them the Articles of the Treaty, among which there is one to which they would never consent, viz. That the King should keep Garrison in Montpelier. The Town-House consented, that should remain in the City as long as the King,

(2) *Journal de Bassompierre*, Tom. II.

Lewis 13. King, but that it should evacuate it when his  
1622. Majesty should set out, and even they durst  
*Pope Gre-* not propose any thing like it to the People,  
*gory XV.* but only that the King's customary Guards  
should come in along with him. Finally, it  
was agreed, that his Majesty at his setting  
out of the City, should leave it at liberty.  
But, if *Bassompierre* is to be credited in this  
Point, there was a kind of Connivance in this  
respect, between the Council and the Duke  
of *Rohan*; for this Lord said to the King,  
*that though his Majesty should not perform that Article, notwithstanding its being set down in writing in the Treaty, the Reformed would not renew the War for that (a).* The said Duke  
published

(a) *Journal de Bassompierre*, Tom. II. pag. 283.  
Edit. de Cologne 1665. It may be said, that though  
this Lord is acknowledg'd to have been one of the  
greatest Men, uncapable to utter a Calumny on any other  
Occasion, nevertheless, being a Roman Catholick, his  
Religion has prompted him to blast the Reputation of  
the Duke of *Rohan*. But what shall we say to the  
Charge put upon the Duke by *Du Plessis* himself, in his

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 863

published the Apology of his Conduct, as to Lewis 13.  
this Treaty, which is contained in his VII<sup>th</sup> Discourse, to which I refer the Reader. 1622. Pope Gregory XV.

After several goings and comings, the ~~Treaty~~ was signed at *Montpelier*, on *Tuesday* 18th of *October*; the Duke of *Roan* came into the Camp the same day to pay his Obedience to his Majesty, and the next day the Deputies of the Circle of *Lower Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, and *Givaudan*, and the Consuls of *Montpelier* were presented to his Majesty on their bended Knees, and were graciously received. Peace was proclain'd in the Camp and in the City with the usual Ceremonies. His Majesty made his publick Entry on the 20th. The Marshals of *Crequi* and *Bassompierre* had taken Possession of the City the day before, and had quartered in it the *French* and *Swiss* Regiments of Guards, and the next Morning the Garrison had quitted it. The King stayed here eight days, during which time part of the Army was disbanded. There was a general Procession in the City on *Sunday* the 23d, wherein the Host was carried. The 23d the two Regiments of *Picardy* and *Normandy* were put in Garrison in the City under the Command of the Count of *Valencé*, contrary to the Treaty. The 27th the King set out for *Provence*.

The Treaty had been carry'd on without the Knowledge of *Condé*, but when it drew near its Conclusion, the King thought proper to give him notice thereof. Though he had guess'd before that something like was hatching, nevertheless he could not hear the Confirmation

p. 694. Much more I could say, extracted out of this last Book to the same purport, which I chuse to omit for Brevity sake.

864 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. firmed of it through the King's own Month  
1622. without gnashing with his Teeth ; his Answer  
~~Pope Gre-~~ betray'd what he endeavour'd to conceal, and  
~~gory XV.~~ Spite prompted him to ask leave to go to  
Italy to perform a Vow to our *Lady of Loretto*. The King, desiring no better than to  
be rid of him, after some Compliments, granting him his Request, and he set out from the  
Camp for Italy, before the Proclamation of  
the Peace.

The Treaty was published in the form of an  
Edict. The King before all, supposed the Justice  
of his Arms against his Reformed Subjects ; whose Rebellion he ascribed to the Artifices  
of those who expected to make use of their Simplicity, and of the Confusions of the  
State, for fishing in troubled Waters, (and that  
was but too true, as we have said above;) then  
he call'd God to witness, that his chief aim  
had always been to procure the Peace and  
Welfare of all his Subjects. Then he declared,  
that at the most humble Request of the Re-  
formed tender'd unto him by their Deputies he

### VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 865

to the Military Officers the King was  
of the Restoration ; Prisoners of War,  
as in the Gallies on account of the  
irrection, freely released ; the keeping  
cautionary Towns that remained in  
hands of the Reformed, such namely as  
stained in the Register of the late King,  
at Rennes in the Month of May 1598,  
continued for three Years longer ; but  
the others which had been reduced, and  
those who had perfifited in their Alle-  
they were not to be comprised under  
one of cautionary Towns \*; (this point-  
edly against *Du Plessis*, as already ob-  
in the laſt Annotations:) All the new  
towns, made in the Towns held by the  
Reformed were to be demolished, but the  
old were to stand *in Statu quo* ; but by  
certain Articles it was enacted, that *La*  
*and Montauban* should preserve their  
*Statu quo* new and old ; and that those  
*Ufiez, Caſtres and Milbaud* should  
be demolished but by halves. The Reformed  
expressly forbidden to hold any poli-  
lably of what Denomination ſoever  
the King's ſpecial Licence ; but they  
hold Eccleſiaſtical ones, Synods Na-  
Provincial, Colloquies, provided no  
but purely of an Eccleſiaſtical Nature,  
e and Discipline, ſhould be treated of  
Assemblies. An Amnesty of whatever  
en done from the First of January  
to the Date of the preſent Edict with  
the

Reformed lost in this War above 80 cau-  
tions, taken, or ſurrendered to the King by  
ernors.

866 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. the same Extent ; the like Restrictions speci-  
<sup>1622.</sup> fy'd in the Articles 76, 77, 86, of the E-  
Pope Gre- dict of *Nantz* were granted ; every one who  
gory XV should accept this Edict in a Fortnight's time  
after the Date thereof, should enjoy the Be-  
nefit thereof. The Observation of this Edict  
was enjoined in the same Form prescribed by  
the 82d Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, and  
the King promised to send Commissaries into  
the Provinces to see it executed.

By a private Brief the King promised, that  
there should be neither Garrison, nor Citadel  
in *Montpelier* ; that the City should be in the  
Custody of its Consuls, and that nothing should  
be altered in it, save only that the new For-  
tifications should be razed. That Brief was  
delivered to the Duke of *Roban*, who put it  
into the hands of the Consuls.

As to the Duke *Roban*, he did not for-  
get himself ; he did not care to have the  
Government of *Angely*, and of some other  
Places, which had been dismantled, restored  
unto him : but he consented in like manner

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 867

Montpelier, was to have one of six thousand Lewis 13.  
Livres.

The Reformed Cities engaged in the War, <sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> accepted the Edict, even *La Rochelle* itself <sup>All the Re-formed accept the E-dict of Peace.</sup> paid her Submissions to the Count of Soissons, without consulting the Assembly that remained still on foot, for some Weeks longer ; nevertheless, either that the *Rocbeleſe*, and the Duke <sup>of Guise</sup>, who commanded the Royal Fleet that block'd up the City, were both ignorant of the Conclusion of the Treaty, or that they had a mind to try one another, and to improve afterwards their Advantages : How the Matter stood, that I cannot positively tell ; but it is certain, that some days after the proclaiming of the Peace in the City of *Montpelier*, there was a Sea-fight between the two Fleets, wherein they both suffered great Losses. Nevertheless, as they could not be any longer ignorant of the Peace, they agreed to supersede all manner of Hostilities.

So ended a War so rashly concerted, undertaken and ill-managed, whereby the Authors and Abettors betrayed their own Weakness, and got nothing better than the Scorn of their Enemies, whereas formerly they had been the Object of their Dread. *Roban* with those of the Deputies that were with him, follow'd the King to *Lyons*, and by his Majesty's Orders named six Persons to be Deputies General attending the Court, out of which the King pick'd two, *Mont-martin* for the Nobility, and *Maniald* for the Commons : and these were the last chosen by a Political Assembly, the King devolving that Right unto the National Synod.

His Majesty arrived at *Paris* about the beginning of January, wherein he made a joyful Bill of Grievances presented to the King.

868 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. ful Entry, on account of his good Success,  
<sup>1623.</sup> whereby he had ruined and destroyed part  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV. of his Kingdom. The two General Deputies  
presented an humble Address unto him, re-  
quiring a Redress of several Grievances which  
they complained of, and which actually were  
so many Infractions of the late Edict ; such,  
for instance, were the putting a Garrison and  
a Governor in the City of *Montpelier*, quite  
the reverse of what had been expressly stipu-  
lated, the altering the Constitution of its  
Government ; for by forcible ways, *Valenci*  
had found means to have half the number  
of the Consuls to be Roman Catholicks, where-  
as formerly they used to be all Reformed.  
The keeping of *Fort Louïs* near *Rochelle*, though  
it had been stipulated that it should be razed ;  
the keeping of the Reformed Captives upon  
the Galleys on account of their Religion. That  
the King should contribute something towards  
the rebuilding of the Church at *Charenton*,  
built during the late War, and would order  
that of *Tours* to be rebuilt at his own Charge.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 869

Bergerac should be released from several Hard-<sup>Lewis 13.</sup>ships and Vexations imposed upon them ; that <sup>1623.</sup>the Troops left in *Languedoc, Cevennes,* and <sup>Pope Gre-</sup><sup>gory XV.</sup>other Places, should be disbanded ; and a few other Articles of less moment.

These Articles were answer'd the 4th of *March*, and properly speaking, nothing was <sup>answered.</sup> granted, except the release of the Captives upon the Galleys, and an Exemption from contributing towards the Building of Churches for the Catholicks. As to all the rest, they got nothing but fair Promises never to be performed, or they were referred to the Decision of the Commissaries that were to be sent into the Provinces; and who had their Instructions not to do Justice. So that it was plain enough, that in the last Treaty, the King and his Council designed only to deceive the Reformed, and to ruin them with more ease, and at less expence than by a War. It is what Chancéllor de Sillery desired his Brother, then Ambassador at *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope with : " All the Treaties, says he, that have been made with those of the Pretended Religion from the beginning of the Troubles, none excepted, have been always advantageous to them, all that had been taken from them during the War, was restored with Usury by the Treaty. But in this the King keeps all that has been taken by his Arms, or by Composition ; and all the new Fortifications of the Places remaining unto them are to be razed. —— It is to be hoped, that we shall get more with Peace than otherwise." And in another Letter of the 14th of *November*, to the same ; His Holiness must be well assured, that the *Huguenots* have always got the better by

Lewis 13. " by the War, but have been always dimi  
 1623. " nished in time of Peace, and it is to b  
~~Pope Gre~~  
~~gory XV.~~ " expected that the same will happen now  
 " through the Piety of his Majesty (b)

The meaning of this is, that they designed to oblige the Reformed, and especially the Nobility and Gentry amongst them to forsake their Religion, by the same means which King Henry the Third had so successfully put in use before the Wars of the League, to wit, by refusing all kind of Favour, all sort of Preferment and Advancement to those who were steadfast in their Religion. All the old Counsellors were of the same Opinion with the Chancellor, and it had been one of the To-picks which President Jeannin had made use of for diverting the King from entring upon a Civil War; but the new Ministers relished not a Method which deprived them of the Plunder of their Fellow-Subjects, which they swallowed up in their Imagination, wherein they were mightily supported by the Prince of Condé.

Several Decrees of the Council were issued out for depriving the Reformed of their Rights, and for abridging their Liberty. Such was that of the 6th of July, whereby they were excluded from the Dignities whereto they were formerly intitled in the University of Poitiers; another of the 19th of August, which forbade them to sing Psalms in the Streets, or in their Shops; several Sentences were given this Year in the Parliament and in the King's Council, which unjustly abridged the Authority

(b) Mémoirs pour l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu, par *de la Motte*, Tom. I. p. 514, and 15. p. 521, and 22. Ed. of Cologne, 1667.

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 871

Authority of Parents over their own Children Lewis 13.  
dren in Matters relating to Religion. 1623.

But what happened at *Montpellier* was very near to kindle again the War. The Duke of *Rohan* was come back from Court, in order to execute the Treaty of Peace. He was no sooner arrived but *Valencé* put it in his head to arrest him, on pretence that he was come to renew the Troubles, and that he did not follow the Intentions of the Court. The News of that Detention filled up the Minds of the whole Party with Astonishment and Indignation; *Soubize* openly threatned to renew the War. The Court itself was in a great perplexity about the Ways and Means to be id out of that Labyrinth; some were so base as to endeavour to persuade the King to improve this Opportunity for destroying his Enemy, either by an Assassinate, or by having him try'd by the Parliament of *Toulouse*, which would not fail to find him guilty of High Treason. But at last Moderation prevailed, and Orders were instantly sent to *Valencé* to release the Duke, who was at the same time commanded to quit *Montpellier*, and to retire into the Upper *Languedoc*. We could not believe it, did not *Baffompierre* testify it, that the Duke was beholden for his Liberty and Life to *Diversion Match*. The young Queen had prepar'd a Ballet; the Duchess of *Rohan* was to be one of the Actresses. Every thing was ready when the News of the Duke's Captivity arrived. The Duchess, resenting as she ought her unlucky Accident, declared to her Majesty, that she was not able to perform her part, and desired to be excused. Her Majesty unwilling to lose her *Diversion*, insisted and *And re-leased.*

Lewis 13. prevailed with her Royal Husband for the  
1623. Duke's Release.

Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

Citadel  
built at  
Montpe-  
lier.

Another Breach of the last Treaty was,  
that notwithstanding the Special Brief granted  
to those of *Montpelier*, that no Citadel should  
be built in their City, *Valence* found means  
to oblige them to have one; for on pretence  
of looking for means of easing the Inhabitants  
of the Garrison that was quartered in their  
Houses, and was very troublesome, he con-  
vened an Assembly, wherein but very few of  
the Reformed Inhabitants assisted, and the  
Roman Catholicks, most part whereof had  
been bribed by him, feigned to be persuaded  
that the best way was to have a Citadel where  
the Garrison could lodge, that passed by a  
Plurality of Votes, and notwithstanding the  
Protest entered by the Reformed, they peti-  
tioned the King for leave to build one, which  
accordingly was granted.

A King's  
Commissa-  
ry in the

Another Piece of Injustice, was the De-  
claration given at *Fontainbleau* the 17th of

## VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 873

ick Affairs in their Synods ; the second, Lewis 13. they admitted other Persons besides their <sup>1623.</sup> Registers and Elders ; and that they took Re- <sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> gions contrary to the Intentions and Opin-  
ions of the greatest Number, and of the most  
desirable amongst the Reformed. How-  
ever the Reformed made no Opposition to a  
Resolution of this Importance, at least they  
did it not very far ; seeing that few Months  
before they held Synods in all the Provinces,  
summoned a National Synod at *Cbarenton* to meet the first of *September*. They  
thought they might, by Submissions and Pe-  
aces, deliver themselves from this Restraint,  
injurious on account of the Motives which  
led the King to impose it upon them, as  
inconvenient, because they were obliged  
to open to the Court's View the Secret  
of their Policy. Indeed at first it very much  
ex'd them. For there were several Pro-  
vinces where the Governors started a thou-  
sand Difficulties about the Nomination of a  
Commissioner for assisting in their Provincial  
Synods ; and they took that occasion to vex  
the most proper to exercise their ma-  
nagement and no less ignorant Zeal against them.  
But most part of the Deputies to the Sy-  
nod of *Cbarenton* arrived there, but after the  
appointed day, and excused their delay, as  
having been occasioned by the Difficulties  
which the Governors had made, having pro-  
duced as much as they could, the summoning  
of the Synods in their respective Provinces.  
The first Commissary who sat in that Capa-  
city in a National Synod, was *Augustus Galand*  
who truly loved his Religion, but at the same  
time beloved the King, and, may be, his Princi-  
ples to the Obedience due by Subjects to their

874 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13 Sovereign were a little too extensive. He believed that Sincerity was altogether on the Court side. He was made Counsellor of State, and served the Court with great Affection and Constancy.

The 24<sup>th</sup> National Synod, held at Charenton opened its sessions the first day of September. As soon as the King's Commission to the said Galand had been read in the Assembly, a Debate arose about that Novelty, whereby their Liberty was so much abridged ; it was resolved to petition the King upon that score, and in the mean while, for shewing forth their ready Obedience to his Majesty, they admitted the Commissary, and received him with great Marks of Respect. The Lord *De Mont-martin*, Deputy General for the Nobility, acquainted the Assembly with the Endeavours he and his Colleague — *Maniold Esq;* Deputy for the Commons, had made for diverting his Majesty from his Resolution concerning the above-said Commissary, but that all their Applications and Diligence had been fruitless.

which he would not protect. The Deputies Lewis 13.  
answer'd, that the said Doctrine was the same 1623.  
with their Confession of Faith. Whereupon Pope Gre-  
t was reply'd, That the King left the Judg-  
ment of their Doctrine to themselves, nor  
would he concern himself with it ; but that  
he would not allow the making any Person  
to swear upon the Faith of another, or that  
any of his Subjects should be deprived of the  
liberty of believing as he would. Strange  
*Contradiction between Words and Deeds!* Every  
one must be left at liberty of believing as he  
will. Very good. But then, why did they per-  
secute at that very time, those who could not  
believe the Doctrines of the Roman Church ?  
Is it not plain, that the Council had nothing  
else in View but to sow Division amongst the  
Reformed Churches ? However, the Synod  
resolved to obey the King's Will as to these  
two Points, reserving unto themselves the li-  
berty of addressing to the King, whenever  
they should have occasion to send for any  
Foreign Minister. And as for the Doctrines  
of the Synod of Dort, the Synod considering  
that that City is a Dependance and Member  
of a Foreign Commonwealth, ordered that  
the Reference had in the said Oath unto that  
City should be taken away, and shall not be  
for the future tendered in the Churches and  
Universities of the Kingdom ; and that the  
Oath should be hereafter taken under the  
Name of the Doctrine received by the Re-  
formed Churches in France, and subscribed to  
by the National Synod of Alets.

The King's Commissary receiv'd a Letter  
from his Majesty the 25th of September, which  
contained three several Propositions to be made  
to the Synod ; 1°. That the King would not  
suffer

Lewis 13. suffer the Rev. Drs. *Cameron* and *Primrose*  
<sup>1623.</sup> to exercise their Ministerial Functions in any  
*Pope Gre-* Part of his Dominions, not because they were  
*gory XV.* Foreigners, but for Reasons concerning his  
Majesty's Service. 2° That whenever the King should grant a Political Assembly, it was his Pleasure, that no Minister should be deputed to these Assemblies, because that they would be hindred thereby from their Ministerial Functions, and he could have wished that they had prevented his Commands on that Subject. But if they did not obey, he should give further Orders about it. Nevertheless the Ministers of the Place, where such Assemblies would be held, were not excluded from them. 3° That this Declaration of his Will should be inserted among the Acts of the present Synod.

The second and third Proposition passed without Contradiction; but as to the first, they sent a new Deputation to intreat his Majesty, that he would relent something of his Severity against the Reverend Persons in the

and that in good time, Matters might be set- Lewis 13.  
tled more to their satisfaction. 1623.

*Primrose* and *Cameron*, two of the wor-  
thiest Divines that ever came into the King-  
dom, were both *Scotchmen*; the first was Pro-  
fessor in Divinity, and Minister in the Church  
and Academy of *Bourdeaux*; the second was  
in the same Capacity at *Saumur*. They had  
both offended the Jesuits, especially the first,  
who had confuted Jesuit *Arnoux*, the King's  
Confessor, who had boldly asserted, in a Ser-  
mon preach'd before the King at *Amboise*, that  
the *Roman Religion*, but more especially the  
Jesuits, never did teach that it was lawful for  
a Subject to murder his Prince when excom-  
municated by the Pope. As to *Du Moulin*,  
he had been betrayed either by King *James*  
or by *Buckingham*, or by both. When he saw  
that very likely there would be a Civil War  
in *France*, he wrote to *James I.* who had a  
great value for him, on account of his great  
Parts; he flattered him with Epithets, quite  
contrary to the Man's Genius, as if he had been  
truly the Defender of the Reformed Churches;  
he told him, that the Eyes of the Reform-  
ed, not only of *France*, but of all *Europe*, were  
upon him, and expected to see him taking  
the Defence of the good CAUSE. *Du Mou-  
lin* was mistaken in his Notions, King *James*  
was not such a Man as he took him to be.  
The Original of his Letter was sent to the  
Court of *France*, and an Order to arrest him  
was immediately issued out, but very luckily  
he escaped out of *Paris*, and retired to *Se-  
das*, where he was Minister and Professor in  
Divinity, and lived till the Year 1650, when he  
died in the 90th Year of his Age. It appears, that  
there was this Year six hundred twenty eight  
*Ministers*

Lewis 13. Ministers actually serving the Churches in  
1623. France ; and sixty nine Churches not pro-  
~~Pope Ur.~~ vided with any Minister. The Synod ended  
~~ban VIII.~~ their Sessions on the first of October. The  
Rev. Mr. Durant, Minister of Charenton, had  
been their Moderator ; the Rev. Mr. Bayles,  
Minister of Lyons, Assessor ; the Rev. Mr.  
Le Faucheur, Minister at Nimes, and Peter  
De Launay, Esq; Secretaries (c).

*Some Oc-  
currences  
of this  
Year.*

As to the Occurrences of this Year, we shall  
observe, 1°. That the Bishoprick of Paris was  
made an Archbishoprick in October 1622, ha-  
ving for Suffragans Chartres, Meaux, and Or-  
leans ; the first Archbishop was the Cardinal of  
Retz, Bishop of Paris. Nephew to the Cardinal  
of Retz, deceased a few Weeks before the Peace.

2°. That Cardinal de Richelieu was made  
of the King's Privy Council : He had receiv-  
ed the Cap at Lyons, a little after the Siege  
of Montpelier. I shall say nothing of that  
Prelate, the great Subverter of the Constitu-  
tion of the Government in France, and of  
the Liberties of the French people."

## VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 879.

He was afterwards very useful to *Henry Lewis* 13. and acquired an extraordinary Reputation <sup>1623.</sup> Skill, Sagacity and Prudence by the Truce <sub>Pope Urban VIII.</sub> which he managed between *Spain* and the *Seven United Provinces*. He was one of the principal Ministers of the late King, and he acquitted himself most honourably of all the Embassies and Commissions wherewith he was charged by *Louis XIII.* Finally, France lost the Loss of such a Minister, the great lence, Skill, Dexterity, Magnanimity whereof she valued and admired.

*Henry of La Tour*, Marshal of *France*, Duke *de Bouillon*, Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, died *le after President Jeannin*. The Viscount *de L'Isle-Quentin*, his Father, killed at the Battle of *Quintin*, had married *Anne* Daughter to *Duke of Montmorency*, Constable of *France*. *Jacques*, his Son, was at first known in the World by the Name and Title of Viscount of *Montmorency*. He was thought to be deeply concerned in the Plot discover'd the last Year of *Charles Ninth's Reign*, for which *Francis, Duke of Montmorency*, his Uncle, and the *Marshal of Cossé*, were sent to the *Bastile*. Having adhered henceforward to *Henry IV.* he did him very signal Services, for which he was finely recompensed, not only with the *Marshal's Staff*, but also by his Marriage with the Heiress of the House of *La Mark*, Son of *Sigismund of Sedan*: She being deceased without Children, *Henry IV.* supported the Duke in Possession of the Estates of the House of *La Mark*, to the Prejudice of the Count *d'Aleuvier*, who was the next Heir. Then *Jacques* married a Daughter of *William I. Prince of Orange*, whereby he became allied with several of the greatest Princes of Europe.

He

Lewis 3. He was one of the greatest Captains of his  
1623. own times, though sometimes unlucky. As  
*Pope Urban VIII.* much expert in the Court's Intrigues, as in  
the Military Art. *Bouillon* had been for some  
time dreaded by the late King, and much more  
by the Queen Regent, she was fain at several  
times to court him, in order to dissipate  
the Parties, which he had himself formed.  
He was stedfast in the Reformed Religion,  
which he had embraced in his Youth. Though  
on some Occasions he wanted Zeal and Up-  
rightness; for, as we have observed in  
its proper Places, he sacrificed the Welfare  
of the Reformed Churches to the Views of  
his too great Ambition. He left after him  
two Sons and several Daughters. He had the  
Grief to hear before his death, that *Frede-  
rick King of Bohemia*, his Nephew, had been  
deprived of the Electoral Dignity, which was  
bestowed upon *Maximilian Duke of Bavaria*.

But the greatest Loss sustained this Year  
by the Reformed Churches, was that of the  
*great Dr. Blaft: Menno* who departed this

**VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 88**

of private Persons, who have written Lewis 13<sup>o</sup> that time, are not impartial enough to <sup>1623.</sup> Pope Urban VIII.  
as a just Ground for our Belief.

out the same time a Rumour, true or ~~false~~

I can't tell, was spread in the publick, *The King's new Declarations*: People were going from one Province another, to sow Jealousies and Suspicions at the Court, even it was said, that they charged with Letters from the Dukes *aban and Soubize*, tending to procure an extion, and free themselves from the erable Yoke whereunder they groaned. ever, that Rumour occasioned a Decla- n of the King, issued out the 11th of ber, wherein his Majesty was made to that he would not believe that either of two Noblemen were any-wise concern- those Intrigues, or that the Reformed in al had any Thoughts of forsaking their giance. However, to assure them the bet- f the Sincerity of his Intentions, he con- ed the Edicts and his last Declarations ; ordered that the Commissaries should con- in the Provinces till they were fully exe- d ; and forbade all Persons of what Rank Quality soever, to write, suggest, per- e, or give ear to any thing contrary to good Intentions, or the publick Tranquil- to go or send into the Provinces, or to bilities held to the same effect, and to ny thing that tended to renew the War, a pain of being punished as Disturbers of publick Peace. The razing of *Fort Louis* *Rochelle*, the releasing *Montpelier* of its rison, the redressing of so many Grievances, y complain'd of, the performing of the mises so solemnly made upon that Subject, Id have gone much further towards the proving

Lewi 13<sup>th</sup> proving the King's Sincerity, than all those  
1623. Declarations, which were plainly contradicted  
*Pope Ur-*  
*brian VIII.* by so many open Acts of Infidelity, Injustice,  
and Violence.

1624. The Commissaries sent into the Provinces  
*The Com-*  
*mmissaries* for putting the Edict in execution, impaired  
*unjust Pro-* the Condition of the Churches instead of mend-  
*ceedings.* ing it. The Course which they took served  
only to evince that the Court made but a May-  
game of them. I shall single out only one  
or two Instances. The King had promised  
the Reformed of *Tours* after the Sedition in  
1621, to preserve their Privileges, and to  
supply them with a Sum of six thousand Livres  
for rebuilding their Church in the same Place  
where it stood before it had been burnt and  
pulled down by the Seditious. But contrary  
to this Promise, the Commissaries forced them  
to sell the Place, and to lay out the Money  
in the Purchase of another very incommodi-  
ous for them. The same thing almost hap-  
pened at *Gergeau*. But at *Remorentin*, the In-  
justice was still more heinous, for their Church

now one of the Commissaries for *Poitou* and *Lewis* 13. *Xaintonge*, behaved himself ; he yielded almost <sup>1624.</sup> in every thing to *Amelot* his Partner, who <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> ruined the Churches, and deprived them of <sup>ban VIII.</sup> their ancient Rights and Privileges, under the appearance of Honesty. And what was more intolerable in *Chalas* was, that out of Complaisance for his Colleague, he approved of the Petition of the Clergy of *Xaintonge*, the whole Strain whereof was full of Malice, making a single and private Fact, once committed during the War, to be the ground of a general Complaint ; as if it had been an Affair wherein all Places were concerned, and the Misdemeanor of every day. So that the Reformed oftentimes were branded thro' the softness and neglect of their own Commissaries, who sought to please the strongest Party, for the Advancement of their Fortune. By these means the Catholicks reaped, even in the time of Peace, the same Advantages they could have expected from a successful War ; and while they eluded by a thousand Artifices, equally base as they were odious, the Promises made before *Montpelier*, the Catholicks were every where put in possession of whatever had been promised unto them by the Reformed. *Rochelle*, notwithstanding the Substance of *Fort Louis* which annoy'd them to the last degree, and which ought to have been razed, had any Sense of Probity, Faith, Honour and Religion been left in the King and his Council, *Rochelle*, I say, consented that the Catholicks should begin again their Exercises ; and accordingly *Mais* was said in that City in the beginning of 1624. But the Catholicks willing to stretch out their Liberties further than it was allowed, and walk in Pro-

884 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. cession through the Streets, they met two Files  
1624. of Soldiers, who forced them to go back  
Pope Ur- ban VIII. into the Place from whence they were set  
out. The Intention of the Citizens was good  
and wise, they designed to prevent the Mis-  
chief which such a Novelty would certainly  
have been attended with ; but the verbal Pro-  
cess which they drew up in order to justify  
their Intentions, and which they sent to Court,  
served only to exasperate the Court against  
them, and to confirm the King in the Resolu-  
tion he had taken to humble that City.

*Forerun-  
ners of a  
new War.* It was impossible that so many Acts of In-  
justice and Perfidiousness should be commit-  
ted without causing great Alterations in the  
Minds of Men ; and every one saw plainly  
that Peace could not be of a very long dura-  
tion. Nevertheless the Court was not as yet  
disposed for War, because the Government  
was not as yet well settled. The old Cardi-  
nals were jealous of *Ricbelieu*. *Puisieux*, and  
the Chancellor, his Father-in-Law, began to  
totter in the Prince's Favour : and those who

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 885

vernment, and hastened the Resolutions our Lewis 13.  
Enemies had taken against us. *La Vieuville*,<sup>1624.</sup>  
who was beholden for his Advancement to  
~~Pope Urban VIII.~~  
Chancellor *De Sillery*, ruin'd his Benefactor,  
and brought *Puisieux* into Disgrace. These two  
Ministers, bribed by the Court of *Spain*, made  
the King's Power subservient to the Grandeur  
of the House of *Austria*. But *La Vieuville* fol-  
lowed Maxims quite opposite; by his Coun-  
cels the Court resumed its former Schemes,  
and took a liking to its ancient Alliances.  
That Minister was soon served as he had served  
*Sillery* and *Puisieux*. Gratitude is none of  
the Courtier's Virtues. *Ricbelieu*, who was  
in great part beholden to *La Vieuville* for his  
Admittance into the King's secret Council, un-  
capable to bear any Superior or Equal in the  
Management of Affairs, found Pretences e-  
nough for sending his Benefactor to the *Ba-*  
*sile*. Nevertheless he followed his Maxims;  
and all his Designs aimed at the Depression  
and Ruin of the House of *Austria*. And as  
he was unwilling to be deemed at first less  
zealous for his Religion than others, he  
thought that he was bound in honour to  
hasten the Destruction of the Reformed, al-  
ready much weaken'd by the Success of the  
last War. And the wonder was, that *Spain*  
being informed of the Cardinal's Intentions,  
took it in its head, to the Misfortune of the  
Reformed, to raise that Party by its Intrigues.  
Foreseeing that the Change of the Ministry  
would be attended with great Alterations in  
the Affairs of *Europe*, whereby she might be  
a great loser, if she did not cut out some  
Work within the Kingdom for the *French*;  
he resolved not to let slip the Opportunity

Lewis 13 which the Discontents among the Reformed  
1624. gave her to renew the Civil War.

Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. The Peace of *Montpelier* was so openly  
violated, that there was hardly one Article  
left unbroken, so that all the Churches had  
some reason or other to complain. But the  
Condition of the *Rocbelese*, who, notwithstanding  
their repeated Intreaties, had not been  
able as yet to obtain the demolishing of *Fort-  
Louis*, and saw themselves blocked up by  
Troops quartered in several adjacent Places,  
from whence they could easily annoy them :  
That Condition, I say, filled other Re-  
formed Cities with dread. They beheld with  
a deep Sorrow the approaching Fall of that  
potent City ; and could not question, but the  
Design was laid to destroy them one after  
another. So that all those, who believed that  
the subduing of their Cities would prove the  
Ruin of their Religion, expected that through  
some great Providence, their Affairs might be  
retrieved, but not otherwise : And so nobody

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 887

tofore in the Party; and likewise, because Lewis 13. they were afraid to offend the English and <sup>1624.</sup> Pope <sup>Urs.</sup> the Dutch, who had just then concluded a <sup>ban VIII.</sup> League with the King against Spain.

Nevertheless they yielded to the Intreaties <sup>1625.</sup> of the Roibellese. Soubize came to his Brother, who was then at *Castres*, and they agreed together that the first should fit out <sup>an' er</sup> some Ships at *Rochelle*, on pretence of a long <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Voyage, and should endeavour to intercept the Fleet at *Blavet*; that if he succeeded in the Attempt, the Duke of Roban should engage the Provinces where he had Interest to rise in Arms; but if he missed, he should disown his Brother. Their own Estates, and the ready Money they had was the Fund which afforded them necessary Supplies for such an Enterprize. When every thing was ready, Soubize was betrayed by *Noailles*, one of his chief Officers, who unravelled the Secret. But Soubize's Diligence was such, that having sailed from the Isle of *Ré*, by the beginning of 1625, with only three hundred Soldiers and one hundred Seamen, fully resolved to die or conquer; on a sudden he turned to *Blavet*, enter'd the Port, and seized upon all the Ships and Men of War that were in it, and even the Admiral. Then he landed, intending to attack the Fort; but he met there with a greater Resistance than he expected; for it was defended with twelve or fifteen Pieces of Ordnance, and the Garrison had been reinforced upon the Advices given by the Traitor *Noailles*; and the Duke of *Vendôme*, Governor of *Brittany*, having instantly marched to the Relief of the Place with a powerful Reinforcement, Soubize saw himself obliged to be upon the Defensive. For three Weeks toge-

888      *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. ther he was wind-bound in the Port of Blavet  
<sup>1625.</sup> yet, exposed to the Fire of the whole Ar-  
~~Pape Ur-~~ tillery of the Castle; and in order to de-  
prive him of all hopes of Escape, Vendôme  
caused the Entrance of the Port, which was  
narrow enough, to be shut up with an Iron  
Chain and a Cable as big as a Man's Thigh.  
Every one thought Soubize absolutely undone.  
The Duke of La Tremouille, the Marshals of  
La Force and Chatillon, the Deputies Gene-  
ral of the Reformed Churches attending the  
Court, the Consistory of Charenton, the Cities  
of Rochelle, Nîmes, Uzès, and several other  
Reformed Commonalties exclaimed against  
Soubize's Enterprize, and disowned him. The  
whole Party feigned to forsake him, and to  
deliver him up to the King's Resentment;  
who for his part declared him guilty of High  
Treason. But a fair Wind altered suddenly  
the Face of Affairs, and the People's Lan-  
guage. And he, who was secretly detest-  
ed as a Pirate, was proclaim'd as a great Man,  
his Prudence, Courage and Undauntedness  
were exalted to the Skies. Soubize improv-  
ing the Opportunity, cut the Chain and the  
Cable, and sailed from the Port of Blavet,  
carrying along with him the King's Ships  
and those of the Duke of Nevers which he  
found in the Port. Being return'd to the  
Island of Rbé, he took that of Oleron, remain'd  
Master of the Sea, and defeated in that man-  
ner the pretended Scheme of the Blockade of  
Rochelle.

*Some Re-  
flexions on  
his second  
taking up  
of Arms.*      We shall give the Duke of Soubize his due.  
His Prudence, Diligence, Courage, and Intre-  
pidity in the Execution of his Scheme, can-  
not be sufficiently commended. But it was  
a pity, that it was not employ'd upon a better

**Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 889**

Occasion. True it is, that the Reformed were injured a thousand ways ; their Grievances were not redrest ; their humble Petitions were scornfully rejected ; the Treaty of *Montpelier* was shamefully broken almost in all its Articles. But was the time proper for the two Dukes to attempt to right the Churches by Force of Arms ? No, indeed. The Court of France, at last awakened out of that fatal Slumber wherein she had laid for about fifteen Years together, and which had been procur'd by the Opium of Madrid and Rome, was really in earnest, to exert her Strength against the House of Austria. An Alliance had been of late concluded between France, England, Savoy, and the Republick of Venice, for supporting and restoring the Palatine House to its Hereditary Dominions and Titles ; for the Recovery of the Valteline ; for restoring the Liberty of Italy ; and re-establishing the Balance of Power in Europe. And a separate Treaty had been concluded of late with the States-General, whereby their High-Mightinesses were engaged to lend so many Ships well manned to the King whenever required, to fight against whomsoever should attack him without any exception. Great Preparations were making by Land for executing that Scheme : The Constable had already joined the Duke of Savoy with the Army under his Command, and he waited only for a Reinforcement for entering the Milanese ; when on a sudden the Duke of Soubize's Attempt stops the King, alters his Scheme, and draws upon the whole Party the Reproaches and Odium of all the Powers Allies of France, not excepting the Protestants and the Reformed, who exclaimed as

890 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. loud as any other against such a Piece of high  
Pope Ur-<sup>1625.</sup> Imprudence, and even saw themselves oblig-  
ban VIII. ed to help the King for bringing to Reason  
his Reformed Subjects. Had they waited six

Weeks or two Months longer, they would certainly have obtain'd most part of their just Demands ; such as the Demolishment of *Fort-Louis* near *Rochelle*, of the Citadel at *Montpelier*, &c. &c. And it is what *Bassompierre* observes very judiciously, “ The *Huguenots*, “ says he, bore impatiently that a Fort built “ by the Count of *Soissons* at about a Mile “ from *Rochelle* subsisted, notwithstanding “ that it had been expressly stipulated (*by* “ *the Treaty of Montpelier*) that it should “ be demolished. Nevertheless, they knew “ that the King's Designs were advantage-“ ous to their Religion,” (and so they were, and such indeed as Du Plessis had always de-*sired and advised*) “ and that the King would “ order it to be demolished in a little time ; “ as he would have done, had they requir-“ ed it of him, when he would have been

; most part of the Provinces dreaded Lewis 13.  
renewing of the War. The Duke of <sup>1625.</sup> Pope Ur-  
n found it very difficult to engage them <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
s Plot, though he omitted nothing for <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
purpose, even things much unbecoming  
only a Man of his Rank, but even a sin-  
honest Man; for he affected to walk,  
he entred any Place, having the Bible  
'd before him, and would speak to no-  
, before he had been sometimes for two  
rs together on his bended Knees before  
Pulpit in the Church. And his Lady  
Duchess of Roban carry'd it still fur-  
she was in Mourning, and she oftentimes  
pleased to travel in the Night with Flam-  
x, so that her Coach and Retinue being  
and covered with black, that mourn-  
sight frightned the Peasants. They had  
prospect of Assistance from abroad; con-  
twice, the English and the Dutch joined  
the King. True it is, that the first were  
generous than the others, and we shall  
ever admire and praise Captain Pennington's  
instancy, who could never be prevailed  
neither by Threats nor Promises, to fight  
inst People of his own Persuasion, whom  
knew to be unjustly persecuted. True it  
that he delivered the Ships under his Com-  
nd to the French King; but it was after  
repeated Orders of the King, who was ex-  
cived by Buckingham, a Man exceed-  
lly more hurtful to his Country than the  
igue, which raged this Year in London:  
nd it is remarkable, that the far greatest  
t of the English Sailors follow'd the Ex-  
ple of their Captain, refusing to fight a-  
inst their Brethren in Christ, so that these  
ips were manned with French, &c.

892 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis XIII. So then these two Lords could expect no.  
1625. thing but from Spain. And what a Reproach!  
~~Pope Ur-~~ to have sacrificed as much as it was in their  
~~ban VIII.~~ power, the Welfare, not only of their own  
Brethren, not only of their own Country, but  
of all Europe, which groaned under the in-  
tolerable Yoke of the House of Austria; to  
have, I say, sacrificed these things to their  
own Ambition, by obstructing, as much as they  
could, the Intentions of their own King? Must  
we wonder, if Richelieu persuaded his Master  
to pursue to the last his Reformed Subjects,  
and not to desist till he had put it out of  
their power, ever more to cause any Distur-  
bance, and obstruct his Designs against the  
natural Enemies of his Crown? Let then some  
others admire the Courage and Fortitude of  
the Dukes of Rohan and Soubize, and extol  
their great Feats; for my part, considering  
them as the Authors of the Miseries to which  
our Churches were exposed under Lewis XIII.  
I can but compare them to Hannibal, to whom,  
in many respects, they both were like especi-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 893

Advancement which the King would offer <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> them in his Land and Sea-Armies. It is said, <sup>1625.</sup> that his Majesty offered to the Duke of <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> *Roban* a Regiment of twelve hundred Men kept <sup>ban VIII.</sup> ~~in~~ foot, besides his Company of Gens-d'Armes, and thirty Life-Guards ; to the Duke of *Soubize*, a Squadron of ten Men of War, in the Fleet designed against *Genoa*, upon Condition, that he should restore five Ships of the Duke of *Nevers* taken at *Blavet*. As to *Rochelle*, the King promised to raze *Fort-Louis*, as soon as they had razed themselves the new Fortifications made in *Ré* and *Oleron*, &c. It is certain, that the City of *Rochelle*, and the Duke of *Soubize* sent a Deputation to the King, to which the Duke of *Roban* was obliged to join his own Deputies. They presented their Bill containing twenty one Articles, which were favourably enough answer'd in the Month of *July*. But the Spirits of People were grown too difficult to be pleased ; amongst others, the *Rochelais* required, as a Preliminary, that *Fort-Louis* should be razed. They were puffed up with the Success *Soubize* had had against the King's Fleet, commanded by *Houstein*, Admiral of *Holland*, in the absence of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Admiral of *France* ; he had burnt the Rear-Admiral of *Zelande*, and sunk or taken four others, and kill'd above 1500 Men of the Enemies.

But the two Noble Brothers, dreading some <sup>Route of</sup> *Soubize*. cross Accident which might render their Con- fition worse, and willing to improve the Cir- cumstance of the Times, endeavoured to per- suade them to accept what was offered. The Duke of *Roban*, who for obtaining in whole what was refused in part, had been oblig'd to summon an Assembly at *Anduze*, where- in

894 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. in War had been resolved by his Intrigues,  
<sup>1625.</sup> Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. summoned another at Milbaud, in order to  
have Peace accepted; wherein indeed he would  
not have succeeded, had not Soubize been in-  
tirely routed, through the Perfidiousness and  
Treachery of the Rear-Admiral of Rocbelles.  
On the 11th of September, the Royal Fleet  
made a Descent in the Isle of Rbé, seized it,  
with that of Oleron, where they took five hun-  
dred Prisoners, who surrendered at Discretion.  
The Rocbelese lost nine Ships, the largest where-  
of, namely the Virgin, had but five Men left  
to defend her, she was surrounded by four  
of the Royalists, and as Captain Durant, who  
commanded her, saw no other way of escap-  
ing, he set fire to the Powder, and by that  
means she was blown up, and the four Roy-  
alists with her; seven hundred and fifty Men  
perished by that Accident, amongst whom  
was the Count of Vauvert, Son to the Duke  
of Ventadour. Besides these Losses upon Sea,  
and in the Islands, the Reformed were not  
more fortunate upon Land. The Duke of

King told them, that he granted them a general Peace, for all those who had risen in Arms; but he added, *as to Rochelle it is an sober thing.*

Lewis 13.

1625.

Pope Ur.

ban VIII.

That Exception of *Rochelle*, put a stop to the Conclusion of the Treaty, because the Deputies were not empowered to treat without that City: which Union was very ill resented at Court. The *Rocbelese* were no less stunned by the Rout of *Soubize*, than the rest of the Reformed; and falling on a sudden from a presumptuous Steadiness into the lowest Degree of Humility, they craved, in the most submissive manner, that Peace which they had refused a few Months before with so much Haughtiness. Their Deputies prostrated themselves at his Majesty's Feet, crying for Mercy. But the inflexible Monarch answer'd them as a Master who will punish before he will forgive, and referred them to his Chancellor to be further informed of his Pleasure. The Terms which the Chancellor imposed upon them were so hard, that they could not be accepted; the Council and the Government of the City was to be put on the same footing as in 1610; they were to admit an Intendant of Justice; their Fortifications were to be razed; the King was to be admitted with all due respect, whenever he should think proper to come into the City; they were not to keep any Man of War of their own, or borrowed from others; and their Merchant Ships should take Permits of the Admiral of *France*; they were to restore Goods and Estates to the Ecclesiastics; and likewise to restore certain Carriages and Merchandizes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Orleans*, which had been seized

by

Lewis 13. by the *Rocbelese*. Upon these Terms, they might  
<sup>1625.</sup> have been comprised in the Treaty of Peace.  
*Pope Urban VIII.* All the Intreaties of the General Deputies  
were fruitless. The King would not relent; and it was only at the *English* Ambassador's Instances, that they obtained some Alleviation, as I am going to say. *James the First* died, and was buried this Year. *Charles the First*, his Successor, concluded and consummated, to his own and his Kingdoms' unspeakable Misfortune, the Marriage, whereof his Father had treated with *Henrietta of France*, youngest Sister of *Lewis*.

*1626.* The King of *Great Britain*, very eager after the Restoration of the Elector *Palatine*, his Brother-in-Law, which *James* had begun to pursue a few Months before his Death, at the Intreaties of his Parliament, bearing with great Uneasiness any Obstruction that could hinder *Lewis* from exerting his Power against the House of *Austria*, sent Orders to his Ambassadors in *France*, the Earl of *Holland* and Sir —— *Carleton*, to spare nothing in order to put an end to the Civil War: Consequently they work'd so effectually on the Court and on the Reformed side, that they obtained the desired Success. They gave the Reformed to understand, that the King their Master would be Guarantee of whatever was promised unto them. Especially they promised to the *Rocbelese*, that the King their Master would insist so effectually upon the razing of *Fort-Louis*, and to have mitigated the hard Terms imposed upon them, that he might answer for the Success.

Upon these Intreaties and Promises the *Rocbelese* yielded at last, and the other Cities, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, and *Uzez*, which persisted

### III. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 897

only on account of *Rocbelle*, yield- Lewis 13.  
ise. Peace was then concluded on <sup>1626.</sup> Pope Ur-  
of February. The Alterations made <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
Terms imposed upon the *Rocbelese*, ~~which~~  
very considerable; instead of an In-  
of Justice, spoken of in the second  
it was said, that they should admit  
ministaries, Executors of the Treaty,  
that remain in the City as long as they  
think fit; the fourth Article, which  
of the King's Reception, was omitted,  
as the seventh, about the Concerns  
Merchants of *Orleans*. But in their  
the Restoration of the Roman Reli-  
the full liberty of its Exercise, and  
ious Ceremonies was inserted; and the  
ion, that *Fort-Louis* should not be raz-  
but it should be taken care of in such a  
that its Garrison, no more than those  
and *Oleron*, should not annoy their  
Instead of the demolishing their For-  
is, the Court was satisfied with the  
of the Fort *Tadon*; and it was said,  
y should follow the Laws of Trade,  
vileges saved, instead of obliging them  
Permits of the Admiral of *France*.

of these Articles was drawn up, under  
was a Promise to allow the Réform-  
to enjoy the Fruits of the Answers made  
in Bill in July last at *Fontainbleau*, (for  
refer the Reader to the Collection of  
sc. at the End of this Book) provid-  
on their side they should restore things  
the State as then they were. But left  
*belese* should take advantage of this  
, they were expressly excluded from  
it was declared, that the King granted  
, other Favour, besides what was in-  
serted

Lewis 13. ferte in the preceding Deed concerning them.

1626. The Deputies of the Reformed had written  
Pope Ur- their Names in this place : But under, there  
ban VIII. was a third Deed signed both in their own

Name, and in the Name of the Deputies of the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, of the *Languedoc*, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, *Uzex*, and *Cevennes*; whereby they solemnly declared, that they had besought the King, with all the Respects and Submissions possible, to forgive them what was past, and to grant them Peace, promising a perfect Fidelity for the future, &c. Which the King had been graciously pleased to accept, and thereupon had given his Royal Word for a Peace; out of which however *Rochelle* had been excepted. That they had received that Favour, as a signal Instance of his Majesty's Clemency, and promised inviolably to stand by their Promises of Fidelity and Obedience, and to restore the Places taken since last July.

At the same time, in order to secure to themselves the Protection of the King of *England*, whom they imagined to be Guarantee of the said Treaty, they required a Deed from his Embassadors, which was delivered unto them the 11th of *February*, whereby they declar'd, that the razing of *For-Louis*, when Affairs should permit it, had been promised unto them, provided that the *Rocbelese* should submit; and that had it not been for such a Promise, neither the *Rocbelese* would have accepted the Peace, nor the Reformed would have yielded what they had done at the Instances of the King of *England*. Upon these Considerations they were to expect the powerful Intercession of his *Britannick* Majesty their Master, that they might obtain a full Satisfaction.

That

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 899

That Deed was not well drawn ; it did not Lewis 13. mention the Guaranty of the King of *Eng-* <sup>1626.</sup> *land*, but only a Promise powerfully to inter- <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> cede with the King of *France* for a full Exe- <sup>ban VIII.</sup> *cution* of the Articles granted to his Reform- ed Subjects, and that, because out of respect for him, they had yielded to the Terms of fered unto them : That is all. Nevertheless, we shall see the next Year King *Charles*, saying in full Council, *That he was Guarantee of this Peace, and consequently obliged in Conscience to see all the Articles thereof duly performed.*

The Cities of *Rochelle* and *Montauban* hav- <sup>Edit of</sup> ing ratified the Treaty, the first on the se- <sup>Peace.</sup> cond of *March*, and the other on the sixth, an Edict was published in the same Month, containing twelve Articles. The Introduction spoke of nothing but Clemency and Pardon on the King's part, and Submissions and Supplications reiterated by the Reform- ed, and particularly by those who remained in Obedience, which the King said was the better sort, and the far greatest part, to the Remonstrances of whom he had had a spe- cial regard when he had accepted the Sub- missions of the rest. The first Article con- firmed the REGISTERED Edicts and secret Articles ; and declared, that they had been well and duly observed in the Reign of the late King, and after his Death, till the beginning of the last Commotions. That was a *downright Falshood, inserted only to serve a Turn, and to render the Reformed the more odious.* The second restored the Roman Reli- gion, in all the Places where the Exercise there- of had been interrupted during the Troubles, as likewise all Goods, Estates, Rights belong-

Lewis 13<sup>th</sup> ing to the Ecclesiasticks, even all their Move-  
1626. ables that could be found in being. The  
*Pope Ur-* Ban VIII. third granted the same Favour to the Re-  
*ban* formed for the Exercise of their Religion,  
and for the Church-Yards which they were  
possessed of in 1620. The fourth contained an  
Amnesty of all Acts of Hostility; even of  
those that might have been committed from  
October 1622, till the publication of the pre-  
sent. The fifth concerned the raising of Mo-  
nies, and gave a discharge of it after the same  
manner as it was done by the Articles of the  
Edict of *Nantz* concerning the same Matter.  
The sixth restored the Seats of Judicature, the  
Receits, the Officers of the Exchequer to the  
Places from whence they had been removed  
by reason of the Troubles. The Privileges  
of the Cities held by the Reformed were like-  
wise confirmed. The usual Methods in the  
electing of Consuls, were to be observed:  
And the Appeals of Persons aggrieved were  
to be judged by the Chambers of the Edict.  
The seventh reversed all Sentences passed

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 901  
Edict of Nantz. The eleventh forbid for the Lewis 13.  
ture, all sorts of political Assemblies of 1626.  
that Denomination soever, unless they had a Pope Ur-  
special Licence to hold them, and all manner <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup>  
Associations and Correspondences. But the  
ecclesiastical Assemblies were allowed about  
the Affairs of Church-Discipline, and con-  
formable to the Declaration of April 1623,  
which enjoined the Synods to admit a Com-  
missioner deputed by the King. All new For-  
closures and raising of Money without a  
pecial Licence were forbid. The last ordered  
the Execution of the Articles relating to Ro-  
chelle, and the Restitution of the Cities and  
fortresses taken by the Reformed during the War.

All Europe, but especially the Confederates, *Conduct of*  
viz. the English, Venetians, Dutch, and Swit- *Richelieu.*  
zers, expected that Peace being thus conclu-  
d in France, Cardinal de Richelieu would  
rn its Arms against the House of Austria.  
at that was, for this time, very far from his  
minency's Thoughts. He had been divert-  
ed from them by the Insurrection of Soubize,  
and had fully determined to bring down the  
reformed Party, and to deprive them of all  
their Strong-Holds, and especially of Rochelle,  
at they might be no longer in a Condition  
of obstructing him in the Execution of his  
schemes. Besides that, he was surely ac-  
taunted with Plots that were laid against him

Court, in order to remove him from the  
overnment. No wonder then, that for com-  
mencing his Ends, at these beginnings of his  
Ministry, he declined to engage any further in  
foreign War. It was upon that very account,  
that the Constable of *Les Diguieres* had made  
so late but an inglorious Campaign in Italy,  
here, quite contrary to the Expectation of the

Lewis 13. *Venetians*, he had attacked the *Genoese*, instead  
1626. of entering into the *Milanese*, and forcing the  
*Pope Urban VIII*, *Spaniards* to execute the *Treaty of Madrid*,  
which had been transacted and concluded some  
Years before by the good Management of *Baf-  
fompiere*, whereby the Restitution of the *Val-  
teline* to their Sovereign Lords the *Grisons*,  
was expressly stipulated. And it was upon  
the same account that he had made Peace  
with the Reformed, till he could see himself  
superior to his Enemies, at the head where-  
of no less a Person than the Duke of *Anjou*, the  
King's only Brother, was to be put, through  
the Intrigues of the Queen-Mother, who be-  
gan sadly to repent her too great Eagerness  
for the Cardinal's Promotion.

*Peace con-  
cluded  
with  
Spain.*

Therefore while that cunning Prime Mi-  
nister was flattering the *English Ambassadors*  
with the Notion, that it was only in their  
Master's Consideration, and for being the bet-  
ter enabled to execute the Plan formed be-  
tween the two Crowns and their Allies a-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 903

hat they having raised great Scruples in the Lewis 130  
Conscience of the Queen Mother, their Mis- 1626.  
efs, about the Lawfulness of the War against Pope Ur-  
ie Catbolick King, and in behalf of Here- ban VIII.  
cks, they persuaded her to send positive Or-  
ders to *Du Fargis* to conclude at any rate  
ne Treaty, promising to take upon herself  
whatever Consequences such an extraordinary  
tep might be attended with. And so she  
ecame unknowingly the Tool which the Car-  
inal wanted for attaining his End ; for after  
uch Noise in the King's Council against  
~~du Fargis~~, *Ricbelieu* managed his Majesty with  
ich a Dexterity, that the Treaty was accepted  
nd signed by the King, with some small A-  
iendments. This Treaty, was call'd the Tre-  
y of *Monçon* in *Arragon*, though it was con-  
luded at *Barcelona* ; but the Legate *Barbe-  
ini* being arrived in this last City, where  
ne King was then, the Count Duke of *Oli-  
srez*, Prime Minister, and the others con-  
erned in that Affair, were much perplexed  
t this coming of the Legate, lest he should  
bstruct the Conclusion of the said Treaty :  
order to avoid which, they thought that the  
etter way was to antedate it, as if it had been  
one at *Monçon*, while the Court was in that  
lace.

Now in order to have a right Notion of *A short  
View of  
the Affairs  
of the Val-  
teline*. That that small Country, watered by *teline*,  
he River *Adda*, which renders its Soil ex-  
remely fertile, stood very convenient for the  
paniards, as being a Pass through which they  
ight very commodiously bring their Troops  
rom *Germany* into *Italy*, and from *Italy* into  
*Germany*. It is bordered on the East by the

904 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. *Tirolese*, on the *West* by the *Milanese*, where-  
Pope Urban VIII. of it was a Dependency before the *Grisons*  
~~1626.~~ seized upon it, at the Instigation of Pope Ju-  
lius the Second, who attempted to expel the  
Spaniards out of *Italy*. *Maximilian Sforza*,  
Duke of *Milan*, yielded the said Country to  
the *Grisons*, as an Acknowledgment for the  
Assistance they had given him for restoring  
him into his Dutchy of *Milan*; which Grant  
was confirmed by King *Francis the First*,  
when he conquered the *Milanese*, after the  
famous Battle of *Marignano* in the Year 1515.  
Since that time there had been always a strict  
Alliance between the Crown of *France* and  
the *Grisons*; their Republick was engaged not  
to grant a Passage through the *Valteline* but  
to the *French* Troops only, denying it to any  
other Sovereign. *Henry the Fourth* renewed  
that Alliance, which was to subsist not only  
for his Life and his Son's, but even for eight  
Years after the Decease of this last. Never-  
theless, in the time of the Debates between

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 905

no Stone unturned, in order to obtain the Lewis 13.  
renewing of the same Privilege as before, which 1626.  
occasioned great Heats and Animosities amongst <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>ban VIII  
the *Grisons*; and whereas the Council of ~~France~~  
~~France at Turin~~ had Orders to repair to *Coire*,  
in order to oppose any Alliance which might  
prove prejudicial to that subsisting between  
*France* and the *Grisons*. But that Minister  
made such a Demonstration of too great a  
Partiality for *Spain*, on pretence of support-  
ing the *Roman Catbolick Religion*, that he drew  
upon himself the ill-will of the *Grisons*; and  
the *Venetians* on the other hand prevail'd so far,  
as to make use of severity against those who  
hindered their Design, some of whom were  
banished, and others were corporally punish-  
ed as Seditious. The *Grisons* Catholicks being  
exasperated at that, they resolved to be re-  
venged; they addressed themselves to the Go-  
vernor of *Milan*, and desired the Protection  
of the King of *Spain* for the *Valteline*. There-  
upon the Duke of *Feria*, Governour of *Mi-  
lan*, would not let slip so fair an Opportu-  
nity of making himself Master of the *Valte-  
line*; he formed an Intrigue with some of  
the *Grisons* exiled, and some Male-contents  
of the *Valteline*, on pretence of delivering  
them from their Oppression, and of hinder-  
ing the Protestant Ministers which the *Gris-  
sons* had settled in that Country, from extir-  
pating the Catholick Religion. On the 19th  
of July 1620, one *PIANTA*, with the Che-  
valier *ROBUSTEL*, having gathered together  
some Troops in the *Tirolese* and the *Milanese*,  
entered the *Valteline*, and being supported by  
the Malecontents of the Catholick Religion,  
they made a general Massacre of the Reformed,

Lewis 13. and others who sided with the *Grisons*. And  
1626. whereas the *Grisons*, notwithstanding all the  
~~Pope Ur-~~ Precautions of the Rebels, found means to  
~~to~~ send some Troops of their own, and of the  
*Seven United Provinces*, for to quell the Re-  
bellion; *Feria* took from thence occasion to  
declare openly, and to send speedily *Spanish*  
Troops commanded by experienced Officers,  
on pretence to maintain the Catholick Re-  
ligion, in a Country wherein the *Protestants*  
did their utmost to oppress it, and made him-  
self Master of all the Strong-Holds, and of  
the whole Country. The *Grisons* in that Dis-  
tress addressed the King of *France*, who be-  
ing at that time incumbered with a Civil War,  
could not effectually assist them, but he sent  
*Bassompierre* to the Court of *Madrid*, where  
by his great Dexterity he concluded the Tre-  
aty already mentioned, whereby the King of  
*Spain* solemnly promised to restore the *Val-  
teline* to its true Lords, the *Grisons*. That  
Treaty however was of none Effect. It would  
be too tedious here to relate all the mean  
and base Tricks made use of by the *Spaniards*  
to keep the *Valteline* for themselves, till  
the Year 1623, when by a new Device of their  
own, they proposed to put the said Forts  
in trust into the hands of the Pope; where-  
to the Council of *France*, then devoted to  
the Court of *Madrid*, consented with this Pro-  
viso, that it should be only for three Months.  
Instead of three Months, eighteen were al-  
ready gone, without any Conclusion of that  
Affair; when the Ministry being alter'd in  
*France*, and the *Spanish* Faction quite down,  
the Marquiss *De Cœuvres* was sent Ambassa-  
dor to the *Switz* Cantons, and to the *Gri-  
sons*, for to exhort them to exert themselves  
for

or the Recovery of the *Valteline*; and having prevailed with them, he invaded the <sup>1626.</sup> *Country in November 1624*, and in less than <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> six Months, he conquered the whole ~~Coun-~~  
~~try, the Forts of Riva~~ and another excepted. The Insurrection of *Soubize* obstructed the further Progress of the King's Arms.

The *Pope* made very heavy Complaints against that Expedition of *Cœuvres*, he pretended that he had violated the Respect due to his Standards, whereby he had incurred all the Thunders of the *Vatican*; he pretended further to make use of his old Topick, that he had a Right to deprive the Heretick Sovereigns of their Dominions; and consequently, that the *Grisons* being Hereticks, he might dispose of the *Valteline* at his pleasure, and such other like rusty Stuff of his own. The Court of *France* had very little regard to these Arguments. *Bassompierre* so strongly evinced in a full Diet the Falshood and Heinousness of these Topiccs, that notwithstanding the *Pope's* Nuncio's Endeavours, the Catholick Cantons unanimously resolved to support the Interest of the *Grisons* against *Rome* and *Madrid*. They were soon followed by the Protestant Cantons, when they heard that the King had granted Peace to his Reformed Subjects. All *Europe* was in expectation of some favourable Revolution in behalf of the Princes and States that groaned under the tyrannical Yoke of the House of *Austria*; but they were all in a fume, when the shameful Treaty of *Mongon* was published, whereby all their Hopes vanished away.

The Articles concerning the *Grisons*, were *Treaty of Mongon.* as follows: That the Affairs of the *Grisons* and of the *Valteline*, should be restor'd in the

Lewis 13. the same State as they were in the Year 1617.  
1626. So the Grisons were restored to the Possession  
Pope Urban VIII. of their Estates. That no other Religion be-  
sides the Catholick shall be publickly professed in the *Valteline, Chiavenna, and County*  
*of Bormio.* That the *Valtelinians* shall chuse  
their Governors and Magistrates, either a-  
mong themselves, or amongst the *Grisons*, pro-  
vided they be Catholicks. That these Elec-  
tions shall be confirmed by the *Grisons*; but  
they shall not refuse the Ratification there-  
of. *What a prodigious cropping of their Rights*  
*of Sovereignty!* That the Forts seized up-  
on from the *Pope*, should be restored unto  
him, in order to be instantly levelled to the  
ground (c). How this Treaty was received in  
*Switzerland*, and the Debates that arose upon  
it amongst the *Grisons*, that don't belong to  
this History. What I have said upon that  
Subject, was only to give a new Instance of  
the Character of that Antichristian Religion,  
which, on pretence of saving their Souls, deprives  
the Sovereigns of their temporal Dominions.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 909

and was expressly enjoined to be careful to Lewis 13.  
the Edicts observed, and chiefly that of 1626.  
1623, and to hinder the keeping of any Con-<sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
venticles at *Castres* without his leave. His ~~leave~~  
instructions contained six principal Articles.  
The first renew'd the Promises of the King's  
Good-will, while faithful Obedience should be  
paid him. The second, exhorted the Reform-  
ed to live in Concord with the Catholicks,  
and to judge equitably of them, promising  
to see that the Catholicks should do the same.  
The third, exhorted them to renounce all  
Associations, Leagues, and Correspondences,  
either abroad or at home, but only with the  
King ; and *Galland* was to declare, that his  
Majesty never had a mind to revoke the E-  
dicts, which he evinced by these Arguments ;  
because he had confirmed them when he en-  
tered upon his Majority ; because he had re-  
newed his Alliances with Foreign Protestant  
Princes and States ; because he had augment-  
ed the Gratuities granted by his Father to  
the Ministers ; because he made use of the  
Reformed Lords in sundry great Affairs ; and  
lastly, because in their repeated Insurrections,  
he had been always ready to show them  
Mercy, as soon as they were ready to sub-  
mit. The fourth, was of a very singular na-  
ture. Its aim was to oblige the Ministers to  
turn Informers one against another, and to  
brand themselves with Infamy ; For the Com-  
missary was to exhort them to inform against  
those Ministers who had held Intelligence with  
the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the Amnesty  
published for what was past during the late  
War : Then he was to receive a Declaration  
of the Synod, agreeable to that delivered by  
the

Lewis 13. the Provincial Synod of *Realmont* (*f*) for the  
1626. *Upper Guienne*, and to assure them, that the  
*Pope Urban VIII.* aim

(*f*) For the better understanding of this, we must explain what the Synod of *Realmont* was, and what had been transacted there in regard to the foreign Correspondences. The Duke of *Rohan* being solicited by the *Spaniards*, had made a Treaty with them, and had sent *Campredon* into *Spain*, for more positive Assurance of the Assistance that was offered, and the Treaty had been concluded by the said *Campredon*, with considerable Promises. Now, as the said Envoy was coming back from *Spain*, Peace was made both with the Reformed and *Spain*. He was arrested, carried into the Prisons of *Toulouse*, and the Treaty being found upon him, he was tried for his Life. The first President *Masuyer* had already received the last Edict, in order to have it registered by his Parliament; *Campredon* was intitled to the Benefit of the Amnesty granted for all past Transgressions; but *Campredon* was a Reformed, and *Masuyer* a virulent Papist, who knew neither Justice nor Modesty in Matters concerning Religion. In order to gratify his bloody Dispositions, he concealed the Edict, till *Campredon* was executed. That Action was certainly of the most heinous nature, seeing that it was blamed and condemned even by the Court of *Rome* itself\*.

\* Mem. pour l'Hist. But the *Catholicks* were much pleased with this fancy, du Card. de *Rohan* having treated with *Spain* as the Duke of

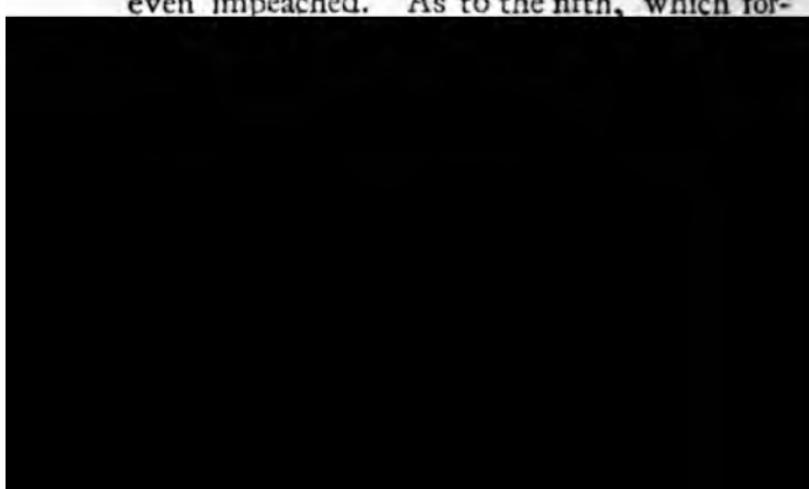
## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 911

aim of this Inquisition was not to punish the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Guilty, but left the Innocent should be in-<sup>1626.</sup> volved in the Crimes of others. The first <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> ordered the Commissary not to suffer the Synod <sup>ban VIII.</sup> to meddle with any thing that was not of meer Discipline: And the last forbid the Ministers to go out of the Kingdom, to settle themselves elsewhere without the King's Licence; and the Synods to send any Minister to foreign Princes and States, either for ever, or for a time, without a royal Licence; pretending that the mixture of Manners and Customs of foreign Countries, might alter the Duties of Obedience in his Subjects.

This Instruction of *Galland* was ill resented by the Synod: And *Cbauve*, who was Moderator, told him very roundly, that a Man, zealous for his Religion, ought not to have charged himself with such Instructions, which tended to over-reach and dishonour his Brethren. Then he answered Article by Article, with as much Firmness as Prudence. As to the first, his Answer was full of Submission and Promises of Obedience. To the second he

after those who might have been any way concerned in *Campredon's* Negotiation; and the better to disguise the Cheat, they cover'd it with the general Name of a Correspondence with Foreigners. The Synod itself was not aware of the Snare. They look'd upon it as a means of shewing forth their high Detestation of such like Crimes, and accordingly, they drew up an Act, whereby the desired Inquisition should be made, but not one Informer could be found. But the National Synod took the Matter quite otherwise than the Provincial had done, and justly supposed, that such a Justification imply'd always a Suspicion of a Propension to the Crime: Therefore they exclaimed against *Galland's* Proposal, they censured the Synod of *Realmont*; but for all that, the Chamber of the Edict, which had been transferred from *Cafres* to *Bziers*, in order to obtain its Restoration, betray'd the Cause in this particular.

Lewis 13. he promised that Moderation and Equity  
1626. which the King required. But whereas the  
*Pope Urban VIII.* Catholicks were the Aggressors, and carry'd  
their hatred beyond all bounds, he enjoin'd  
the Commissary to beseech the King to pity  
the Fate of his poor Reformed Subjects, abused  
in their Persons; disturbed in the Exercise of  
their Religion; deprived of their Churches;  
dispossessed of their Church-yards, and sev-  
eral Corpses of their nearest Relations having  
been digg'd up out of their Graves. As to the  
third Article, he affirmed that no body knew  
of any Correspondences held with Foreigners  
to the prejudice of the Kingdom's Welfare;  
and omitted not to slide into his Speech some  
Jerks against the Doctrine and Attempts of  
the Jesuits. As to the fourth, which men-  
tion'd the Act passed in the Provincial Sy-  
nod of *Realmont*, and the Transactions there-  
in, *Chauve* complained loudly of the Captiousness  
of the Commissary in that Synod, just as if he had a mind to insinuate, that  
some Ministers were charged with having held  
Correspondence with the *Spaniards*; but he  
praised God, for that after the strictest In-  
quiry, none had been found guilty, no not  
even impeached. As to the fifth, which for-

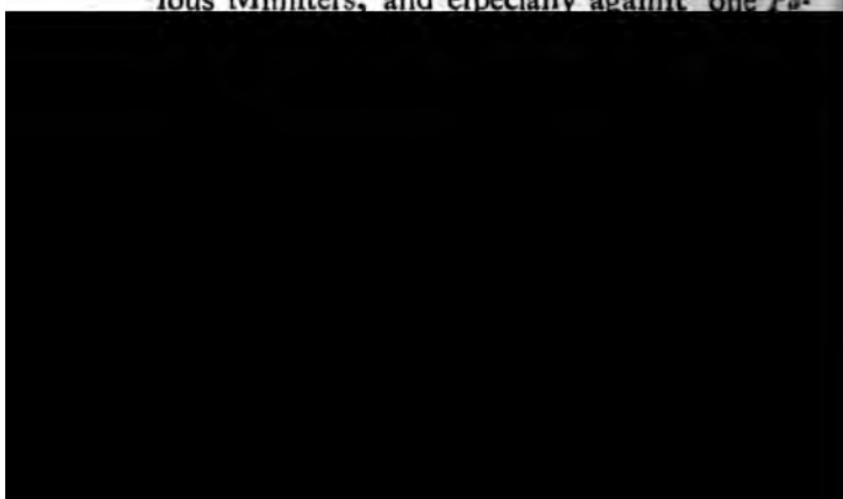


two for General Deputies attending the Court. Lewis 13.  
*Maniald*, Deputy for the Commons was dead, <sup>1626.</sup>  
and *Hardy* had been subrogated in his stead <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup>  
by his Majesty's Authority, without consulting the Party concerned therein. This unprecedented Step visibly aim'd at the suppression of the Privileges granted to the Reformed by the Edict of *Nantz*, whereby the Court let them see, that if they did not comply with their Will, the King knew how to bring them to Compliance. The Synod was very sensible of that, nevertheless they endeavour'd to ward off the blow; they sent a Deputation to Court, with a Remonstrance containing eight Articles; 1°. That his Majesty would be pleased to cause the Modifications put by the Parliaments to the late Edict, to be totally reversed; 2°. That his Majesty would be pleased to do them Justice upon manifold Vexations, which they complain'd of; 3°. That their Churches pulled down even since the Peace, should be restored, and Commissaries sent into the Provinces to see the said Edict executed; 4°. That the Rev. Mr. Peter *Du Moulin*, should be allow'd to return into his Church, (*Charenton*:) 5°. That Political Assembly should be granted; 6°. That the Aid granted for the Ministers should be continued: The two last were in behalf of *Du Candal* Esq; their Receiver-General, they required that the Deficiencies should be made good unto him.

The Deputies were very kindly received at Court; but after a Month's stay, they brought nothing but fair Words and Promises, only the first and the two last Articles were favourably answered, besides that, the King granted them ten thousand Livres for defraying

Lewis 13. ing the Charges of the Synod, and twelve hu-  
1626. dred Livres to the Deputies for the Charg-  
~~Pope Ur-~~ban VIII. of their Journey. As to a Political Assembly,  
he absolutely denied it ; but he granted them  
a more ample Warrant than the first for nam-  
ing the General Deputies, out of which how-  
ever he challenged all Persons depending o-  
any of the great Lords. All the Reluctanc-  
of the Synod, and their Protest proved ine-  
ffectual ; they were at last forced to yield :  
or else the Reformed would have been de-  
prived from this very time, of their Right  
of naming their General Deputies. So that  
they named six Persons, three for the No-  
bility, and three for the Commons, out of  
which the King chose the Marquis of Cler-  
mont for the first, and *Basin*, an Attorney,  
for the Commons.

Then the Synod resolved to petition the  
King for the full Liberty of the Ecclesiasti-  
cal Assemblies, which were kept under great  
Restraint by the Presence of his Commissary,  
though he was then professing the same Re-  
ligion with them, but he was a Man depend-  
ing upon the Court. They exercised the Disci-  
pline against several Delinquents and scanda-  
lous Ministers, and especially against one *Ps.*



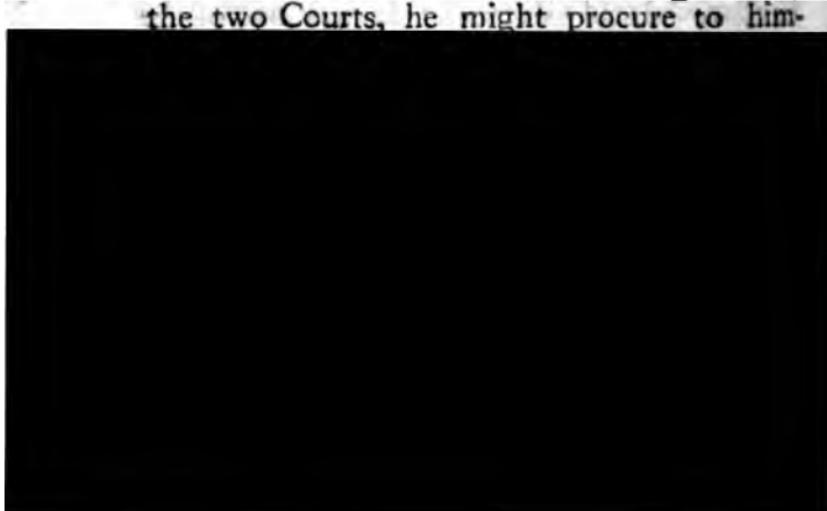
## OK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 915

The Constable *De Les Diguieres* died this Lewis 13.  
ir, by the middle of September in the 84th 1626.  
r of his Age, being born at St. Bonnet Pope Ur-  
Bamp-Saur, in the Province of Dauphiné, ban VIII.  
first Day of April 1543. His Father was  
■ De Bonne, of *Les Diguieres*, and his Mo-  
■ Frances of Castellane; he was christened  
the Name of Francis. The day of his  
h, the Borough of St. Bonnet was acci-  
tally burnt to Ashes, and the same thing  
pened on the day of his Death. If his  
grapher is to be credited, *Les Diguieres*  
descended of one of the most ancient  
ible Families in Dauphiné, but others don't  
ee with him; howbeit, it is certain, that  
his Virtue and Military Atchievements he  
ined from the lowest Degree to the highest  
mity of the Sword. The Dignity of Con-  
de was extinct in France with him: And  
in Edict of January following, both that  
the great Admiralship, were suppressed.

We have already observed, that the last 1627.  
of Fontainbleau had never been done with Prepara-  
design to keep it, but rather with an In- tions for the  
ion to wheedle the Reformed, whose Ruin,  
ast for their Privileges and temporal Wel- third War.  
, was already decreed. It was one of the  
cipal Reasons for which the Cardinal su-  
eded the Execution of his Scheme to  
ible the House of Austria. Nevertheless,  
Reformed would have borne patiently the  
ce, and, may be, never thought of shak-  
it off, had it not been for the Duke of  
an, who tamely suffered himself to be-  
ie the Tool of the Duke of Buckingham.  
is is so true, that properly speaking, we  
call this third War, the Duke of Buck-  
am's War. And indeed, that Favourite's  
OL. IV. O o o Lasciviousness,

Lewis XIII. Lasciviousness, Desire of Revenge, Greediness  
1627. after Power, was the only Occasion of the  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. beginning of this War, and the Duke of Ro-  
ban's boundless Ambition, if we will spare  
the Word of QUIXOTISM, accelerated  
the Ruin of what was left remaining to the  
Reformed, of the Privileges, Rights and Li-  
berties granted them by the Edict of Nantz  
&c. Let us explain this more fully.

Buckingham had been sent into France to bring over Henrietta, his Master's Consort— He fell in love at the Court of France with Anne of Austria, Lewis XIII's Wife; nay, he was so impudent as to declare his Passion to that Princess. Richelieu was informed of it, and Richelieu was himself prepossess'd with the same Passion for the Queen; alarmed at Buckingham's Declaration, his Jealousy was kindled, and he had such an Influence upon the King his Master, that afterwards his Rival could never be admitted to speak to the Queen in private. Enraged at this, Buckingham, at his return, missed no Opportunities to create into his Master a Dislike, not only of the French Nation, but even of his Consort, in order that a breach ensuing between the two Courts, he might procure to him-



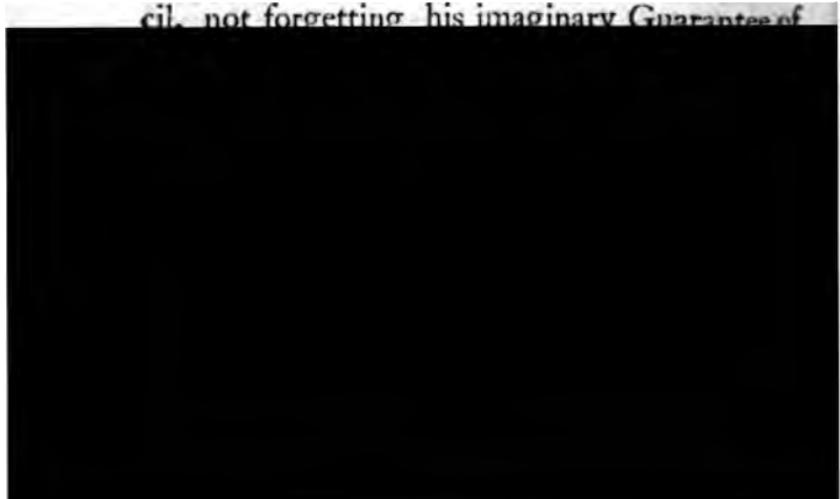
BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 917

the Assistance of *Buckingham*, who did not Lewis 15.  
scruple to betray the honour of his Master 1627.  
for gratifying his own Lust. The two Courts <sup>Pope Ur.</sup> ~~bars~~ VIII.  
began to be at variance on account of some  
Ships seized on both sides. *Buckingham* was  
named Ambassador. But his Mortification  
can't be express'd, when being at *Canterbury*  
ready to cross the Channel, *Ricbelieu* let him  
know by *Bassompierre*, who was himself at  
*Dover*, waiting for a fair Wind, that his Pre-  
sence would not be acceptable at the Court  
*of France*. At this the vain Man flew into  
a Passion, and keeping no bounds, he swore,  
*That since the Court of France would not see*  
~~him in a Capacity of an Ambassador, she would~~  
~~be forced to see him in a Capacity of a Gene-~~  
~~ral.~~ That *Braggardo* suited very ill a Man  
like *Buckingham*, who had no Capacity at all  
for one of his Station, unless it was about  
Dressing and Manners of *Petit Maitre*, but  
who in respect to Politicks and the Military  
Art, was a meer Blunderbus. He was as  
good as his Word, that is to say, he engaged  
his Master to declare War against *France*, on  
pretence that the Edict of *Fontainbleau* grant-  
ed to the Reformed, not only was not per-  
formed, but was even violated in the most  
essential Parts. So it happens, that the Evils  
which befall Kingdoms, proceed from the  
Selfishness of Favourites, who trample upon  
Justice, subvert all good Order, alter all good  
Maxims, play with their Princes and States  
in order to keep their ground, to raise their  
Fortune higher, or to revenge themselves.  
He was declared Admiral of that formidable  
Fleet which made a Descent in the Isle of  
*Ré*, and was forced to reembark with more  
haste than they had landed, after having lost  
good

Lewis 13 good part of the Land Forces, through the  
1627. Neglect and Ignorance of their Admiral and  
*Pope Ur-* General, who understood better how to curl  
*ban VIII.* his Hair, and to perfume himself, than how  
to command a Fleet.

But *Rapin* ascribes this Rupture with *France* to another Cause besides the above-mentioned ; and he tells us, that *Buckingham* and his Accomplices, being sensible, that an Agreement between the King their Master and his Subjects would prove their Ruin, seeing little likelihood of recovering the *Palatinate*, by Force of Arms, and fearing the King would at length be tired of a fruitless War with *Spain*, induced him to carry his Arms into *France*, in order still to keep him under a Necessity of raising Money by extraordinary Methods, and thereby perpetuating his Misunderstanding with his Subjects, on which the continuance of their Credit intirely depended (p). That is one of *Rapin's* Conjectures, which indeed seems not ill ground'd, considering *Buckingham's* Character.

However, King *Charles*, deceived by his Favourite, resolved upon a War with *France*, and declared the Grounds of it to his Council, not forgetting his imaginary Guarantee of



one without the other, but conjointly. That Lewis 13.  
he would maintain his Land and Naval Forces 1627.  
at his own Expences until the end of the <sup>Pope Urban</sup> VIII.  
War; he declared, that if they would not ~~~~~  
listen to his Offers, his Majesty would look  
upon himself as freed from his Word before  
God and Men. Lastly, he required that the  
Duke should send as soon as possible a Gentle-  
man, to let the King know the Resolution of  
the Provinces as well as his own. That is  
*Roban's Relation* of the Message sent to him  
by the King of Great-Britain, when he little  
expected it, as he takes care to insinuate it  
before, and it is upon the said Message that  
he grounds his Apology (b).

But let it be said, with respect to the Memory of that great Captain, I much question the Sincerity of the said Relation, though supported by the concurring Testimony of the Authors of the Duke of Sully's Memoirs. And first of all, I am much surprized at his speaking of this as of an unexpected Event, *Being in that Resolution*, says he, (that is, as he expresses it just before, judging that we had no Remedy within ourselves for the Disease, I was praying to God for the Deliverance of Robelle) lo! comes to me a Gentleman from the King of Great Britain, who remonstrated unto me, that being Guarantee of our Peace, he pitied our Sufferings and would seek for proper Remedy, &c. That is Word for Word what Roban says. Now his Brother De Soubize had been in England for several Months, and was still eagerly solliciting Buckingham to grant the Robellese, and

(b) Discours IX. du Duc de Rohan, ou Apol. du Duc de Rohan sur les derniers Troubles. Mem. de Sul'y, Tom. IV. p. 303.

Lewis 13. the whole Reformed Party a powerful Assistance. And can we suppose, that the Duke of Rohan was ignorant of his Brother's Dealings and Transactions? Can we suppose, that he knew not before this time what Success he had had in his Negotiation? Indeed such a Supposition would be a very extravagant one. But if he was acquainted with every thing, then why doth he feign to be surprized at the coming of the King's Messenger? To what purpose is this Expostulation of his? Now, says he, *I ask my Censors what bad to do thereupon; if I had refused these Offer (of King Charles) and that after the loss of Rochelle, the King of Great Britain had it published, that it had been my Fault if it had not been delivered, in what Refute should I have been? Should I not have been execrable unto all those of my Profession?* It is very easy to answer, Why did he put himself under that sad Dilemma? Why did he so eagerly sue for such a Message to him even since the time, when hardly Peace was published? Had he waited till Rochelle was really blocked up, and then implored the help of the King of England, and put him in remembrance of his Engagements, he would have done better, though not for the best. But to concert Measures with a Foreign Power, so long before any danger should appear against his own King and Country, for introducing him into the Kingdom, in his own Country, without any previous Declaration of War, I beg leave to say plainly, that it is High-Treason in the first place, and far from being the Protector of the Reformed Churches, he has been their Destruktor. But one will say, What did he get by that? Has he not been a Loser,

### VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 921

great one too? 'Tis true, but he did Lewis 15. peet it so, when he began the fatal Game <sup>1627.</sup> he had play'd in his own Country for <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> ban VIII. by Years, to the great Scandal of every ~~man~~ Man, and the great Detriment of our Churches: Besides that, it is well known, very Man of his Lordship's Temper, entured their All in Expectation of some better, or at least in Expectation of get-  
me and Repute in the World.

Secondly, Can we suppose that the Dukes ~~ben~~ and *Soubize* were not thoroughly ac-  
quainted with the Character of *Buckingham* f the King his Master? The first had  
ligion at all, and King *Charles* hated  
*Calvinists*. If they were not acquaint-  
h that, they were very poor Politicians,  
g in Men whom they knew not. But  
e was in *England*, and certainly he knew  
*Buckingham* perfectly well, since he had been  
sing with him almost every day for  
twelve Months. If they were acquaint-  
h the Character of both the King and  
vourite, they certainly knew the true  
es of their entering upon this War;  
it is so, with what Conscience could  
engage their poor Brethren in *France*  
ak through their Allegiance and rise  
ns? It is but too true, that the two  
Brothers bustled as much as they could,  
air Emissaries, in this, *viz.* King  
s Resolution of assisting the Reformed;  
is certain, that they carried things so far  
that Pretence, that Rohan fomented, as  
is be could, the Discontents of the Re-  
, especially about the Consuls at Nimes  
lez, which be bindered from coming to  
reement, and supported these Commonal-

922 *History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 13. ties in the Resolution of suffering every thing,  
1627. rather than to yield the least of their Pri-  
Pope Ur. vileges, and put the others in a Condition to  
ban VIII. support them (b).*

Now to return, conformably to the Articles stipulated with *Soubize*, and the Promises made by *Roban*, that as soon as the *English* should have made a Descent in *France*, he would rise in Arms, and oblige the Provinces of the *Lower Languedoc*, part of the *Upper*, the *Cévennes*, the *Rouergue*, &c. to declare for him. King *Charles* fitted out a Fleet of a hundred Sail, with ten thousand Land Forces, which put to Sea at the beginning of July, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was attended by a great Number of Lords, and other Persons of Distinction, amongst whom were the Duke of *Soubize* and the Marquis of *St. Blanchard*. His *Britannick* Majesty had proposed to send three Fleets with ten thousand Men in each; the first was to make a Descent upon the Isle of *Rhône*; the second was to come into the River of *Bourdeaux*, and land in *Guienne*; while the third should invade *Normandy*. Besides that, my Lord *Martagu* had been sent to the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, in order to engage those Princes to

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 923

this unexpected turn, *Soubize* and *Belcher* Secretary to the Admiral, took a Boat, and landed at one of the City Gates, where the Duchess <sup>Lewis 132  
1627.</sup> ~~of~~ *Van VIII.* Dowager of *Rohan* received them, and brought them into the City. Then *Soubize* desired that the City Council should be assembled in the Town-house, wherein being admitted, with Secretary *Belcher*, this last delivered his Master's Credentials, and exhorted them to improve the present favourable Opportunity, for delivering themselves from the impending Danger they were in. But neither his Speech, nor the certainty they had of their approaching Ruin, could prevail over the *Rockellese*, and engage them to accept the Assistance offered unto them. They sent a Deputation to the Duke of *Buckingham*, for to return their most humble and hearty Thanks to his *Britannick* Majesty, for the great Concern he was pleased to express for their Preservation; but desired to be excused from accepting of his Offers, till they had consulted the general Body of the Reformed Churches, whereof they were but particular Members. Thereupon the Admiral resolved to make a Descent upon the Isle of *Rhône*, contrary to what he had agreed with *Soubize*, before he left the Fleet to come to *Rockelle*, viz. that they should begin by a Descent upon the Isle of *Oleron*, because it was kept only by twelve hundred Men, and there was no Fort in it that could resist above eight days, and also because that Island had abundance of Wine, and other like Provisions. 2°. Not to undertake any thing till *Soubize* should be come back. But the Scheme was altered when *Soubize* was gone, and either because the Admiral was afraid, lest *Thoiras*, who commanded

in

Lewis 13. in Rbé, and had already three thousand Foot  
1627. and two hundred Horse together, should increase his Forces, or that he would not pursue  
~~Pope Ur-~~ take the Glory of this Action with Soubise  
~~ban VIII.~~ he put to sail before he was come back, made his Descent, overthrew whatever he met to oppose him, and would certainly have carried the Castle, had he pursued his Victory but he staid five days, and gave time to Their to put the Castle in a state of Defence.

That Success encouraged the Rochellese, they sent some trusty Persons to the Duke of Roban, and to the Reformed Cities of Guienne and Languedoc, to give them notice of the present State of Affairs, and ask their Advice thereupon. The Duke improved this Opportunity, he exhorted the Rochellese to receive the Assistance, which God, as he pretended, sent them; and desired them to give him more positive Assurances of their Intention to join with the *Englisch*, that he might more easily persuade the Reformed Cities of Guienne and Languedoc, to do the like.

On the other hand, the Court was in great Consternation, when the News of that Descent reach'd it. The King was dangerously sick, and it was thought proper to conceal it from him till he should be out of danger. When he began to recover, Lewis applied himself to find means to expel the *Englisch* out of Rbé: He sent proper Persons to the Rochellese, for to assure them of a speedy Redress of their Grievances, provided that they would not join with the *Englisch*: The Duke of Roban was presented with a round Sum of Money in his Majesty's Name, but he refused it; and several Letters were written by the King's Command, to the Reformed Cities

Cities of Guienne, Languedoc, &c. in order Lewis :  
to engage them, to give publick Decla- 1627.  
nations of their strict Adherence to his Ma- <sup>Pope Ur.</sup> ban VIII.  
jesty's Service, and that they would not join ~~the~~  
those who should accept the Offers made by the  
King of England.

These Measures of the Court obstructed, for  
a while the Intentions of the Duke of *Rohan*.  
The Rochellese flattered with the hopes of a  
Speedy and advantageous Agreement with the  
Court, did not answer him so precisely as  
he expected. He was perplex'd at it. A  
General Assembly of the Reformed, was the  
surest way of getting the unanimous Consent  
of all the Commonalties, for accepting the  
Offers of the King of *England*. But that way  
was unpracticable at that time, when there  
was no previous Declaration of War: It was  
not likely that any Commonalty would ex-  
pose itself to the King's Indignation, by  
sending their Deputies to an Assembly un-  
duly and unlawfully summoned. Therefore,  
the Duke thought more adviseable, to desire  
the Cities of *Lower Languedoc* and *Cevennes*,  
where he had a greater Interest, to send him  
at *Nimes* some proper Persons, with whom  
he might confer about Matters of great mo-  
ment, without letting them know what it  
was. He was in hopes, that these two Pro-  
vinces would draw in the others in time. He  
succeeded as he desired; one thing only trou-  
bled him a little while, he questioned the Zeal  
of the City of *Uzez* for his Service, because the  
Powers of its Deputies were not full enough;  
therefore he repaired to that City, with the  
Deputies that were with him, and formed  
there an Assembly, wherein after having  
declared in a set Speech, the manifold Infrac-  
tions

Lewis 13. tions of the Edicts, the manifold Grievances  
1627. where-under they groaned without any hopes  
*Pope Urban VIII.* of Redress, if they did not repel the Violence  
by force of Arms. It was resolved to accept  
the Offers of the King of *England*: *Roban* was  
declared General of all the Forces of the Reform-  
ed of the Kingdom; he was charged to sum-  
mon a General Assembly, which was to subsist  
during the War; and to make all other requi-  
site Preparations for waging War with Success.

Accordingly, he made great Levies of Men,  
most part at his own Expence; he drew the  
Plan of several Enterprizes upon several strong  
Places, which were to be executed all at  
one and the same time; but which all mis-  
carried. Finally, he omitted nothing of what  
could be expected from a brave and expe-  
rienced General. On the other hand, *Augus-  
tus Galland*, whom we have seen the King's  
Commissary in the two last National Synods,  
spared no trouble for obstructing the Duke  
of *Roban* in *Guienne* and the *Upper Langu-  
doc*, where he was come, since the Descent of  
the *English*, with a Commission from his Ma-  
jesty. He engaged the Cities of *Montauban*,  
*Castres*, *Pamiez*, and several others, so-  
lemnly to declare, that they would remain

## VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 927

the *Rochellese* had not as yet declared them- Lewis 15.  
s, nay, they had even offered to fight 1627.  
*English*, and to help the King to expel Pope Ur-  
out of *Rhône*. But either, that the Car- ban VIII.  
was stiffly bent to the Destruction of  
City, or that he had received Intelli-  
of their above-mentioned Deputation  
ie Duke of *Rohan*, and to the Reformed  
of *Grenoble* and *Languedoc*; or that they  
suspected to wait only till they had ga-  
d their Harvest and Vintage, and then  
would side with the *English*; howbeit,  
uke of *Angoulême*, who commanded the  
's Army in *Poitou*, blocked up the City as  
as he could: Thereupon the *Rochellese*  
red themselves openly for the *English*,  
published a Manifesto, wherein they set  
the Reasons that had obliged them to  
that Step. The Duke of *Rohan*, being  
ned of this, published likewise a Mani-  
containing the Infractions of the two  
dicts; the Reasons he had to be moved  
se Infractions, and to make his Address  
King of *Great Britain*, whom he stiles  
ntee of the last Treaty; he affirms, that  
sires nothing else but the Observation  
Edicts; and offers to banish himself  
f the Kingdom, whenever the said E-  
shall be executed, to avoid the creat-  
f any Jealousy and Suspicion (j).  
the other hand, the King issued out  
Decree, wherein he promised a strict  
vation of the Edicts, and his royal Pro-  
n. to those who should persevere in their  
lity, a free Pardon to those who had  
ed from it, if in a certain limited time,  
they

Lewis 13. they did return to their Allegiance ; and threa-  
1627. ten'd to punish with the utmost rigour the ob-  
*Pope Ur-* stinate Rebels and their Adherents. The Duke  
*ban VIII.* of *Soubize* was proclaimed Traitor, by a Decree  
of the Parliament of *Paris*. But that of *The-  
louse* went much farther, the beginning of  
the next Year against the Duke of *Rabat*,  
for though he had no Jurisdiction or Autho-  
rity over the Peers of the Realm, they doom'd  
him to be drawn and quartered at four Horse-  
Tails ; they declared him ignoble, promised  
fifty thousand Crowns Reward to whomso-  
ever should murder him, and to make him  
Noble. Whereby three or four Wretches being  
encouraged to attempt upon the Duke's Life,  
were apprehended, and suffered death.

*Rochelle  
besieged.*

The King being hardly recovered from his  
late fit of Sickness, set out for his Army near  
*Rochelle*, where he arrived about the 12th  
of October. I don't intend to enter into the  
particulars of that famous Siege, too well known  
to be here repeated, nor to speak of the three  
inglorious Expeditions of the Duke of *Buck-  
ingham*, and his Successor, the Earl of *Dens-  
bgh*. Had they concerted Measures with Car-  
ninal *De Richelieu*, for promoting and hasten-  
ing the Ruin of that poor City, they could

Capitulation were signed. On the 29th the Deputies of *Rochelle* paid their Submissions to the King. On the 30th, his Troops took possession of the City ; and on the 1st of November, the King made his publick Entry, and stayed in that City till the 19th of the same Month. Such was the dreadful Catastrophe of that opulent and powerful City, after near thirteen Months Siege, and about fifteen Months Blockade. Above twelve thousand People perished in it through Famine, which was such, that the Duchess of *Roban*, and the Dowager her Mother-in-Law, who were in the City, were forced, it is said, to feed upon the Leather of their Coaches. Had the *English* Admiral been so kind as to lend them some Provisions, for subsisting only eight days longer, the King would have been obliged to raise the Siege, on account of the Severity of the Weather, of the Distempers which began to rage in the Army, and of the Storms which ruined the Dike, which the Cardinal had made for shutting up the Entrance of the Harbour, and of the important Affairs which required his Presence elsewhere. But such was the Will of Almighty God, the Sins of our Ancestors called for his Vengeance. One must look with Astonishment upon this dreadful Calamity. About fifty-five Years before, *Rochelle* had withstood a long Siege against a royal Army, not inferior to this in any respect. God had sent them Deliverers from the North ; *Charles IX.* was obliged to raise the Siege, and to leave them in the full Enjoyment of their Liberties and Privileges. Now that that City was in a far better Condition, as to her Fortifications and Riches, she became a Prey to the Victorious, she

Lewis 13. she loses all her Privileges, Rights, Immunities, Titles, &c. nothing of their former  
 1628. Pope Urban VIII. Grandeur was left unto them, but the sad Remembrance of not having made a right use  
 of it. What Inference shall we draw from it? Not that of the Duke of Roban : But we shall say with the Wise and Virtuous *Du Plessis*, who foreseeing what sad Consequence the Obstinacy of the Assembly in that City would draw upon them, he told them, *True it is, that the Rochellese made themselves very conspicuous for their Virtue and Fortitude in the Siege of 1574, and that their City has been extremely well fortified since that time. But it was a necessary Defence, and not a wilful War on their part, they fought not for Form's sake only, but for the most essential Points. And those who are still living, may remember the great Distresses whereto she was reduced : And we have not every day Polanders to deliver us* (k).

*Articles of Capitulation.* The two Duchesses of Roban, having refused to be admitted in the Capitulation, were kept close Prisoners till the War was near an end. As to the Inhabitants, they were treated favourably enough ; but, as I have said, the City lost all its Privileges. There was a Declaration published in November, containing twenty-four Articles. The six first concerned the Restoration of the Catholick Religion in its full Pride and Arrogance. [The Reformed had stipulated, that they should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion in the City ; and they expected that they should not be deprived of the Place where they usually resorted for publick Worship : But that Place having

(k) Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. V. ad ann. 1621.

**Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 93**

having been given to the Catholicks, another Lewis 13.  
was appointed for them without the Walls, <sup>1628.</sup> Pope Ur-  
where they might build a Church if they had <sup>ban</sup> VIII.  
a mind. They complained of that Infraction, ~~—~~  
but they were told, that the King having  
ordered the Walls to be pulled down and the  
Fortifications levelled, by that means their  
Church, which otherwise would have been  
without, should then be within the City.]  
By the seventh, a Cross was to be erected in  
the Place of the Castle, upon the Pedestal  
whereof the History of the Reduction of the  
City should be engraved, and the Anniver-  
sary celebrated by a general Procession every  
first Day of November. By the eighth, a Mo-  
nastery was to be founded at the Point of  
*Coreilles*, which should preserve the History  
of the *Dike*, upon two Plates affixed at the  
Church Gate. The four next contained the  
Amnesty of whatever was past, and a Con-  
firmation of the Edicts, for the free Exercise  
of the Reformed Religion. The nine next  
deprived the City of all its Franchises and Pri-  
vileges, and put it upon a Form of Govern-  
ment quite new. The twenty-second Article  
forbids the Foreigners, though naturaliz'd,  
to live in the City, without a special Licence  
under the Great Seal. By the twenty-third,  
the Reformed, who were not Inhabitants be-  
fore the Descent of the *Englifh*, were forbid  
the same. These two Articles occasioned af-  
terwards manifold Vexations. By the last Ar-  
ticle, the Inhabitants could not keep Arms,  
Powder, Ammunition, nor trade abroad with-  
out a Licence.

I must not omit here to say something of  
the Mayor GUITTON, who was considered  
like a Hero, by all those who respect Virtue

Lewis 13. wherever it is found, and even the Ca ho-  
 1628. lick Authors speak of him with Encomium.  
 Pope Ur-  
 ban VIII. The most considerable Officers of the Royal  
 Army, were curious to see him after the Re-  
 duction of the City. Some have said, that  
 the Continuation of the Mayoralty had been  
 promised him; but that when he went to pay  
 his Respects to the Cardinal, he was told, that  
 he was no longer a Mayor, and that his Emi-  
 nency would not admit him but as a private  
 Man. Whereat being provok'd, as it is said,  
 he answered, that if he had expected to be  
 dealt with after such a manner, he wou Id  
 have found means to hold out some day's  
 longer (1).

*Affairs of  
the Duke  
of Rohan.*

The Duke of Roban met with greater Diffi-  
 culties in Languedoc, than he had expected,  
 through the Intrigues of Galland and of the  
 Duke of Montmorancy, Governor of the Pro-  
 vince. He could never prevail with the Marquis  
 of Malauze to follow his Example; on the  
 contrary, he opposed all his Designs. Neverthe-  
 less, the said Marquis feigned to have a mind  
 to be reconciled with Roban, and promised  
 to declare for him, as soon as the Cities of  
 Castres and Montauban should do the same, and  
 when a General Assembly of the Reformed  
 should be on foot: But when what he waited  
 for came to pass, he declined to perform his  
 Promise. Notwithstanding these Oppositions,  
 Roban got together a small Army of four  
 thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, with  
 which he made several Exploits in Rouergue,  
 where he took Milbaud and some other Places;

he

(1) Mem. du Duc. de Rohan. Liv. IV. Journal de Bassompierre, Vol. II. Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII. Liv. XXIV. XXV. Beloit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom. II. Liv. IX.

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 933

he got the better of the Duke of Montmore<sup>1628.</sup> Lewis 13.  
rancy, who engaged him with inferior Forces ; <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
then he took Pamiez and some other Towns <sup>VIII.</sup> in the County of Foix ; from whence he was ~~un~~  
obliged to come back into the Lower Lan-  
guedoc, in order to oppose the Prince of Con-  
d<sup>e</sup>. He kept the Field with various Success,  
sometimes prosperous, at other times unfor-  
tunate ; he had three Armies to withstand,  
and was never dismay'd by the manifold and  
great Difficulties he had to encounter almost  
every day. Had his great Courage and great  
Capacity been employ'd upon a more proper  
Subject, he would certainly have deserved the  
greatest Encomiums from Posterity. From  
the beginning, he had been disappointed by  
the *English* of the promised Assistance. The  
Admiral let him know by my Lord Mon-  
taigne, that having altered his Scheme, he  
could not send any Troops into Guienne, so  
that he freed him from his Engagement, and  
he might shift for himself the best he could.  
Most part of the Reformed Lords were very  
far from approving his Insurrection, several  
of them opposed it with all their might. He  
was thwarted by several Commonalties. But  
otwithstanding all these Obstructions, he stood  
ill his ground at the surrender of Rochelle.  
ut when the News of its Reduction came  
to Languedoc, it cannot be expressed what  
damp it put upon every one's Spirits. Every  
one strove to be the first to make their Sub-  
mission to the King, and to have his Share  
in the free Pardon, and other Advantages,  
which his Majesty promised to all those who  
would return to their Allegiance. Neverthe-  
less the Duke found means to allay these Fears,  
and to supersede the Resolutions of several.

Lewis 13. The King's intended Expedition into *Italy*,  
1629. for settling the Duke of *Nevers* in the Suc-  
~~Pope Ur-~~cession of *Vincent Duke of Mantua*, gave him  
~~ban VIII.~~ hopes of being able to retrieve the Affairs of  
~~The King's~~ his Party, and by a new Treaty lately con-  
~~Expedition~~ cluded with *Spain*, he expected to be in a  
~~into Italy.~~ Condition to perform Wonders. What was  
not his Amazement when he saw himself dis-  
appointed in his Expectations? The King  
went into *Italy*, he saw, he conquered. He  
set out from *Rocbelle* on the 19th of No-  
vember. He arrived in his Capital about the  
second or third of December. He made but  
a short stay in that City, for his Army be-  
ing in full march, he set out on the fourth  
of January 1629; he forced his Passage through  
the *Alps*, which was disputed by the Duke  
of *Savoy*, in the middle of February; he sup-  
ply'd *Cazal*; he settled the Duke of *Mantua* in the Possession of his Dominions; he  
concluded a Treaty with *Spain*, another with  
the Duke of *Savoy*, and another with the King  
of *England*, wherein the poor Reformed were  
forsaken, though his *Britannick Majesty* had  
solemnly promised not to treat without them.

*His Return  
into the  
Cevennes.* Then Lewis returned to *France* with his  
victorious Army in the beginning of May  
And then it was, that the Consternation be-  
came general amongst the Reformed Party  
Every one thought of making a private Treaty  
with the Court, for avoiding their utter Ruin  
The Duke of *Roban* was worsted on two or  
three several Occasions. The royal Army  
besieged *Privas*: The Inhabitants quitted the  
City the 14th day of the Siege; they retired  
into the neighbouring Mountains, where most  
part were killed. The Garrison of the Fort  
capitulated, but far from keeping the Articles,  
they

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 935

they were all put to the Sword, hang'd, Lewis 13.  
or sent to the Galleys. That cruel and bar- 1629.  
barous Breach of Faith struck every one with Pope Ur-  
Terror. *Aletz* capitulated after eight days ban VIII.  
Siege ; the King entred the City the next  
day, the 16th of June. The Articles of the  
Capitulation were strictly kept. Several other  
Cities, dreading the Fate of *Privas*, and en-  
couraged by that of *Aletz*, were willing to  
accept of a private Treaty, which the King  
offered them. But the Duke having remon-  
strated to the Assembly, the necessity of re-  
maining united together, in order to obtain  
better Terms by a General Pacification, than  
they could do by a private Agreement, most  
of them yielded to his Remonstrances : And  
whereas he saw plainly, that the greatest num-  
ber of the Commonalties were perfectly tired  
with the dreadful Calamities, which this War  
was attended with, and that they could not  
subsist any longer without a Peace, which  
they would buy at any rate, he thought in  
earnest to come to a Treaty. For which End,  
he summoned an Assembly of all the Com-  
monalties of the *Cevennes* at *Anduze*, in order  
to break another which was held without his  
leave, and he succeeded therein. Then he  
sent for *Candiac*, Counsellor in the Parted  
Chamber of *Languedoc*, who had already made  
several Journeys to Court in order to procure a  
Treaty; he ordered him to repair thither for the  
last time, and to tell the Cardinal from him,  
that he was a good Frenchman ; that he de-  
sired the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the  
Peace of the Reformed Churches. But that  
many brave Men and himself, should lose their  
Lives, and their All, rather than not to ob-  
tain a general Peace conformable to the Edicts.

P p p 3                    That

936 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. That it was a dangerous thing to deprive  
1629. Men of Courage and Honour, and who are  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. armed, of all Hopes. That he would never  
— listen to any private Treaty ; but that if four  
days only were granted unto him, with an  
Assurance that nothing should be attempted  
during that time, and the requisite Securities for  
removing the General Assembly from *Nimes*  
to *Anduze*, he was sure to bring a general  
Treaty to a happy Issue. His Petition was  
granted after some difficulty.

*Conferen-*  
*ces at An-*  
*duze.* The Assembly of *Nimes* being arrived at  
*Anduze*, the Conferences were opened. The  
only Article whereupon the Deputies insisted  
the most was, that of the Fortifications of  
their Towns, which they would by no means  
consent to have levelled. That put a stop  
to the Conferences. The Provincial Assembly  
of the *Cevennes* desired to have the Opinion  
of the Town-House of *Anduze*, who were  
more concerned than others in the matter.  
They referred themselves to the said Provincial

the War. After a thorough Examination of Lewis 13. the Matter, it was resolved to yield, and the <sup>1629.</sup> Deputies were sent back with full Powers to <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>ban VIII. conclude the Treaty. The Duke of Roban ~~~~~~~~~ desired the Assembly to remember his private Concerns, when the publick ones should be adjusted: Which was accordingly done, and Peace was concluded at *Aletz* the 27th of June. The Articles whereof may be seen in the Collection of Edicts.

The Duke obtained three hundred thousand Livres for himself, out of which he was obliged to pay two hundred and forty thousand Livres of Debts contracted during this War. He retired to *Venice*, where his Duchess was gone before him, but he was not admitted to the King's Presence.

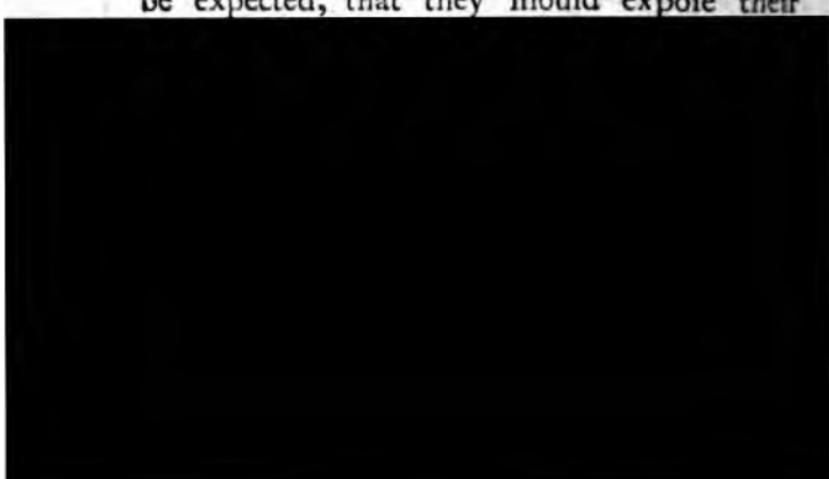
So ended the third and last Civil War, on *some general Reflections upon these three Civil Wars.* Account, or rather on Pretence of Religion. The Affairs of *Bearn* occasioned the first. The Non-Performance of the Treaty of *Montpelier* caused the second. And the Hopes of saving *Rochelle*, was the occasion of the last, says Monsieur *De Roban*. I am surprized at one of his Reflections. In our former Wars of Religion, says he, Zeal, Secrecy, and Fidelity, was to be found, (in the Reformed.) Our People trusted in the Chiefs of the Party. Upon one of their Letters, they began a War, they attempted to seize upon the best Cities in the Kingdom, &c. But now we have more Trouble to fight against the Infidelity of the Reformed, their Indifference for Religion, and their Baseness, than against the Ill-Will of our Enemies (*m*).

*Du Plessis* had discovered the Reasons of that difference, when in the Years 1620 and

P p p 4 1621,

(*m*) *Mem. du Duc de Rohan*, Liv. IV.

Lewis 13. 1621, he foretold them, by the Rules of  
1629. his Prudence, and great Sagacity in Affairs,  
*Pope Ur-*  
*ban VIII.* that they ought not to expect to find in the  
People such a Zeal, such a Courage, if they  
entered unnecessarily upon a War, as they had  
showed forth in the Civil Wars under *Francis*  
*II. Charles IX. Henry III.* and during the  
time of the *League*, because the Case was quite  
altered. In those days their Lives, their Wives  
and Children, their Religion, their Con-  
science, whatever is dear to a sober Man lay at  
stake. But now, the question was only a-  
bout some temporal Concerns, some little Tri-  
fles in comparison of those great Motives which  
had induced those of the last Century to  
repel Violence by Force; and which animated  
them with a Courage and Fortitude, a Zeal  
and Fidelity, a Trust in their chief Leaders,  
answerable to the Greatness of the Cause, which  
they undertook to defend. The like could  
not be expected now, they did not groan under  
any Persecution. They enjoyed the free Ex-  
ercise of their Religion, under the Benefit of  
the Edicts. Their Lives, Goods, &c. were  
secured unto them, if they would but live  
quietly with their Neighbours; how could it  
be expected, that they should expose their



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 939

itany Disparagement of the true Merit of the Lewis 13.  
Duke of *Rohan*, not to ascribe unto him what <sup>1629.</sup> Pope Ur-  
is not his due. I am as great an Admirer of ~~ban~~ VIII.  
his Political and Military Virtues and At-  
chievements, as any body else; but as to his  
Christian Graces, I beg leave to be excused,  
if in that respect I differ from others. His  
Ambition was boundless, and the Oppositions  
which he met with, far from checking it,  
served as a new Fuel to inflame it. He could  
not bear with his Equals, hardly was he able  
to suffer a Superior. His Behaviour towards  
the greatest Lords of his Party, during the  
two first Civil Wars, plainly evinces what I  
say here. He could not be at rest, till by  
his Intrigues, he had exposed the Count of  
*Chatillon*, Governor of the *Lower Languedoc*  
and of the *Cevennes*, to the greatest Affront  
that could be put on a Man of that Quality,  
and had forced him out of *Montpelier*, and  
had had the said Government allotted to him-  
self. It is not to be expected, that a Man of  
such a restless and aspiring Genius should long  
remain himself quiet, nor suffer others to en-  
joy the Benefits of Peace. Therefore he was  
seen at the Beginning of the Queen-Mother's  
Regency, after the Assembly of *Saumur*, car-  
rying things so high at *St. John of Angely*,  
about the Election of a Mayor, that he rose  
in Arms against his Sovereign. In 1615, he  
joined in the same Rebellion with the Prince  
of *Condé*: For what? Was it for obtaining  
Redress of the Grievances of our Churches?  
Indeed, I will not wrong him so far, as to  
say that he was not at all sensible of these  
things: But whereas no Man knows better  
the secret Thoughts of a Man, and the Mo-  
tives of his Actions, than the Spirit of a Man  
which

Lewis 13. which is within himself, we must believe  
1629. upon the Confession of the Duke of Roban  
~~Pope Ur-~~ himself, that if the Grievances of our  
~~ban VIII.~~ Churches were the Pretence, the Opinion he  
had of being not respected enough at Court,  
was the true Motive of his Insurrection; he  
owned so much to the Queen Regent. See  
his own Memoirs, Vol. I. Book I. pag 57.  
wherein he shews himself such as he was.  
Let us follow him in all the three other Re-  
bellions of 1621, 1625, and 1627; who was  
the Author or Abetter of them? If we read  
his Memoirs with Attention, we shall find  
that the Duke of Roban was the Man. He  
headed the Reformed in the three last Wars,  
tampering, by his Emissaries, with the Pro-  
vinces and their Assemblies, in order to be  
declared their Chief. The first War, by his  
own Confession, was kindled through the Am-  
bition of Favas, *La Force*, and *Cbatillon*, and  
the Obstinacy of the Assembly at *Rocquelle*.  
Consequently the Reformed, who sided with  
the said Assembly, were in the wrong. Con-

no less eager in solliciting them under-hand, Lewis 13. by his Emissaries, to persist in their Obsti-<sup>1629.</sup>  
nacy, and not to break, as they were com-<sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
manded; it is very easy to guess at the true  
Motive of his Actions.

The second War was begun upon a meer Suspicion of a pretended Design laid against *Rochelle*. Now I leave it to a sober and considering Reader to judge, whether a meer Suspicion can be a just ground for beginning a War? Whether it is lawful for a Subject to attack his Sovereign upon a meer Suspicion, that his Sovereign designs to attack him; especially when such a Suspicion has no better ground than the whimsical Fancy of a Man, or a burning Desire to gratify his Ambition by whatever Means just or unjust, lawful or unlawful? And indeed was it likely, that while the King was making the necessary Preparations for his Expedition in *Italy*, where he intended to be in Person, he should have entertained any Thoughts of setting his own Kingdom all in a flame? If such a Whimsey was palatable to a Duke of *Roban*, or of *Soubize*, it will never be so to any thinking Man. No wonder, if from this time, the Cardinal advised the King his Master to supersede all other Enterprizes, till he had thoroughly subdued that Faction, and put it out of the power of the two Brothers to obstruct his Designs.

The third Civil War brake out, as we have said above. The Pretence was the Inexecution of the Treaty of *Fontainbleau*, whereof King *Charles* fancy'd himself to be Guarantee; but the real Motive was, the Duke of *Buckingham's* Selfishnes: which however he would never have ventured to indulge at that rate,

942. *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13<sup>th</sup>. rate, had he not been spurred to it by the  
1629. strong Solicitations of Soubize. So that the  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. two Brothers came again upon the Stage, un-  
der the same Shape as heretofore. Were they  
obliged to it through the Importunities of the  
Reformed? Had they been addressed to by  
the Provinces and Commonalties? Not at all;  
at least, I find not a single Instance of any  
Province or Commonalty, that had desired  
their Assistance and Mediation, before any of  
the three Civil Wars was broken out, except  
*Rochelle* before the second War. But I find seve-  
ral Complaints about their Restlessness. It was  
then of their own accord, that they treated  
with Foreign Powers, that were at that time  
natural Enemies of the Crown of *France*, viz.  
*England* and *Spain*, but more especially the  
last. It was a Work peculiar to themselves,  
wherein the Churches had no hand at all,  
and for which they expressed their utmost De-  
testation in their last National Synod at *Cahors*.  
Things being so, I wonder at the Duke of  
*Rohan* complaining in his Memoirs of the

ook VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 943

in the former Wars, it was not for Places <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> and Preferments, but for preserving their Lives <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> 1629. and a good Conscience. But this, as *Du Plessis* ban VIII. remonstrated unto them upon several Occasions, was not the Case, in the Civil Wars under Lewis XIII. nothing but some temporal Concerns were to be found in the bottom. No wonder if the Duke met so much Stiffness and Reluctancy; People do not care to endanger their All for a Trifle, and to engage in a War against their Sovereign for a Cabbage. None of the Provinces on this side the *Loire*, could be prevailed on to side with the Duke; and most of those who through fear, or hopes, were forced to side with him, did it with such Reluctancy, that it was plain enough, that their Hearts and Consciences disowned what their Hands were forced to do.

And now we are gone through these eight or nine Years of boisterous Winds, which blanned the beautiful Face of our Churches. For the future, we shall see them recovering space, and making full amends for the Faults they were fallen in, through the Deceitfulness of the ambitious aspiring Men amongst them. Happy would they have been, had they had to deal with a Prince, in whose Bottom, Gratitude, Honour, Honesty, Fidelity, could have found Admittance! But they had to deal with a proud, unjust, perfidious one, with LEWIS XIV. who, though beholden for his very Crown to their faithful Services, treated them worse than if they had sided with the Prince of Condé, in order to deprive him thereof.

The Reformed having had little to do in the Affairs of the Government from this time

Lewis <sup>13</sup>. down to the repealing of the Edict, besides  
<sup>1629.</sup> their suffering Persecution for Justice sake,  
*Pope Urban VIII.* I have but very little to relate about them,  
besides the Titles of the Edicts, Declarations,  
&c. &c. issued out against them from time  
to time, to deprive them by little and little  
of the Benefits granted them this Year, by  
the Edict published at *Nimes*. I shall insert  
them, after I have given here a Collection of  
the Regulations made amongst themselves, of  
some of the most considerable Transactions,  
Edicts, Declarations, &c. made and publish-  
ed, during the twenty first Years of Lewis  
XIII's Reign, and end this Volume with an  
Appendix of our Sufferings under the last  
Persecution.

*COLLECTION of Memoirs, Regulations, Acts, Deeds, Declarations, Edicts, &c. done and published by the Reformed themselves, or against, or in behalf of them, in the first twenty Years of Lewis XIIIItb's Reign. Serving to illustrate the History of that time.*

*MEMOIR drawn by Du PLESSIS before the meeting of the political Assembly at Saumur in the Year 1611, in order to render the said Assembly more useful to the Welfare of the Reformed Churches.*

THE Provinces shall be exhorted, by reason of the Importance of Affairs and Conjunction of Time, to depute thither the qualified and most able Persons.

Also, besides the Deputies, to require the Presidents and other Persons of the greatest Authority, to be present, and that, by Letters of purpose, from the private Assemblies, directed to them.

And it will be prudent in them, when they will be assembled, to judge, if, at this time, wherein we should all closely unite, it will be proper to relax from the last Resolution, and how far, for to retain Fidelity, in to avoid Confusion.

In the Letters of Attorney, which shall be given to the Deputies, two things seem required, besides their Instructions.

The one, that they may adhere to whatever will be thought useful and serviceable to the Reformed Churches, proposed by others, that they may profit by each other's Prudence.

The

Lewis 13.

The other, that they may, and be oblig'd to tarry, either all or part of them, as it will be thought proper, until the said Assembly be satisfied.

It seems proper, that the Demands of the Provinces should be moderate; that is, founded as much as possible, expressly, and consequently, on the Edicts and Concessions, save, to extend or diminish them, as the Times will admit of it, that the Enemies may not say, that we take Advantage of the publick Misfortune, and try to pick a Quarrel: That our weaker Provinces also may not take occasion to persuade themselves, that because the others are safe, they little care for their Ruin.

But the Weaker ought to acknowledge, that the Strength of the others will be their Surety and Safety, that their Apprehensions may not deprive the more Powerful of the Means and Courage of doing them any good.

Therefore coming nearer to the Demands which may be made, remaining within the abovesaid Bounds, they seem to be as follows.

That the Edict of Naniz be restored to us in its full Force, as it had been made with us, and afterwards underwent Restrictions, and was cut off in several things without us.

That the Grant of Cautionary Towns be restor'd to us in like manner.

That the Places which we have been made to lose, to the prejudice of the said Grant, by the Governors changing their Religion, or by other Means, be deliver'd up to us.

That all the Cautionary Towns be continued in our Possession, at least for ten Years.

That the whole Sum of Money which has been granted us for the keeping of the Garrison

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 947  
rises of the said Towns, and half of which hath Lewis 13.  
been since cut off, be restored to us.

That it be paid Quarterly, without any Deficiency, and on the Spot, and that the Receivers may not be turn'd out of the Receipts on any pretence whatever, until the said Quarter be paid.

That a Regulation be made and obtain'd for providing the vacant Governments by reason of the Abuses, which have been and may be committed therein, to the prejudice of our Security.

That it be also permitted to entertain and fortify the said Places, which by length of Time fall to decay, and without that, will be useless to them.

Afterwards, they may complain, that under pretence of the said Towns which are held by the Reformed, the said Reformed have hitherto been excluded from all other Offices and Dignities, contrary to the express Article of the Edict, as if they could, nor ought not to deserve any thing more by their Services; which may be particularly describ'd.

That the Resignation and Demises of the Government of the said Towns be no longer admitted of, without the Consent of the Churches, whose Security is therein concern'd.

The like for the Presidents and Counsellors of the Chambers.

That Liberty be entirely restored to them, or the composing, printing, vending, and distributing of all Books concerning their Doctrine.

It must not be thought strange when any new Demands shall be made, since that ever since the publick Misfortune, nothing else has been seen on all sides; seeing also the new

Lewis 13. Importunities of the Roman Catholicks of  
Bearn, and of the Jesuits; and the more, because that in the Death of an absolute King able to repel all violent Designs form'd against us, we have lost our principal safety; which however depended chiefly on his Concessions.

#### CONCERNING RELIGION.

That if there be any City, from which the Exercise of Religion be too far distant, His Majesty be desired to bring it nearer, to this end, that they being nearer the Magistrate, they may be less exposed to the Insolence of the Mob.

That the Article of the Burying-Places, which gives rise to so much Barbarity and Cruelty, be reform'd.

That the Sum appropriated to the Churches be augmented, considering its smallness, and the great Number of Churches.

That the Preachers and Confessors who teach, that those will be damn'd that communicate, serve, or assist the Reformed, be punish'd as seditious People, Disturbers of the publick Society, and Infringers of the Edicts, by which their Majesties have declar'd their Intention, of re-uniting the Affections of their Subjects.

#### CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

That two Masters of the Requests may be given them, to report the Affairs concerning them to the Privy Council; the first time without a Fine.

A Reformed Notary in every Royal Tribunal, at least in the Cautionary Towns, paying a moderate Fine.

FOR

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 949

FOR THE CAUTIONARY TOWNS. Lewis 13.

That the Jesuits may not reside in the Places given us for our Sureties.

*Item,* Seeing the Confusion of the Times, we must not doubt, but that among the Provinces, where there are no Cautionary Towns, and in which there are nevertheless a great Number of Reformed, there may be some that will demand Cautionary Towns; and these may, perhaps, be some means found to accommodate some of them: but it will be prudent in the General Assembly, to see, according to the time, how far it will be proper to support their Demand. Moreover, for the Direction of the Affairs of our Churches, it seems necessary to require.

A General Assembly every two Years, for the Renewal and Instruction of our General Deputies; and it will give so much the less Alarm, as it will be less extraordinary.

*Item,* That our Deputies be ordinarily at Court at his Majesty's Expence, being two in Number, named by the said Assembly: Which it is necessary to explain, because it is commonly grudg'd us as a Favour, and that there is nothing about it in the Edict.

And that the Provincial Deputies address themselves to the said General Deputies, without being obliged to have recourse to the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of the Provinces.

These Advices being thus resolved upon among them, were by the Means and Authority of the Mareschal *De Les Dignieres*, carried into the Provinces of Dauphiné, and Vivarais, Provence, Lower Languedoc, and other neighbouring Provinces; and at the Mareschal *De Bouillon's* Care, into those of

950 · *History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 13. Anjou, Brittany, Poitou, Xaintonge, Lower  
Guienne, and others.*

The Provinces conformed themselves pretty near to these Instructions, both because they came from Persons, of whose Fidelity, Affections, and Abilities, they were assured; and especially, because they thought them reasonable, and just, containing nothing contrary to the Fear of God, and the King's Service; on the contrary, containing many Things which being exactly followed, might tend to the Advancement of Jesus Christ's Reign, and to the Welfare of this Realm.

**G**E<sup>N</sup>ERAL REGULATIONS drawn up in the  
*General Assembly of the Reformed Churches  
of France, held at Saumur by the King's  
Permission, Anno 1611.*

I N each Province there shall be established a Council, to deliberate on the Affairs of the Churches of the Province. Which Council

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 951

WHEN it will be necessary to convene the Lewis 13. Provincial Assembly, the Council shall give notice to all the Churches, either one by the means of the Colloquies, according to the Order observed in each of the Provinces, to meet on such a day, in such a Place; and to send their Deputies thither, either by Churches, or Colloquies.

FOR which end, the Elders of every Consistory shall be careful to give notice to the chief Members of their Churches, to meet on such a Sunday at Sermon-Time; after which, the Pastor shall give the Heads of Families Notice to stay, to consult on the Affairs of the Church, which may concern them.

By the Advice of which Heads of Families, Persons shall be deputed from each Church to meet at the Assembly of the Colloquy, or in that of the Province, according to the Order observ'd, as abovesaid, which Persons are to be in such a Number, as shall be thought proper, by the Majority, provided that there be some of the Gentry, Clergy, and third Estate, so far as it will be possible.

IN the said Provincial Assemblies they shall vote by single Persons, unless some Church would require the voting by Churches, or in those Places where the Assembly is composed of the Deputies of Colloquies, if any Colloquy should desire the voting by Colloquies.

No one shall be capable of being admitted into the said Provincial Assemblies, except that he be called thither, and be named in the Letters.

THE King's Officers and other Magistrates, must be present in the said Provincial Assemblies, when they shall be called thither by

952 *History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 13. the Order above prescribed, and shall seat  
themselves with the Nobility, or third Estate,  
not being admitted to compose an Order by  
themselves.*

THE Presidents who are to preside in the said Provincial Assemblies, shall be chosen from among the Nobility, by the Majority.

THE Provincial Assembly shall send to the General Assembly, but five Deputies at the most, and three for the least ; which shall be chosen from the most able who shall be found in the said Assembly, from among the Gentry, the Pastors, and the third Estate, as much as possible.

THE Councils composed as aforesaid in each Province, shall have the following Functions and Inspections :

To WIT, To distribute the Advices which they have received, either from the General Deputies at Court, or from the neighbouring Provinces, or from elsewhere, according to their Exigency ; to all the Churches and Towns

Council of each Province, a certain Stock of Lewis 13.  
Money, as a hundred and fifty Livres, to defray the Expences of the said Dispatches, and repay those who shall have advanced it, and the Deputies of the contiguous Provinces shall confer together to resolve themselves upon this Order before they depart.

If the Advice received by the Council of the Province be such, that it may alone provide concerning it, it must be done instantly, and without delay; else they will do prudently and wisely to call such Persons to strengthen themselves by their Advice, as the matter in question shall shew to be convenient.

NAMELY, in case of some notable Infraction of the Edict, Sedition, Tumult, Attempt upon any Place, or such other of Consequence, Satisfaction for which should either be neglected, or should require to be more vigorously sued for, the said Council may, if they chuse it, desire such of the neighbouring Provinces as they shall think proper, to assist them with Council, as far as three for the least: Who at their first Request shall be oblig'd to cause one or more of their Council to meet in such a Place, as the abused Province shall appoint, to consult together, of all good and awful means, to obtain Redress for the said Infractiōns committed in the Province, requiring their Attendance, and to make it their own Cause, all the same as the offended Province: Which not being redressed, the said Provinces being joined by the Deputies of their Councils, will do prudently to consult if it be necessary to give the other Provinces notice thereof, and appoint them a Place, whether they should send their Deputies, to concur unanimously in that Prosecution.

THE foregoing Article according to the General Union of the Churches of this Kingdom, which obliges them to a mutual Sentence of each others Wounds, for the Welfare of their Majesties Service, and this Kingdom's Peace, that a Province that has been grievously offended, may not, of itself, have recourse to violent Remedies, as Reprisals, or some other sort of Revenge, by which it might bring itself and all the other Churches consequently to Extremes: But may be partly kept by their Prudence within lawful means, partly strengthened by their support, to obtain Justice and Redress for the Fact committed.

THIS same Order shall also be observed, in case any one professing the Reformed Religion, should undertake any thing rashly, and without being called thereto, to the prejudice of the publick Tranquillity.

THE said Persons of the Provincial Councils shall for the King's Service, and the Preservation of the Churches, take care that the Towns given into the Custody of the Reformed, shall be kept in good Order, and that the Governors and Captains to whom they are committed, shall do their Duty therein.

AND to that End, the said Governors and Captains are admonished to consent, that now and then the said Councils should depute able Persons from among themselves, or of the Province, to visit the said Towns and Garrisons, for to give an Account thereof to the Province. In which Visit they are to take care, that all their Soldiers, by reason of the Fidelity chiefly required therein, be well known to be of the Reformed Religion, and that they be not taken from among the natural Inhabitants of the Towns, or their Suburbs, seeing that it is requisite

~~VIII.~~ *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 955

~~to strengthen them with Men : which Lewis 13.~~  
~~abovesaid Governors and Captains are also~~  
~~to observe.~~

~~because great Abuses have been here-~~  
~~committed, in the number of Soldiers,~~  
~~which could and ought to be entertained in~~  
~~the said Towns, which in the uncertainty of~~  
~~time, if they should continue, might put~~  
~~to irreparable Inconveniences, the said Go-~~  
~~ernors and Captains are required for the Wel-~~  
~~are of his Majesty's Service, Discharge of their~~  
~~Honour and Conscience, and to avoid the~~  
~~Blame which they might otherwise incur, to~~  
~~conform themselves to what follows :~~

NAMELY, that they shall take the third part, as well of the Sum ordained on the publick Establishment, as payable in ready Money, clear and free from all manner of Charges, and as for the two other Thirds, that they consent to give their Receipts, in the hands of any one who shall be named by the Council of the Province, who shall receive it by his hands, and shall therewith pay the Soldiers at the Bank, and make satisfaction for the other Charges of the Garrison and of the Town.

MEANING, that out of those two Thirds be holden to pay the Lieutenant-Governor, if there be any, the Captains and Soldiers, according to the Salary allotted them by the Governors and Captains, the Serjeant Major, the Drummer, the Gunners, and other necessary Officers ; also to furnish the Guard-Room with Wood and Candles, in those Places where the Townsmen do not furnish them, Mattresses, Beds, Sheets, Washing, and other Utensils for the Soldiers, Renewal of Arms, Repairs of Centry-Boxes, Bridges, Swipes, Barriers, Palisadoes, even for the new mounting the

956      *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. *Artillery, when the Council of the Province*  
*will judge that it may and ought to be done,*  
*without too great a Prejudice to the ordinary*  
*Garrison.*

AND therefore it must be the said Council's Care, or of those whom it shall appoint for that purpose, to make an Account by Valuation, as near as possible to the Truth, of what the said Charges may yearly amount to, to reserve the Fund thereof, and not to oblige the Governors and Captains to keep more Men than they can. And he, who shall be entrusted with the said two Thirds, shall give an Account of all the said Management, to the said Council in the Governor's Presence : And the said extraordinary Charges cannot exceed the third or fourth Part of the said two Thirds for the space of each Year.

IF any Fund is given by their Majesties for the Repairs of Fortifications of the said Towns, the said Governors shall order what use it must be put to, as those who have

Officers appointed for that purpose, be renewed in due Time and Season, that they may not decay; also that the Powder, Matches, and other Ammunition subject to decay be dried, beat again, and refreshed, with the greatest Caution possible; and in a word, the Governors are exhorted to take in good part the care which the said Members of the Council will take of all that will concern the Preservation of the said Towns, and to give all Aid and Assistance to those who shall be sent thither by them.

THE said Members of the Council shall strive, by reason of the strict Union which ought to subsist between all those of the Reformed Religion, to extinguish by all amicable Means, as much as it lies in their power, either by themselves, or by the Interposition of some other, all Suits, Quarrels, Animosities, and Jealousies, which might be or arise amongst them, of what Quality soever they be.

IF any of the Governors or Captains of any of the Cautionary Towns chance to die, they shall endeavour to have the Regulation made, or to be made by their Majesties concerning that Case, strictly executed in all its Circumstances.

ALL the Provinces and their Councils shall keep a strict Correspondence with those that border upon them; and in order to keep it the better, they shall be careful to send their respective Deputies to their reciprocal Provincial Assemblies.

AND as to the general Correspondence, the Provinces shall receive the Ways and Means to keep it of the General Assembly while it subsists, and of the General Deputies attending the Court, after their Separation.

AND

Lewis 13. **A**ND in order to maintain the Union so necessary between the Churches, they shall meet together by their Deputies, once a Year, at an appointed Place; taking care that a Member of the Council of every Province should be there present: for which purpose, the Assembly before breaking up shall name the Council, who is to appoint the Day and the Place for the first Year, which shall take care that the Place where the said Assembly is to meet should be commodious, and that the said Assembly should be held without Noise, and shall aim at the procuring the best Advantage of the whole Body, as much as the Circumstances of the Times can allow it. These Conferences for a few days, shall entertain the Union of the Churches, and renew the Sense of their common Concerns, and inform them of their mutual Condition. Done at Saumur the 29th of August 1611.

*Articles agreed and granted by the Queen-*

THAT the Edicts shall be published anew, Lewis 13. with a Declaration confirming the Briefs, Grants and Concessions of the late King, For-givenes of all past Offences, and Orders that all manner of Proceedings against the Reform-ed shall remain null and void.

THAT the *Rochellese* should not be called to any Account for what had been done at *Coudré*, and that the Men of War that cruize upon their Coasts should be recall'd.

THAT those of the *Lower Languedoc* should be heard upon the Affair of *Aigue-mortes*; and in the mean while, the said Town should be put in Trust in the hands of the Count of *Chatillon*.

THAT the razing of *Vesseires* should be superseeded, and the Remonstrances of the Province of *Languedoc* upon that Subject be considered.

THAT nothing shall be altered at *Mas-d'Agenois* in *Lower Guienne*, and *La Vessiere* shall be restored as Governor of the Place.

THAT the Viscount of *Panjas* shall be or-dered to suffer, under him, Captain *Pré* in *Mazeres*.

THAT the Troops that are in *Poitou*, *Xain-tonge*, and the Neighbourhood, shall be ordered to depart from these Provinces.

THAT *La Roche-Beaucourt*, and *Foucault*, shall depart from *St. John d'Angely*.

THAT the Company of the first shall be given to the Duke of *Roban*, and that of the second to him who shall be named with the Duke of *Roban's* Consent to be the King's Lieutenant in the said Town of *St. John*.

THAT the Place of Serjeant-Major of the said Town becoming vacant, either by Death or otherwise, shall be filled up according to the Duke of *Roban's* Desire. THAT

960 : *History of the Reformation, and of the*

*Lewis 13.* THAT the Pensions of the Dukes of Rohan and Soubize, shall be paid unto them with all the Arrears.

THAT none of the said Duke's Friends, or Adherents, shall be called to an Account, or otherwise molested ; and that their Pensions, if they had any, shall be paid unto them, upon the same footing as before the Assembly at Saumur ; and that the Baron of Saugeon shall no longer be molested, but on the contrary, he shall be set at Liberty. The said Duke says, that these Articles were pretty well performed\*.

*October 1,* That Day, a Declaration of the King's Majority was issued out, and at the same time, a Confirmation of the Edict of Nantz in all its parts, and of all other Articles granted to the Reformed, together with the Regulations made, Decrees given concerning the Interpretation or Execution of the same. All secret Correspondences, Leagues and Associations, either within or without the Kingdom, or Deputations without the King's Licence, to foreign Princes, Friends or Foes, were strictly forbidden, as well as the receiving of any Pensions, or other Gratuities from foreign Princes. This Declaration was registered in Parliament the 2d of October.

*April 30.* The House of the Nobility and the Clergy assembled in the States General, held at Paris in the Month of October 1614, having required the King to perform strictly what he had solemnly promised in his Coronation-Oath, concerning the Extirpation of Hereticks. The Reformed were justly alarmed at that ; and the Court dreading the Consequences thereof, the King was advised by his Council, to issue out

\* Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. I. p. 31.

out a Declaration upon that Subject, which Lewis 13.  
accordingly he did on the 12th of *March* 1615; wherein, after having blamed the preposterous Zeal of his Clergy, he declares, That all the Edicts, Declarations, and private Articles granted in behalf of the Reformed, either by the late King, or by himself, together with the Regulations, &c. concerning the Interpretation and Execution of the Edict of *Nantz*, or in consequence thereof, shall be strictly observed, and the Offenders punished, as Disturbers of the publick Peace. That Declaration was register'd in Parliament the 30th of *April*.

The Prince of *Condé* having rebelled against his Sovereign, because his sordid Avarice found not its Account in the present Government; he soon engaged the Duke of *Roban*, whose Ambition was ready to starve for want of proper Fuel, in the same Rebellion with him; and this left no Stone unturned, till he had drawn several of the Reformed Churches in the *Southern* Provinces in the same Precipice. Therefore, the King, by the Advice of his Council, issued out a Declaration register'd in Parliament the 7th of *December* 1615; wherein, after having set forth the incongruous and false impudent Insinuations, whereby *Condé* and *Roban* endeavoured to deceive his Subjects of either Religion, and had already deceived but too many, he declares his royal Intention to be, that the Edict of *Nantz*, Declarations, Regulations, Decrees, &c. issued out in behalf of the Reformed, either by his royal Father, or by himself, should be strictly kept; and promises that every Contravention, if any there is, shall be faithfully redressed; he promises a free Pardon to whomsoever

Lewis 13. soever shall return to his Allegiance a Month  
after the Publication of the Presents: and receives under his royal Protection those who shall remain, and persist in their Loyalty.

August 4. By the Treaty of Peace, made and concluded between his Majesty and the Prince of Condé, on the 6th of May 1616, and the secret Articles thereunto annexed, the Confirmation of the Edict of Nantz, and other Grants as above was expressly mentioned, and besides, the Creation of a new Office of Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, instead of Peter Berger, who had turned Catholick: the Confirmation of Villemereau in his Office of Counsellor in the Parliament of Paris, and of Le Maitre, Master in the Chamber of Accounts, though they had turned Reformed; the disowning of what the Clergy had done concerning the Publication of the Council of Trent; the putting the Castle of Leytoure under the Care of an Officer of the Reformed Profession, were amongst other things express-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 963

ordered the Members thereof to be prosecuted Lewis 13.  
with all the rigour of the Law.

But by another Declaration register'd in July 5. Parliament the 5th of July 1619, his Ma- 1619. jesty was pleased to reverse the former, on account of the Fidelity and strict Adherence to the King's Service, which the said Assem- bly then at *Rochelle* shewed forth, when they were sollicited by the Queen-Mother, who had just then made her Escape from *Blois*. The King graciously received their Deputies, and forgave whatever was past.

I shall but just mention the Declaration of February the 27th of February 1620, against the Assem- 27, 1620. bly lawfully held at *Loudon*, because I have already spoken of it in its proper Place.

Following the Order of Times, I must in- DuPlessis,  
sert here the Memoir delivered by *Du Plessis* to *Memoir*,  
his Son-in-Law *De Villarnoul*, to be by him  
tendered to the Assembly of *Rochelle*, dated the  
22d of April 1621.

THE AFFAIRS are now come to such a pass, that we must not flatter ourselves, either with the hope that the King will not march against us, or with the notion of his being diverted from it by some other Business. For the Resolution is taken, the Preparations made, and the Day appointed for his setting out: Nothing can divert him, but the speedy Satisfaction the Assembly shall give him, which consists in the Obedience which they must pay to his Command to break up, on which account his Majesty promises to do strict Justice.

That Separation looks very hard, on ac-  
count of things past; which have filled our  
Minds with Jealousies and Suspicions, left the  
VOL. IV. Rrr things

Lewis 13. things promised should not be performed. But the Assembly must consider, whether the Expedients hitherto proposed, the Securities given to Monsieur *De Favas*, and the Assurances so expressly received by those, who have had the honour to interfere in that Business, are not sufficient for allaying these Suspicions. Besides, the Execution of the greatest part of things either required or promised is so easy, that it may come to pass with the time requisite for securing their Retreat, after their Act of Separation.

But above all, they must ballance the Perils very certain, whereto they expose themselves by remaining assembled against the King's Will, with the pretended Dangers wherewith they imagine their Separation will be attended. They must consider what Condition we are in at present under the Benefit of the Edicts, and that wherein we shall be, when we shall be deprived of the same; in what Calamity we do cast all the Churches beyond the *Loire*, and what Burthen we do put upon those on this side that River. And where is the Man, how strong soever, who did ever expose himself to a Siege, when he could avoid it by fair means?

They must also consider, that it is very likely that all those of our Profession SHALL NOT THINK IT VERY JUST AND REASONABLE that they should ruin their own Houses and Families, and hazard their own and their Posterity's Welfare, and even that Liberty of Conscience which they enjoy, for supporting the said Assembly, THE USEFULNESS WHEREOF THEY DO MUCH QUESTION, whereas they feel and see its Inconveniencies, from whence will arise, at least a Division amongst ourselves, and from thence an unavoidable

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 965

avoidable Ruin. A Division, indeed, which Lewis 13  
cannot be small, seeing that the greatest and  
the most considerable amongst us incline to  
a Separation upon the Terms abovemention-  
ed. Besides, there is the King's Declaration  
ready to be published, whereby the Fearful  
will think themselves secure, though they  
should be told, that thereby they will not fare  
better than others. *For the present Danger  
is always more persuasive than a future one.*

It is needless for the Deputies to say,  
that they fear the Censure of their Princi-  
pals, who have bound them by certain Ar-  
ticles of their Instructions; for in the pre-  
sent state of things, were they themselves ob-  
liged to explain them, they would give them  
quite another meaning. BUT RATHER, the  
said Deputies OUGHT TO MIND, THE AC-  
COUNT WHICH CERTAINLY THEY SHALL  
BE CALL'D TO BEFORE GOD for so many  
Souls, which by their Obstinacy they expose  
to the Temptation of rebelling against God.  
Let them mind the Reproaches of so many  
Churches and Familiies, who shall impute unto  
them the Miseries and Calamities whereto they  
will certainly expose them without need.

Let them mind the Judgment of the Princes  
and States our Neighbours, professing the same  
Religion with us, who look upon the Con-  
tinuation of the Assembly as a meer Obsti-  
nacy, and declare openly, that they would  
not support it by any means; nay, they judge  
it hurtful and detrimental to all Christendom,  
because the Court take it for an Excuse and  
Pretence, which is not quite ill grounded, for  
not opposing the common Enemy so power-  
fully, as it would be requisite.

True it is, that the Rockellese bravely held out a Siege in 1573, and they can say, that since that time their City is much better fortified; but then they held out a Siege through necessity, and not wilfully and arbitrarily - they fought not for form's sake only, but for the very essence of things. And those who lived at that time, may remember the great straits they were reduced to; and we have not every day *Polanders* to deliver us. The Skilful in the Military Art know, that any City can be taken, how strong soever it be = How brisk soever the Defence might be, it serves only to spin out the time, till it might be relieved; but let us speak upon our Conscience, from whence do we expect that relief, if it is once besieged? Indeed it is a great Virtue in Citizens to chuse to be buried under the Defence of their City's Liberties. But as great an Imprudence and Rashness it is, to draw, without necessity, upon themselves and their Families such a dreadful Calamity, and all the Miseries wherewith it is attended.

Some there are, who ground their hopes upon the Discontents of some Princes and Lords who have forsaken the Court: But we must not expect that any other, besides those of the same Profession with us, would, or could suffer with us, or for us. On pretence of curing our Diseases, they shall mind their own; and our Ill-wishers know very well how to extricate themselves at our own Expence.

For these Causes, and several others heretofore mentioned, my Opinion is, that we must necessarily break up our Assembly, and do it without Reluctancy; taking, however, the best Securities possible for the things promised unto us: thereby we shall engage God Almighty

Almighty to be with us ; we shall soften our Lewis 13. King's Heart, to do us good ; we shall satisfy all Christendom as to our good Intentions, and all those who are of the same Opinion will think themselves obliged to side with us, and to take our part ; and at all Events, being all united together in the same mind, we shall feel with the same Heart the Evils which might follow ; otherwise we are in danger to find ourselves divided. Done at Saumur, as above.

Such were the wise Remonstrances of the judicious *Du Plessis*. But these strong Arguments were as so many Pearls, which were cast before Swine ; he had to deal with Men much like the deaf Adder, that stoppeth her Matt. vii. 6. ear ; which will not hearken to the Voice of 4, 5. the Charmers, charming never so wisely.

The King being informed of the unaccountable Proceedings of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, who made great Preparations for War, &c. issued out his Declaration, which was register'd in Parliament the 27th of April 1621. Wherein, after having set forth what he had done for hindering the said Assembly, and the disrespectful Carriage of the same towards him, he declares his Resolution to visit his Provinces, in order to remedy the Diseases they were affected with ; he confirms anew the Edicts, Declarations, &c. granted to the Reformed, either by his Father or by himself, and promises that they shall be strictly observed in behalf of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that shall remain faithful to their Allegiance, promising to keep them with their Goods, Chattels &c. under his royal Protection.

*Lowis 13.* The Assembly persisting in their Obsturacy,  
*June 7,* and the Dukes of Roban and Soubize having  
1621, openly declared themselves, the King issued  
out another Declaration, registered in Parlia-  
ment the 7th of June, whereby Rocbelles, and  
its Inhabitants, and other Persons, together  
with St. John d'Angely, were declared Rebels:  
And enjoining all the Reformed, to promise  
upon their Oaths, not to adhere in any wise to  
the said Assembly, or to any other held, or to  
be held, without the King's special Licence.

*August 5.* Whereas the King was informed, that cer-  
tain Persons went from one Province into an-  
other, charged with Letters, tending to raise  
Jealousies and Suspicions in the Minds of those  
of the Reformed Religion, that persever'd in  
their Fealty, and engage them to join the Re-  
bels: His Majesty issued out his Declaration,  
registered in Parliament the 5th of Aug<sup>t</sup>  
1622, whereby he forbids his said Subjects  
to quit and forsake their Houses and Habi-  
tations, either in Towns, or in the Country,

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 969**

Synods, either National or Provincial, or to Lewis 13. treat of any thing else, but what concerns their Doctrine and Discipline; and in order that his royal Intention should be duly executed, his Will is, that a Commissary professing the Reformed Religion, named by himself for the National Synods, and by his Lieutenants or Governors of Provinces for the Provincial, should assist in his Name in those Assemblies.

A Proclamation was issued out and registered in Parliament the 18th of February 1625, against the Duke of Soubize, and his Adherents, promising them Pardon and Forgiveness of their Offences, if in a Month's time, after the Publication of the Presents, they should return to their Allegiance; and threatening them to be punished according to Law, if they persisted in their Rebellion: The like Promises of Protection and Execution of the Edicts, for those who persisted in their Loyalty, were made in this as in the former Declarations.

**ARTICLES contained in the Bill of Grievances, presented to the King by the Deputies of the Reformed in the Month of October 1625, and which served as the Basis of the Edict granted them in March 1626, and registered in Parliament the 6th of April ensuing.**

The first named forty-three Places, wherein they required that the Reformed Religion should be restored, as it was in 1620. The second required the Restitution of the Church-yards, which had been taken from the Reformed in several Places, eight whereof were specified. Both Articles granted. By the third they desired that the Ministers should be allowed

Lewis 13. lowed Liberty of dwelling wherever they should please, a Liberty which had been granted them by the General and Private Articles of the Edict of Nantz. Granted. By the fourth, they required to be exempted from contributing towards the Reparation of Churches, and other things that favoured of a Compliance with the Roman Worship. Granted, unless there was some Agreement made between the Reformed and Catholicks. The fifth contained a Complaint that frequently the Bodies of the Reformed were digged up again, under pretence that they were buried in Catholick Chapels or Church-yards. *Indirectly answered, and referred to the 18th and 23d Articles of the Edict of Nantz, and to the Decree of the Council of the 25th of August, 1620.* The same Article contained Complaints of the demolishing of some Churches, of the banishing of several Persons only on account of their Religion ; which two Articles were favourably answered. The sixth mentioned the de-

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 971

Right to be admitted to all sorts of Offices Lewis 13.  
and Employments. *Redressed.* The twelfth  
was made in behalf of the parted Chambers,  
and of the Officers which composed them,  
for the Preservation of the Jurisdiction of the  
said Chambers, and the Dignity of their Of-  
ficers. *Granted.* By the thirteenth, fourteenth,  
and fifteenth, they demanded, that the Re-  
formed should be restored to their Goods and  
Estates, whereof they had been in any wise de-  
prived. An Amnesty for all Acts of Hostility.  
That the Declaration published before *Mont-  
pellier* should be registered in the Chamber of  
*Accounts at Paris.* *All three granted.* The six-  
teenth required a Discharge for the Taxes due  
during the Troubles, by those who rose up in  
Arms in 1621, and that the Receivers should  
be obliged to restore what they had received  
of the same. *Granted as to what remained  
due, but not as to the Restitution.* By the se-  
venteenth, and the three following, they re-  
quired a Remission for what had been done  
notwithstanding the Safe-Conduct of the Duke  
of *Roan,* which he had revoked. *Granted.*  
The Preservation of the Privileges of the Re-  
formed Cities and Commonalties, especially as  
to the Election of their Consuls and Coun-  
cils. *Granted as to the Towns still in the bands  
of the Reformed.* That each Party should be  
reciprocally discharged from the Debts con-  
tracted without the Consent one of the other.  
*Granted as to Debts not paid as yet.* That  
the Debts of the Reformed should be equally  
settled. *The King will advise.* The twenty-  
first, that they may hold Political Assemblies.  
*The King will grant it, when asked for at the  
time of the Election of the new General Deputies.*

*The*

Lewis 13.

August 12.  
1627.

The Duke of Soubize being landed at Ro-  
chelle, in order to sollicite that City to admit  
the English Fleet ; a Proclamation was issued  
out against him, and his Adherents, which was  
registered in Parliament the 12th of August  
1627, whereby they were declared Rebels,  
Traitors, and Perfidious, &c. and as such ha-  
ving forfeited their Lands, Estates, Manors,  
Titles, Offices, &c. &c. and where their Per-  
sons could be apprehended, to be brought to  
Justice, and prosecuted to the rigour of the  
Law ; unless, in eight days time after the  
Publication of these Presents, in proper Places,  
they should return to their Allegiance with  
the requisite Submissions, and make a Decla-  
ration thereof before proper Officers. What  
was observable in this Proclamation is, that  
Fathers and Tutors were made answerable in  
their proper Person for their Sons and Pu-  
pils. For the Court had taken notice during  
the former Wars, that they were used to send  
their Sons or Pupils to the Reformed Army,  
while they themselves staid at home, in or-  
der to preserve their Estates ; for avoiding  
which, it was declared, that unless the Fa-  
thers and Tutors should serve in the King's  
Armies, or give such other full Evidence of  
their having no hand at all in the Defection  
of their Sons or Pupils, they should be pu-  
nished themselves as Rebels.

August 27. *The King's Edict given at Nimes, July 1629,*  
1629. *and registered in the Parliament of Thoulouse*  
*the 27th of August in the same Year.*

THAT Edict contained a long Preamble,  
wherein, in an insulting manner, were described

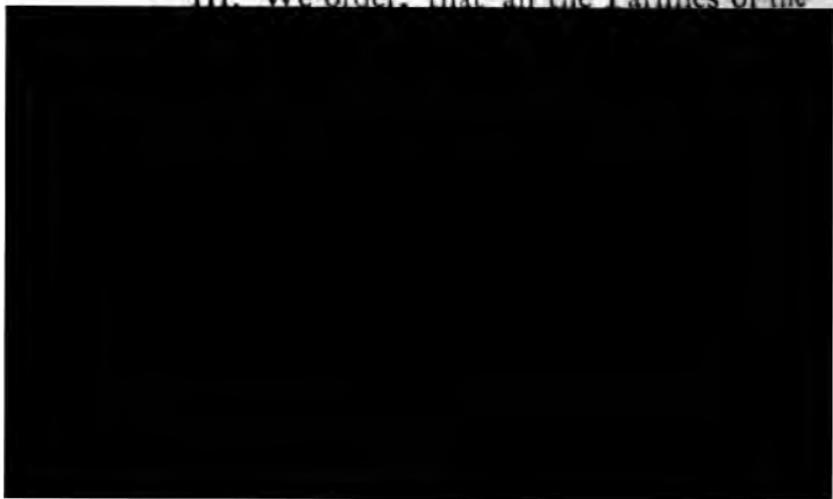
the several means made use of for bringing Lewis 13.  
the Reformed back to their Allegiance. The taking of *Rochelle*, the sacking of *Privas*,  
the voluntary Submission of *Alezz*, were represented in a Rhetorical Strain, little usual  
in the Edicts. They named 25 Cities well  
fortify'd, which, however, had not been so  
daring as to wait for the King's Cannon;  
and which, with the Duke of *Roan*, and the  
Nobility of several Provinces had implored  
his Clemency by their Deputies; offering to  
level their Fortifications, in order that their  
Fidelity should be no longer suspected. Then  
the King, through the only Compassion for  
the Miseries of his Subjects, and in order per-  
fectly to win the Affections, even of those,  
who, by their repeated Relapses, were become  
the Objects of his Justice, declared in twen-  
ty-two Articles, what was to be observed for  
the future. That Edict was said to be **PERPE-  
RUAL** and **IRREVOCABLE**: And according  
to the usual Style, the Restoration of the Re-  
form Religion was enacted by the first Ar-  
ticle, as you may see in the Edict itself here  
inserted.

I. That the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, shall be restored and resettled in all the Cities and Places of those Countries, from whence it had been expelled; and all the Ecclesiastick Churches, Goods, and Houses, within the said Provinces, shall be restored to those to whom they belonged, without any Prosecution for the Revenues received or taken. In which Churches, and in all the said Places, the Exercise of the said Religion shall be freely and peaceably performed, without Lett or Molestation. Nevertheless we order, that in all the Monasteries within the said Cities returned

Lewis 13. returned to our Obedience, there shall not be  
put in or settle any other Monks, than such  
as live exactly in the observance of their Or-  
der, according to the Letters which they shall  
receive from us.

II. And desiring nothing more than a per-  
petual Union between our Subjects, as we are  
desirous, and as it is our Intention, to main-  
tain those who profess the Pretended Re-  
formed Religion, in the free and peaceable  
Exercise of it, we cannot but desire also their  
Conversion, for which we continually offer  
up our Prayers to God. For which Reason,  
we exhort all our said Subjects of the Pre-  
tended Reformed Religion to lay aside all  
Passion, that they may be capable of receiv-  
ing the Light of Heaven, and be fitted to  
return to the Bosom of the Church, in which  
for these eleven hundred Years together, the  
Kings our Predecessors have lived without  
Change or Interruption: Not being able in  
any thing whatever to give them a greater  
Testimony of our Paternal Affection, than to  
admonish them to observe the same way to  
Salvation, which we observe and follow our  
selves.

III. We order, that all the Parishes of the



Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 975

bury in Oblivion, in behalf of the said Duke Lewis 13. of Robe, and of all the Inhabitants of the said Cities and Places, as also to those of the Flat Countries, who adhered to them, all things past from July 21. 1627. to the Day of the Publication of these Prefents, made in every Seneschalship, of the Articles of Grace, which we granted them the 27th of June last. We have discharged them, and do discharge them of all Acts of Hostility, rising in Arms, hiring of Soldiers, Enterprizes as well by Sea as Land, General and Particular Assemblies, more especially the Assembly of Nimes, seizure of Ecclesiastical Rents, Royal or Private Money, Coining of Money of what Alloy or Stamp soever, Printed Libels, Popular Tu-mults and Commotions, Riots, Violences, Enterprizes upon the two Towns of St. Amant, and Castles of the Lord, the Castles of St. Stephen, Val Francesque, and Florac: Also the Murders and other Accidents, happening at the taking of St. Germier, and Caz-tres, in January last: Also the Inhabitants of Uzez, for the Murder of the Sieur du Flos: And the Consuls of the said Place, for the Decrees put forth against them by the Parliament of Toulouse, and Chamber of the E-dict at Beziers: Also the Sieurs Daubais, James Genoier, Paul Saucier, and Andrew Pe-lissier. For the Nomination and Designation made of their Persons, to be Consuls of Nimes, in 1627. and their executing the Office du-ring that Year: Together with all the Consuls and Political Counsellors, and the Pro-thonotary of the Consular House, for the Prosecution against them by reason of the said Consulship of Nimes, as well in our Council, as in the said Court of Parliament, Chamber of

976 . *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. *of the Edict, and Court of Aids at Mous-*  
*pellier: Also the Inhabitants of Anduze, for*  
*the Murder of the Sieur de Mantaille, and*  
*the Condemnations of the said Consuls, and*  
*particular Inhabitants of the said City during*  
*these Troubles. The Inhabitants of Millau,*  
*for what was done against the Sieur de Ro-*  
*quesavas, and discharge them of the Resti-*  
*tution of four thousand Livres taken from the*  
*Jacobins: The Sieur de Gasque, for encou-*  
*raging the Inhabitants of Alets in their Breach*  
*of Safe-Conduits, Impositions and raising of*  
*Money, Establishment of Courts of Justice,*  
*Officers and Counsellors through the Provinces,*  
*and executing of Sentences past in those Courts,*  
*in Matters Civil and Criminal, and Regula-*  
*tions of Municipal Constitutions, and their*  
*executing their Offices in the said Cities when*  
*they were in Rebellion; together with the*  
*Advocates, that practised in their Employ-*  
*ments, before the said Judges, Officers, and*  
*Counsellors set up in the said Cities: Also*  
*the inhabitants of Orange, from the said*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 977

the said Troubles, melting of Artillery, seizing of Ammunition, Dismantling and Demolishing of Cities, Castles and Towns : Also the taking of *Mervez*, *Aymargues*, and others, Burnings of Churches and Houses by Order and Authority of the said Duke of *Roban* ; and from all Criminal Prosecutions by reason of the same ; without prejudicing the Civil Interests of the said Religious Ecclesiasticks, for which they shall apply themselves for Justice to the Chamber of the Edict. We discharge them also from all Leases and Farms, of all Ecclesiastical Benefices and Estates, of which the said Ecclesiasticks were deprived by the Chieftains, who had the General Command. Our Pleasure in like manner is, that they enjoy the full Contents of the preceding Amnesties, and of all that has been acted and negotiated since the abovementioned Time, notwithstanding all Proceedings at Law, Decrees and Sentences issued out against them in the mean time ; even the Decrees themselves of the Parliament of *Toulouse* and *Bourdeaux*, and Chamber of *Beziers* and others, against the said Duke of *Roban*, to whom we will, that all his Honours and Dignities which he enjoy'd before shall be preserved, prohibiting all Prosecutions in the Cases aforesaid. In respect of which, we impose perpetual silence upon all our Attorneys General and their Substitutes ; excepting always those execrable Cases reserved and excepted by the Edict of *Nantz*, and others subsequent, of the Civil Interest, by reason of the Fact committed at *Venenobre* and *Tournac*, and of the Moveables which shall be found in specie taken from those who were under Obedience to the King.

Lewis 13. V. And in pursuance of our Intentions, to  
maintain all our Subjects professing the Pre-  
tended Reformed Religion in the free Exer-  
cise of the said Religion, and in the Enjoy-  
ment of the Edicts to them granted; Our fur-  
ther Pleasure is, that they enjoy the Bene-  
fits of the said Edict of *Nantz* and other E-  
dicts, Articles and Declarations registered in  
our Parliaments, and that in pursuance of the  
same they have the free Exercise of the said  
Religion in all Places where it has been al-  
lowed them.

VI. That all Churches and Church-yards,  
that have been taken from them or demo-  
lished, shall be restored them, with liberty  
to repair them, if there be any necessity, and  
that they deem it convenient.

VII. We order, that all the Fortifications of  
the said Cities, shall be razed and demolish-  
ed, only the enclosure of the Walls, within  
the space of three Months, by the sedulity of  
the Inhabitants : In whom we more especially

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 979

excepting the Fruits and Revenues of their Goods, the Moveables which shall not be found in Specie, Woods cut down, and Debts which have been received till this present time, actually and without fraud, after judicial Prosecutions and Constraints. Nevertheless our Pleasure is, that the preceding Declarations given upon the Fact of the said Reprisals, till the present Commotions, peremptory Decrees, and Proceedings and Agreements made upon them, shall take place, and be executed, notwithstanding all Decrees to the contrary. Our Will also is, that the Heirs of the deceased Sieur *e Mormoirac* shall be restored to their Estates.

IX. We permit them to re-enter their houses, and to rebuild them if there be occasion; and as being our good and faithful subjects, we permit them to reside and inhabit in such Cities and Places of our Kingdom, as they shall see convenient, except in the Islands of *Rbé* and *Oleron*, *Rochelle* and *Moures*. We also permit the Inhabitants of *Tauziers*, who were not in the said City at the time when it was taken, to return and enjoy all their Goods, after they have submitted themselves, and taken the Oath of fidelity before such Persons whom we shall appoint.

X. Our Officers residing in the said City, who have not paid the Annual Duty, shall be admitted to pay it within two Months, as well for what is past as for the present Year. And as for such as are deceased, having paid the said Annual Right, the Offices which they held shall be preserved to their Widows and Heirs. And as for those whose Offices we have supply'd by reason of the Troubles, they shall be continued in their

VOL. IV. Sff said

Lewis 13. said Offices, notwithstanding the Patents given to others, and their being settled therein. Our Pleasure also is, that the Officers of particular Lords, who were admitted upon dear Purchases, and put out by reason of the said Troubles, shall be restor'd to their Employments.

XI. All the above-mentioned shall be discharged, and we hereby discharge them of all Contributions, Quartering of Soldiers, as well in the preceding, as present Troubles. Also the said Commonalties and particular Members thereof are discharged from all Obligations to indemnify and save harmless all Reparations of Damages, which may be pretended against them, by reason of Impris'ments, Executions, and Expulsions out of the said Cities, by order of the Duke of Roban, or the Councils of the said Cities, or any others by him set up as well during the present as preceding Troubles. And as for Taxes and other Monies laid upon the Country, in case the

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 981  
shall be in Office, to the end that those of the Lewis 13.  
Reformed Religion might be assessed for the ~~sum~~  
said Sums.

XIII. They shall also be discharged from prosecuting the Catholick Inhabitants and others, for the Remainders from them due for the Rates of the preceding Years, notwithstanding the Discharges they had obtained by our Letters Patent, as by the Decrees of the Court of Aids at *Montpellier*: As also from all that remains to be paid of Taxes and Impositions assessed upon any of them, the Catholicks being exempted by the Orders of the Governours of the Provinces, or others our Commanders in chief, during the preceding and present Troubles.

XIV. The Inhabitants of *Castres* also shall be discharged from Restitution of whatever they took by Force of Arms in opposition to our Service.

XV. The Charges which shall be laid upon the said Cities, shall be equally born by all the Inhabitants of the same, according to the custom at all times usual. Only that the Debts contracted by the Catholick Inhabitants, shall be born by themselves alone; and those contracted by those of the pretended Reformed Religion by themselves.

XVI. Sentences passed by those who have been commissioned for the Administration of Justice in the said Cities, whether in Civil or Criminal Matters, shall take place, excepting Appeals to the said Chambers, in cases which have not been adjudged by the Provosts, or at a Council of War.

XVII. The Order anciently observed in the said Cities, as well touching the Consulship as the Municipal Government, and the

Lewis 13. Meeting of the said Consuls and City-Council shall be kept and observed, as before the Troubles.

XVIII. The Assemblies of State in the Country of *Foix*, shall be held after the accustomed manner, and all the Cities shall be summoned that were usually present.

XIX. The Consuls, Receivers, Collectors and Commissaries, that managed the Publick Money during the preceding and present Troubles, shall be acquitted and discharged, they bringing into the Chambers the Accompts which they have given of it; nor shall the Chambers pretend to any Fees, nor to require a Review of the said Accompts. And as for the Inhabitants of *Nimes*, who pretend themselves not obliged to carry in their Accompts into the said Chambers, our Will is, that the ancient Custom shall be observed.

XX. The Seats of Judicature, Audits of Receipts, and other Offices, remov'd by reason of the present Troubles, shall be restor'd and settled in the Places where they were before: Also the Election newly created to be settled at *Montauban*, but removed to the Town of *Moissac* by reason of the Troubles, shall return to *Montauban*, after the Fortifications are demolished.

XXI. Also the Chamber of the Edict, now sitting at *Beziers*, shall be restor'd to the City of *Castres* after the Fortifications are demolished; and shall remain in the said City, according to the Edict of *Nants*, notwithstanding our Ordinance of *January* last, and the Decree of the Parliament of *Toulouse*, upon the 102d Article thereof: Which Chamber his Majesty will have maintain'd in all things allow'd by the Edicts and Regulations.

XXII.

XXIL All these Graces and Concessions, it <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> is our Will and Pleasure, that the above-mentioned enjoy, that were in Arms upon the twenty-seventh of June last. And as for the Cities and Persons that submitted to our Obedience before that Day, they shall particularly enjoy the Things contained in the Letters Patent, which have been granted them for that purpose.

So we command our faithful and beloved Counsellors in the Parliament of *Toulouse*, &c. And for the more firm and stable Duration of these Presents, &c. Given at *Nimes*, in *July 1629*, and the twentieth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below, by the King,

*Pbelipeaux.*

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, at the Request of the King's Attorney-General at *Toulouse*, in Parliament, *August 27, 1629.*

Sign'd *De Malenfant.*

THAT Edict in the main was not disadvantageous to the Reformed; they having no <sup>Situation of the Re-</sup> Duke of *Roban* or *Soubize* to sollicit them out <sub>formed.</sub> of their Allegiance, the Duke of *la Tremouille* had turned Catholick about two Years before, and the rest of the great Lords of their Religion minding only the Advancement of their Fortune, were sollicitous about means to in-

Sff 3 gratiate

Lewis 13. gratiate themselves into the Prime Minister's  
1630. *Affections.* Deprived of their cautionary  
*Pope Ur-* Towns, they had no Fuel whereupon the Am-  
*ban VIII.* bition or Avarice of their Leading-Men could  
be fed. Therefore it was likely, that hence-  
forward giving to their Prince so many Proofs  
of their own Natural Inclination, enforced by  
the Laws and Precepts of their Religion, they  
would have enjoyed his Protection, and re-  
ceived the Fruits of their Submission and of  
his Promises, But what can be expected from  
one who thinks himself bound in Conscience  
not to keep Faith with those he is pleased  
to style Hereticks? If even, when they were  
dreaded in the Kingdom, the Reformed had  
so many Wrongs and Grievances to bear with;  
what could they expect, when after a Trial  
of their Strength and Power, they were be-  
come contemptible to their Enemies?

Nevertheless, it was not till the Major-  
ity of Lewis XIVth, that they were openly  
and avowedly tormented and persecuted by  
the Papish Clergy and their Cabal. *Richelieu*

only those wherein the whole Body of the Lewis 13. Reformed were concerned. Such was the Decree of the Parliament of Paris, given the 3d of August 1629, which abridged the Privilege granted to the Reformed by the Edict of Nantz, to chuse one of their own Religion to be Assistant, for the Instruction and Trial of the Criminal Processes enter'd against any of them, reducing it only to the Causes whereof the Provoost-Marshall is to take Cognizance; whereas, by the Edict, that Privilege extended to all Criminal Causes, and before all Judges of what Denomination soever.

But what was more mischievous to the Reformed, was the renewing of the Missionaries, *Injustices* which are a Set of Men for the most part of *and Vexations.* a violent, seditious, and pedantic Spirit, who gloried in exciting Tumults, and drawing bad Usage upon themselves, that they might have an Opportunity to trouble the most considerable Members of a Church. The most dangerous of these brangling Pettifoggers were certain Lay-Men of the Scum of the People, the most eminent whereof were *Pedlars, Shoe-makers, Cutlers,* and such like Riff-raff, who rambled from Town to Town, from one Church to another, impudently challenging the Ministers, preaching Controversies in publick Places, upon Stages like Mountebanks; to tease the meaner sort of People, with pitiful and ridiculous Cavils; and that for getting the small Reward promised by the Clergy for each of those poor silly *Widgeons*, which they could convert.

About the same time they began to quarrel with the Reformed in several Places about the Right of Exercises, and to do them injustice, by depriving them of what the Edict

Lewis 13. of Nantz had granted them. The Bishop of <sup>1630.</sup> *Valence*, a violent Spirit, exerted himself by a <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>ban VIII. Persecution, which from this particular Diocese spread itself afterwards all over the Kingdom, and occasioned above 35 Years Vexation to the Churches; it was on account of *Annexes* served by the same Minister of some principal Church. He pretended, that they were so many Usurpations, as if they had not been authorized by the Edict. As these *Annexes* were very convenient for the Reformed, who by that means provided for their Churches and their Ministers at a little Expence, it was enough to excite the Catholick Zeal to deprive them of that Advantage. The Bishop of *Vaison* in *Provence*, joined with that of *Valence*, in the same Persecution, and they obtained two favourable Decrees of the Council, one of the 3d, the other of the 11th of October.

*Confusions at Court.* It may be, that the Persecution would have been carried further against the Reformed, had not the Court been intangled in the greatest Confusions. Though the Faults of one Party

attain'd by the Success of his Enterprize. The Lewis 13.  
 Duke of Orleans took his Mother's Part, <sup>1631.</sup> Pope Ur-  
 they both retired out of the Kingdom; the ban VIII.  
 Duke on the 13th of March, he went into ~~Lorraine~~  
*Lorraine*; the Queen-Mother on the 18th of  
*July*, and she went to *Flanders*, from *Compeigne*,  
 where she was kept Prisoner at large.

But what troubled much the Reformed, <sup>Projects of</sup>  
 was the Projects of Re-union, that were set a <sup>Re-union.</sup>  
 foot again this Year. Two sorts of People  
 were eager after the pursuit of that Scheme.  
 Some who were sincere and upright, who were  
 really persuaded that a tolerable Composition  
 might be drawn from the Church of *Rome*,  
 at least in reference to the grossest and most  
 palpables Abuses; and that after they should  
 have agreed upon Expedients to secure the  
 Conscience, they might unite in an outward  
 Communion, and thereby put an end to the  
 Schism, look'd upon by both Parties, as a  
 great Mischief; and then they might on both  
 sides labour with better Success in the Cure  
 of the Diseases which afflicted the Church,  
 because they would be no longer suspected.  
 But they did not consider, that the Errors  
 of the *Church of Rome*, consisting not in Points  
 meerly Speculative, but in certain Uses, Prac-  
 tices, and such like things, whereupon she  
 grounds all her Grandeur, and from whence she  
 derives all her Riches; they may be said to be  
 incurable. Errors purely Speculative, which a-  
 rise from the false Notions of a prepossessed  
 Mind, may sometimes yield to Evidence;  
 but Errors of Interest are Proofs against all  
 Demonstrations, because they derive their O-  
 riginal from the Corruption of the Heart.

Other People of a quite different Character,  
 either seduced by Promises, or prompted by  
 their

Lewis 13. their Ambition, or else conceited of their own  
1631. Parts, and aspiring to the glory of having  
Pope Urban VIII. put an end to these fatal Divisions, which for  
above a hundred Years, at that time, had oc-  
caſioned ſuch Convulsions all over Europe,  
readily embraced these Overtures, and never  
gave themſelves the Trouble of taking Secu-  
rities and Measures in behalf of Truth.

The Cardinal would have been very glad  
to see that Re-union effected in a way, which  
would have much redounded to the Glory  
of the *Roman Church*, but which would have  
covered the whole Protestant Body with Shame  
and Infamy, and especially the Reformed in  
*France*, which were to be the principal Actors  
in that Farce. But though I don't question  
the Vanity of the Man, and his Inclination  
for every thing that appeared great and ſin-  
gular in itſelf; nevertheless I do much queſ-  
tion his ever having attempted any thing like  
ſuch a Re-union during the whole Courſe  
of his Ministry; and though the thing has

allowed the *Romish* Church to be in the right Lewis 13. almost in every thing; and as to those which Pope Urban VIII. he could not justify, he made use of soft and qualify'd Expressions, by way of Explanation, and made them pass for Questions that were not to hinder the Re-union of the Reformed. But the Rev. Mr. John Daillé, who began about that time to make himself known in the World by his Writings, confuted him with such a Perspicuity, and such a Strength of Argument, that he was confounded, but not silenced. He was excommunicated by the Synod of Alençon in 1637, he turned Catholic, and became a Missionary. And at length the Rev. Mr. Charles Drelincourt, the true Scourge of People like *La Milletiere*, totally routed him in a Conference, the Acts whereof were published. So all these Schemes for a Re-union between the Reformed and the Catholicks came to nothing for this time, though under the next Reign, these Writings were very useful to the Converters, especially the Bishop of Condom.

The 26th National Synod was held from the 1st of September to the 10th of October National inclusively, at Charenton. The Rev. Mr. Peter Mestrebat, one of the Pastors of the Church of Charenton, was chosen Moderator. Augustus Gallant Esq; took his Seat in it, as Commissioner for the King. His Speech was civil enough, but at the same time, he made them sensible of the Change of their Condition, by the several Propositions he made to them, which were so many Laws which the King imposed upon them. 1º. He required, in his Majesty's Name, that for the future they should forbear entering any Protest, or making any Remonstrance against his Will and

990 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. and Pleasure, to have a Commissioner who should  
<sup>1631.</sup> fit in his Name in all their Synodical Assemblies, either National or Provincial ; such a Practice having been observed even in the Primitive Church. 2° That none but Native Frenchmen should be admitted to the Holy Ministry, to serve in any Church of the Realm. Nevertheless he promised, that, upon proper Application, the Foreigners who had been admitted, might be allowed to continue. 3° All Ministers were forbidden to depart the Kingdom without his Majesty's special Licence ; and whereas the Rev. Mr. Salbert, Minister of *Rocquelle*, in contempt of the King's Orders, had absented himself, his Majesty enjoined him to reside in the Place of his Exile, and expressly forbid him all Exercise of his Ministerial Functions, either publick or private. 4° Whereas the two former National Synods of *Charenton* and *Castres* had expressly forbidden the Ministers to intermeddle with any State-Affairs, and that the Rev. Dr. Berraud, Minister and Professor in Divinity in the Church and Academy of *Montauban*, named one of the Deputies to the Synod for the Churches of *Upper-Languedoc*, did not only intermeddle with State, but also with Military-Affairs, and was so daring as to publish in a Book, which he read to his Disciples, that Ministers are bound to bear Arms, and to shed Blood upon Occasion, his Majesty ordered the Suppression of the said Book, and that both the Book and the Author thereof should be censured by the present Synod, that he should not sit in it, and that he should be removed from *Montauban*, and from *Languedoc*, and be translated into some other Province. Two other Ministers were sentenced to

the same Penalty, much upon the like account, for having spoken or writ against the government, during the last Troubles; *viz.* the Rev. Mr. Bouterouë, Minister of *Grenoble* in *Dauphiné*, and the Rev. Mr. *Basnage*, Minister of *Carentan* in *Normandy*, both Deputies or their respective Province to this Synod.

The Synod comply'd with the first Article, and promised to yield a dutiful Obedience to the King's Will and Declaration, in regard to the Commissioners that were to sit in his Majesty's Name, in all their Ecclesiastical Assemblies. As to the second, they improved the Liberty which the Commissioner granted them, in the King's Name, to petition his Majesty in behalf of the Foreigners which had been admitted to the Ministry since the Year 1623. As to the third and fourth, they begged Liberty most humbly to intreat his Majesty to grant his most gracious Pardon to the Offenders, and to restore them to their Churches; and whereas the Rev. Mr. *Bastide*, Minister of *St. Africk* in *Higher Languedoc*, was still detained a Prisoner on account of his Deportments in the last Civil War; they most humbly petitioned his Majesty to suffer, that he might be tryed before his proper Judges; and they declared his Church vacant, and that he should be no longer Minister in the said Province.

Then the Synod sent a Deputation to his Majesty, with their Bill of Grievances, craving for a Redress. They complained of the Injustice of the Bishop of *Valence* and his Adherents; whereby twenty-nine Churches were deprived of Pastors in *Vivarets*; nineteen in the *Cevennes*; twenty-four in the Isles of *Rhône*, and *Oleron*, besides those that fell to decay in *Xaintonge*,

Lewis 13. tonge, Burgundy, Brittany, Berry, Normandy,  
1631. Poitou, and Lower Guienne. They intreated  
~~Pope Ur-~~ his Majesty to cause all Prosecutions com-  
menced against several Ministers in the Pro-  
vinces, especially in *Languedoc*, not for utter-  
ing any undutiful or unloyal Word, but for  
preaching the pure Word of God, conform-  
able to their Confession of Faith and the Dis-  
cipline of their Churches, to cease, and that  
the Attorney-General should be silenced.  
To order that the fitting of their Provincial  
Synods and Colloquies, (which were some-  
times put off for three or four Years toge-  
ther, through the Ill-Will of the Governors  
of Provinces or their Lieutenants,) should be  
held according to the ancient Order. That  
the Foreigners who had been admitted to  
the Holy Ministry since the Year 1623, might  
continue in the Kingdom, and enjoy the Be-  
nefit of the Edicts as the Natives; and that  
he would be pleased to take off the Restric-  
tion, whereby he restrained for the future,  
the favour of serving a Church in *France*, only  
to the Natives. That he would be pleased  
to reverse the Sentence given against the Rev.  
Messieurs *Berauld*, *Bouteroué* and *Basnage*.  
That he would be pleased to order, that the  
Reformed may be indiscriminately admitted  
unto Dignities, Charges and Employments in  
the Universities, as heretofore, and unto the  
Masterships of Mechanical Arts and Trades,  
whereof their Enemies endeavoured to de-  
prive them. That he would be pleased  
forthwith to issue out his Warrant for the  
release of so many Captives detained upon  
his Galleys on no other account but the late  
Troubles. That he would be pleased to order  
that the Moneys granted by his Royal Father  
and

nd himself for the Maintainance of the Mi- Lewis 13.  
stry, the Arrears whereof amounted then to <sup>1631.</sup> Pope Ur-  
to les than six hundred twenty-one thousand <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
ight hundred and twelve Livres, should be <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
aid out of hand. That he would be pleased  
o order, that the Stipends of Ministers in the  
Principality of *Bearn*, (which ought to be at  
our hundred and eighty Livres for each, ac-  
ording to his Majesty's Declaration, and the  
Edict of *Montpellier*, and which had been re-  
duced to less than the half of that Sum, without  
ny other Declaration revoking the former,)  
should be restored upon the ancient footing.

The Rev. Dr. *Amyrault* Pastor and Pro-  
fessor at *Saumur*, and —— *De Villars* Esq;  
the two Deputies of the Synod, being admit-  
ted to Audience, were most kindly received  
by his Majesty, who was pleased to express  
his utmost Satisfaction for the Compliance of  
the Synod. He granted them sixteen thou-  
sand Livres for discharging the Expences of  
the Synod; furthermore, he granted his Par-  
don to the three delinquent Ministers, who,  
accordingly, took their Seats in the Synod,  
after having been censured by the Commis-  
sioner: As to the rest, he promised them a  
speedy Redress of their Grievances, as soon  
as the Synod should break up; and ordered  
them to proceed without delay, to the No-  
mination of the General Deputies that were  
to attend the Court. The Synod readily com-  
ply'd, and the Marquess of *Clermont* for the  
Nobility, with Mr. *Galland*, Son to the King's  
Commissioner, were presented to his Majesty,  
and approved of by him \*.

Another

\* This was the first time that the King recommend-  
ed the two Persons that were to be named General  
Deputies, (it was a *Congé d'Elire*.)

Lewis 13. Another Affair occasioned great Debates in  
1631. that Assembly, *viz.* the Union of *Bearn* with  
*Pope Ur.* ban VIII. the other Provinces, not only as to the Doc-  
trine, but as to the Discipline; which *Galland* opposed with all his might, pretending  
that it could not be done without the King's  
special Licence. It was easy for the Depu-  
ties of *Bearn* to reply; amongt other Ar-  
guments, they offered one very cogent, to  
wit, that their Country having been united  
to the Crown of *France*, to be Members of  
the same Nation, they had a right to require  
that their Ecclesiastical Causes should be tried  
in the Synod of the Nation. Their Reasons,  
seconded by the Inclination of the Synod,  
prevailed so far, that the *Bearneſe* carried their  
Point, and the Union was made under certain  
Conditions.

Then the Synod proceeded to the reading  
of the Confession of Faith, and of the Disci-  
pline. *Galland* insisted upon the Reforming  
of several Articles thereof, some concerned  
the Proclamation of those who had turned

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 995

lso that, for the future, the National Synods Lewis 13.  
hould always be held at *Charenton*, and no <sup>1631.</sup> Pope Ur-  
vhere else. He insisted, that for the future, <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
no other Person but the Elders of a Church ~~~~~  
hould be called and take Seat in the Af-  
semblies of the Vestry of the said Church.  
These three last Articles were not granted.

Though this Synod was mostly composed  
of Men still affrighted by the taking of *Ro-  
belle*, and the Reduction of all their Cautio-  
nary Towns, nevertheless the Court was very  
uneasy, as long as they continued their Ses-  
sions. The Catholicks frighted at the great  
Progress which *Gustavus Adolphus* made in  
*Germany*, fancied him already in *France*, re-  
torting by main Force the Reformed to their  
wristine Splendour. Upon that account it  
was, that the King as earnestly prest the Se-  
cession of it, as if it had been the Polit-  
ical Assembly of *Loudun*, or that of *Rochelle*.  
Nevertheless, before they broke up, the Sy-  
nod enacted three things, which gave the  
Missionaries and Politicians fair Pretences to  
make loud Outcries. The first was a Regu-  
lation against all manner of Projects of Re-  
union with the Papists, conformably to an  
Act pass'd in the National Synod of *Mont-  
pellier* in 1598, where all such like Projects  
were condemned with great Severity. 2°.  
They appointed a solemn Fast to be kept by  
ll the Reformed Churches throughout the  
Kingdom. The Papists took it as an Argu-  
ment, that the Reformed entertained Hopes  
of being restored by *Gustavus's* Arms, and  
hat they endeavoured to engage God to side  
with them, by these extraordinary Devotions.  
3°. A Declaration that the *Lutherans*, who  
had a mind to it, might be admitted to the  
Holy

996      *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. Holy Communion with them ; that the Re-  
1631. formed might contract Marriages with them,  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. and take them for Godfathers, provided the

Children should be instructed only in those  
things, wherein the *Reformed* and *Lutherans*  
both agree. The Missionaries believed all  
Obstacles of Re-union with the *Roman* Church  
to be removed by this Declaration : For that  
they could not conceive why the Reformed  
should have more Reluctancy against the *Trans-  
substantiation* of the one, than against the *In-  
panation* and *Ubiquity* of the others. But  
others believed that there was more of Po-  
lity than of Divinity in this Declaration of the  
Synod, and that the Reformed had espe-  
cially in View to ingratiate themselves with the  
King of Sweden \*.

1632.    This Year the Reformed gave such special  
*Loyalty of* Instances of their Fidelity, and strict Adhe-  
*the Re-*formed*.* rence to the King, that it is no wonder  
if they were less vexed and molested. Pub-  
lick Liberty being oppres'd by the tyranni-

## BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 997

Courage ; they were Proof against all manner Lewis 13.  
of Temptations. 1632.

This Attempt was fatal to the Duke of Mont-<sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup>  
Morency. He was taken Prisoner in a Skirmish near Castelnau-dary, brought to Toulouse, tried, <sup>The Duke</sup> condemned to lose his Head upon a Scaffold, <sup>of Mont-</sup>  
executed on the 13th of October in the 37th <sup>morency</sup> Year <sup>beheaded.</sup> of his Age. Lewis, bewitched by  
the Devilish Policy of his Prime Minister,  
would never be prevailed to show Mercy ; but  
his Hard-heartedness procured to this most  
illustrious Nobleman, the glory to appear upon  
the dreadful Stage, like a true Christian  
Hero ; it is not possible to read, without being moved, his Discourses and Conferences  
with his Confessor, during the four last Days  
of his Life, and his dying Words upon the  
Scaffold.

The Bishops of Albi and Nimes were de-<sup>Bishops de</sup>  
graded, and such would have been the Fate <sup>graded.</sup>  
if the Bishop of Uzez, had he not died during his Trial. The others were no less guilty, nevertheless they escaped, through the Favour of certain Persons. However, that Trial of the Bishops for High-Treason, made so much noise in the Kingdom, that the Reformed could not forbear triumphing, and reproaching the Clergy, with their principal Members falling into Rebellion, which till then had been accounted as the proper Character of Heresy. But in order to give them a Check, the Rev. Mr. Des Mares, Minister of Aletz, was unjustly condemned to be hang'd and executed ; his Crime consisted in this, that he had not been able to hinder the Inhabitants of the Town from following the Example of their Bishop, and that he had sate still, without so much as meddling on either

Lewis 13. side: *Couran*, his Colleague, was ban  
1632. The Rev. Mr. *Scoffier*, Minister of *Lane*  
*Pope Ur-* set down in the List of those that w  
ban VIII. ~~w~~ be sacrificed, though perfectly innocent  
he did a special Service to the Govr<sup>n</sup>  
at that very time, whereby he so fully e  
his Loyalty, that he was not prosecuted

1633. *The Death of Gustavus Adolphus*, k  
*Death of Lutzen*, the 16th of November past, de  
the King the See of *Rome* from the Dread of his  
of Sweden. rious Arms. But the Generals that suc  
him in the Conduct of his Armies,  
preserved the Advantages he had g  
House of *Austria* received no Benefit  
Accident, and the Court of *France* t  
convenient for her, to renew her A  
with *Christina*, Daughter and Successor  
*Gustavus*. Moreover, the Cardinal had s  
Business both at home and abroad,  
much ado to guard himself from Co  
cies against his Life, that he had n  
to think of the Reformed. Now they  
no Figure, nevertheless the Kingdom  
of Factions and Cabals ; so that these C  
tions, which could not be imputed to l  
sufficiently justified the Reformed R  
which they would have made answer  
the last Civil Wars, and plainly fix  
Charge, either upon the Ambition of  
Persons, or upon the Malice and Infic  
the Government ; or upon both toget

*Restora-*  
*tion of Pri-*  
vas.

A thing happened this Year, which  
ed some Comfort to the Reformed  
Receiver of the Taxes in *Vivaretz*, pi  
a Petition to the Council for being d  
ed, because he could not raise the  
to which that Province was assessed  
chief ground of his Petition was the

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 999.

*Privas*, the Inhabitants whereof durst not venture, either to rebuild their Houses or to till their Lands, on account of the rigorous Edict issued out against them in 1629, which forbid them to do it. The Council referr'd the Receiver to *Miron*, Intendant of *Languedoc*, for his Advice: Which was, to moderate the Severity of the Edict, to permit the Inhabitants to return to their Town, to rebuild their Houses, &c. and withal, that the Offices and Charges of the City should be indiscriminately bestowed upon the Reformed as upon the Catholicks. The Council, moved by the Reasons wherewith *Miron* supported his Opinion, issued out a Decree accordingly. But the Reformed of *Privas* forgot to demand the Repeal of the Decree of 1629 in due form, and so their Children paid very dear for the Neglect or Over-Confidence of their Fathers \*.

The Ministers of *Charenton* were put in *Aubertin's Book*, trouble on account of the Rev. Mr. *Aubertin's Book*, THE EUCHARIST OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, with the Approbation of his three Colleagues, the Rev. Messieurs *Meftreza*, *Drelincourt* and *Dailé*. They styled themselves *Pastors of the Reformed Churches*, and *Ministers of the Gospel*. The Author in his Dedication to his Flock, called them, *The Faithful of the Reformed Church of Paris*. *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* were styled in several Places, *Enemies to the Church*. Now the Clergy's Agents betook themselves to a short way to confute this Book, which made a great Noise. For instead of answering it, they indicted the Author and his Approvers; letting alone the Matters of Fact and Arguments,

T t t 3                   they

en, it Hist. de l'Edit. de Nantes, Tom. II. Liv. x.

1000      *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. they attack'd only the Titles of the Book,  
1633. of the Preface, and the Words of the Ap-  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. probation. The 14th of July, the Privy Coun-  
cil issued out a Warrant to seize Auberth,  
and if he could not be apprehended, he was  
summoned to make his personal Appearance  
in three short Days ; and the Approvers were  
summoned to make their personal Appearance.  
But after so much Buttle, the Prosecution  
came to nothing, or very little ; it produced  
no other than verbal Prohibitions \*.

*Other  
Vexations.* The Right of Exercises continued to be at-  
tacked in several Places, and in that regard,  
the Reformed had several Injustices to bear  
with ; and whereas by a Decree of the Coun-  
cil, the Consulships had been misparted in  
*Languedoc*, between the Reformed and the  
Papists ; these last took advantage of this,  
for obtaining, by another Decree, the mis-par-  
tition of the Colleges belonging to the Re-  
formed, in the Places wherein formerly they  
had been Masters.

\* This Year a Doctor of Sorbonne Probated

that the Alliance of the King of *France* with Lewis 13. the Protestants, was contrary to the Interests <sup>1634.</sup> of the Catholick Religion. He bitterly in- <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> veighed against his Majesty, because he chiefly ~~employed~~ employed the Heads of the Reformed for the Command of his Armies, (and indeed at that time, the Dukes of *Roban* and *Bouillon*, the Marshals of *La Force* and *Chatillon*, had the Command of them, and the Duke of *Sully* received the Marshal's Staff, this Year in the Month or *September*.) By such and other like Topicks, *Patricius* endeavoured to render the present Government odious to the Catholicks, retorting against the King the very same Arguments, which the *Sorbonnists* had employed for justifying his Arms, and his Alliances. Now, in order to ward off these Objections, it was thought proper to vex the Reformed by some Acts of Injustice: But, in truth, they served to very little purpose; for still the Cardinal bore the Reproach of doing more mischief to the Catholicks abroad, than to the Reformed at home; and that while he took from these some Churches and Church-yards, he was the Occasion that the other lost whole Cities and Provinces.

The 5th of *February*, a Decree was issued out by the King's Council, which adjudged to the Dean of the Catholick Counsellors in *Guienne*, though he might be younger than the Reformed, the Precedency above them, both in the Court of Audience, in the Council, and in the Town-House, in the Absence of the President; but the same Decree preserved to every one his Right in all other Cases. Nevertheless, it was a great Breach in the Privileges of the Officers of that Chamber. The 16th of *March*,

1002 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. the Parliament of *Paris* issued out another  
<sup>1634.</sup> Decree against Foreign Ministers, which on  
~~Pope Ur-~~ ban VIII pretence that they held Correspondence with  
the Enemies of the Kingdom, or preach'd Doc-  
trines contrary to the Laws of the Land, for-  
bid them for the future to be Ministers in  
*France*; ordered those that were admitted,  
to resign, and threatned the native Reform-  
ed with heavy Penalties, if they went to hear  
them. The 20th of *June*, another was issued  
out, forbidding all Ministers to preach in the  
Villages out of the Places allowed them for  
their Exercises. The 29th of *October*, ano-  
ther Decree was issued out, forbidding the  
Reformed Counsellors of the Chamber of *Cas-*  
*tres*, to wear red Robes and Caps lined with  
Ermine, as they used to do, as well as the  
Catholicks, in publick and in private.

*The great*  
*Affizes.* But the most heavy Persecution of the Re-  
formed this Year and the next, was that of  
the extraordinary Sessions (called in *Franck*  
*Lcs Grands Jours*) which met at *Poitiers* on  
purpose to vex them: and whose Jurisdiction

OK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1003

complain before, began to be in a terrible Lewis 13.  
ight. But, at this time, no body, or very <sup>1634.</sup> w besides the Reformed, received any harm <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> this Court.

They opened their Sessions the 4th of September, and began to hear Causes on the 11th, and on Pretence of punishing Offences that were not pardoned by the Edicts, and after which no Inquisition had been made because of the Troubles, they put all the Churches of these Provinces in fear of losing their Exercises. The inferior Judges having received Orders to bring forth Information of all the Violences, Rebellions, Usurpations of Cures and Priories, to decree, seize and make all other requisite Pursuits, even to the definitive sentence exclusively, they began to issue out more decisive Decrees. There was one of the 16th of September, containing nine principal Articles. The first, forbid the Reformed, for the future, to bury their Dead in Catholick Church-yards, under the Penalty of a thousand Livres, and to have the Corps dug up again. The second, ordered that the Roman Service should be settled again in Churches which had been possessed by the Reformed. The third, forbid tolling to Church with Bells belonging to the Catholicks. The fourth, deprived them of the Schools in Places where they had not Licence to erect them by register'd Letters Patent. The fifth, obliged the Reformed Lords to chuse one of their Fiefs to settle their Residence in, and consequently the Right of Exercises, which was to be superseded during their Absence. The sixth ordered, that the Exercises should cease in the Places, the Lords thereof should have turned Catholicks, and that it could never

bc

1004 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. be done in the Fiefs of the Catholicks with-  
1634. out their express Consent. By the seventh,  
<sup>Pope Ur-</sup> all Churches built in the Catholick Church-  
ban VIII. yards, or so near to the Catholick Churches,  
that their Service should be interrupted there-  
by, even those which had been built without  
express Licence since the Edict of *Nantz*,  
were to be demolished. The eighth, forbids  
to preach in the Houses and other Places  
belonging to the *Romish* Clergy, even in the  
Halls or publick Places. The ninth, forbids  
the Reformed to style themselves *the Church*,  
whenever they should speak of themselves;  
and to call their Doctrine by any other Name  
than that of *Pretended Reformed Religion*, un-  
der the Penalty of five hundred Livres. This  
Article had a particular Reference to Marriage-  
Contracts, wherein the contracting Parties  
were used to style themselves, *Members of the*  
*Church of such a Place.*

That most unjust Decree served as the Ba-  
sis of all others that were issued out by the

*Saint George, Nantes, 1634.*

I must not pass over untouched, one of the Lewis 13. most heinous Pieces of Injustice that has ever been heard of. The Archbishop of Tours, <sup>1634.</sup> *Pope Ur.* *Abbot of St. Maixant,* made a Speech before ~~the~~ these Assizes, tending to have the Church of this last Place demolished. *Omer Talon,* Son to *James Talon,* Attorney-General in the Parliament of Paris, pleaded for the Archbishop. He was impudent enough for to say openly, that the Reformed were only tolerated, as one suffers a thing which he could wish that it should not be. From that dangerous Principle he farther inferred, that what had any relation to the Religion of the Reformed could not be of those things, for which the Law ought to be favourably understood ; that on the contrary, these were Occasions when the Law must be taken in the most rigorous Sense ; he pretended to explain the Edict of *Nantz*, by the Edicts of the *League*, which had been revoked by that last ; nevertheless upon such Grounds it was that so many Churches were condemned by these Sessions. *Talon* pretending that no Church could be built but in Places of Bailiwick, and such others whose Possession was grounded upon the Edict of 1577, because the 16th Article of the Edict of *Nantz* allowed the having of them, according to the 2d Article of the Conference at Nerac. From whence he inferred, that the Favour being not extended in express Words, to the new Possessions established in virtue of the Edict of *Nantz*, the Reformed had no right to have Places purposely built for Preaching, and that they could do it only in the Minister's House, or in some other hired on purpose.

By several other Decrees of the same Sessions, the Reformed were forbid to keep any small

1006     *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. small Schools, to work in their open Shops  
<sup>1634.</sup> upon Holidays, or to speak irreverently of the  
Pope Urban VIII. the Mysteries of the Romish Religion, &c. (s).

These Injustices were supported by the  
<sup>1635.</sup> Privy-Council, which for its part sets forth a  
Declaration the 18th of January, that adjudged  
the Precedency to the Counsellors of the Par-  
liament of *Toulouse*, that served in the Cham-  
ber of *Castres* in the Absence of the Presi-  
dents, before the Reformed Counsellors tho'  
never so much their Seniors; so that that  
Chamber was reduced to the same Condition  
with that of *Guienne*. About the latter End  
of this Month also, the Catholicks of *Loudun*  
would needs make the Reformed of that City  
pay the Charges they had been at, in exorcising  
the Ursulines; for as yet they had not done  
with that Farce, which I must relate a little  
more explicitly.

Ursulines     For two Years past, or thereabout, the Ursulines of *Loudun*, either that actually they fell  
into hysterick Fits, or that they feigned to be

Opinions inclined more to the *Reformed* than Lewis 13.  
he *Catholicks*, had accused him of having be-<sup>1635.</sup> bewitched the Nuns ; so that the Cardinal order-  
ed some Commissaries to try *Grandier*, a-  
mongst which was one *Laubardemont*, Coun-  
sellor of State, and Creature of *Ricbelieu*, who  
was the Foreman in the Commission, and who  
following the Resentment of the wicked Prime-  
Minister, condemned the poor Curate to be  
burnt alive, as convicted of Magical Art.  
such a devilish Piece of Injustice was enough  
to convince all *Europe*, that the Cardinal was  
a desperate vindictive Man, and that there  
are Clergymen and Monks to be found, ready  
to abuse Religion, in order to carry on their  
hellish Designs. That had appeared the last Year.  
The Cheat would have been too gross and  
coarse had the Possession ended with the  
Execution of *Grandier*, therefore it was  
thought proper to continue it for some time  
longer.

Now the *Reformed*, who were in great  
Number in that City, having erected a Col-  
lege for their Youth, the *Papists* addressed  
themselves to the base *Laubardemont* for ob-  
taining that Building ; in order to which, they  
set forth that the *Ursulines* Convent was too  
small for containing them all, and for to exor-  
cise them commodiously enough ; that all the  
Churches of the City were occupied, except a  
Chapel which the Guardian of the *Grey-Friers*  
offered to lend ; that the *Reformed* having  
built their College without the King's Licence,  
they ought to be deprived thereof, and re-  
quired that the said Place should be given  
to the *Catholicks* for transferring thither the  
Nuns, or part of them, in order to cure them.

Their

1008 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 13. Their Request was granted by Provision, t  
1635. the King should order it otherwise (s).*

*Pape Ur.* *ban VIII.* But another Event of a much greater Importance happened this Year, I mean the Duke of Bouillon's turning Papist. I leave it to *Lestade*, his Panegyrist, to extol to the Skies the extravagant Step of his Hero, and to lye, much as he pleases, when he says that the Duke did nothing on this Occasion, but after a mature Deliberation and two Years Examination of both Religions. It is a Master-Fact, that he would never have taken such Step, had not his Lust prevailed in him of every thing else. The Charms of the Countess of Bergben were the only Oracles which persuaded him. She was a Roman Catholic, and somewhat a Bigot. Tho' she had no Dowry, nevertheless she would not hearken to the Propositions of Marriage the Duke made, till he had promised to turn Papist. His Love was so passionate, that not only he refused a more honourable and advantageous Establishment with his First-Cousin, Daughter Frederick of Nassau Prince of Orange; but he did not scruple to promise what the Countess required of him, and which he performed the Year, according to some, or in the last Year according to others; who, it may be, have thought that he turned Papist at the same time that he married the Countess, which is not true. However he paid very dear afterwards for his foolish Passion:

*1636.*  
*Assembly of the Clergy.* This Year a great Storm was excited again the Reformed by the Clergy. They held an Assembly at Paris, which had begun the Sessions in December last. The first Deputies only spoke to the King about the Regal whic

(s) Le Vassor, Tom. VIII. Liv. 36. Benoit. Ibid

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1009

hich the Parliament of *Paris* were willing to Lewis 13.  
trend to all the Bishopricks of the Kingdom ; 1635.  
ut *De Nes*, Bishop of *Orleans*, would not Pope Ur-  
confine himself within these Bounds, when he ban VIII.  
spoke to the King on the 17th of February.  
His Speech was the most violent that ever had  
been heard before, and had he been a *Cotta*,  
or an *Arsacius*, or some other *Pagan* Priest,  
he could not have carried himself with more  
indecency and Fury, than he did on this Oc-  
asion. Speaking of the Reformed, he did  
not vouchsafe them any better Epithets, than  
*bastard of Saucy, Mad, and Frantick*. He charged  
them with three Things extremely odious. 1st,  
With openly violating the Edicts, because the  
Synod held at *Cbarenton* in 1631, had de-  
clared that the *Lutherans* might be admitted  
to the Holy Communion with us ; that they  
might contract Marriage with us ; and be God-  
fathers and God-mothers. He pretended that  
that Declaration was contrary to the Edicts ;  
that it was introducing a new Religion in the  
Kingdom ; as if by that Act of fraternal Com-  
munion, the Synod had ever pretended to  
make the *Lutherans* Partakers of the same Li-  
berty of teaching their Opinions, and publickly  
exercising their Religion, as the Reformed had  
obtained, by the Edicts : Which was quite con-  
trary to the very Words of the Declaration ;  
for it was expressly said, that the *Lutherans*,  
chosen by the Reformed to be God-fathers or  
God-mothers for their Children, should promise  
not to teach their God-sons, or God-daughters,  
but such Doctrines as were common and re-  
ceived both by the *Lutherans* and *Reformed*.  
The Revd. Mr. Daillé, Minister of *Cbarenton*,  
had published in 1633, the *Apology of the Re-  
union* ; he grounded it chiefly upon the Dif-  
ference

*History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 13. ference of Errors, rightly asserting that some  
1635. are tolerable and others not; amongst the first  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. he ranked the Opinion of the Greeks about the  
Procession of the Holy Ghost, which he did not  
think to be of that consequence as to authorise  
a Schism. He also settled certain general  
Rules for to discern the Errors that break the  
Communion of the Church, from those that  
do not. He published the next Year another  
Treatise, with this Title, *Faith grounded upon  
Scriptures*, wherein destroying the Authority  
of Tradition in mere Matters of Faith, he fully  
evinced the Doctrine of the Reformed, and  
illustrated the Rules which he had set down in  
his *Apology, for the discerning of Errors*. The  
Bishop attack'd these two Books. He could  
not endure that Daillé should think the Am-  
thema pronounc'd against the Greeks too se-  
vere, tho' it was only for an inconsiderable De-  
viation from the Doctrine of the Latins. He  
accused him of teaching that all Heresies can  
admit of a Dispute, eight only excepted, which*

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1011

Now when that Version was to be made use Lewis 13.  
of in the publick Service, the Reformed thought 1636.  
proper, for very good Reasons, to make several <sup>Pope Ur</sup> ban VIII.  
Alterations in it, to the end that it might bet-  
ter answer to the Original Hebrew; and this  
Verse was one which they altered, rendering it  
after the Hebrew,

*Seigneur plaise toy nous defendre ;  
Et FAIRE QUE LE Roy,  
Puisse nos requêtes entendre.  
Encontre tout Effroy.*

The Bishop found two Crimes in that Cor-  
rection; 1st, That the Meaning had been cor-  
rupted; 2. That the Reformed had put them-  
selves in the King's place, by assuming to  
themselves a Prayer which the Holy Ghost had  
dictated in his behalf. This was branded as a  
Piece of Insolence, and an Attempt to deprive  
the King, as much as in them lay, of the Ho-  
nor, Fear, and Tribute that was due to him.  
So that the Bishop would infer from that, that  
had it been as much in the power of the Re-  
formed to deprive the King of all the Prer-  
rogatives of his Crown, as it was to alter the  
abovesaid Verse, they would never have  
crupled to do it. But the furious Man be-  
rayed on this Occasion both his Ignorance in  
the Hebrew, and his exceeding Malignity, and  
Malice; for that Alteration was made above  
17 Years before, and a Wonder it is, that none  
amongst the Popish Clergy, under the bloody  
Reigns of Francis II. Charles the IXth, and  
Henry III. should have taken no Notice of it  
before this Time. This Article, of an Affair  
of State which *de Nets* had a mind to make  
of it, became a Point of Criticism, debated be-  
tween the Revd. Mr. *Daille*, and *de Muis*  
Regius Professor of the Oriental Tongues at

VOL. IV.      Uuu      Paris,

1012      *History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 13. Paris, who out of Complaisance took the part  
1636. of Orleans.*

*Pope Urban VIII.* His 3d Charge was against the Ministers who spoke irreverently, as he said, of the Church of *Rome*, and its Mysteries. He called the Revd. Mr. *Drelincourt* an impious Man, and a Blasphemer; because he was the Scourge of the Controversists and Missionaries, and was the most expert for pointing out the Ridiculousness of their Superstitions, and with a noble Freedom called Things by their proper Name: his Letters to Prince *Ernest of Hesse*, who turned Catholick, evince what I say, as well as several others of his Works. That great Man was particularly pointed out by *Orleans*, because he instructed the People in a more familiar Manner, better adapted to their Capacity, and afforded them easier and shorter Answers to the Missionaries than any other. This Charge, however, had bad Consequences. The King issued forth an Edict registered in Parliament the 9th of *March*, which condemned the Blasphemers of God, of the Virgin and Saints, to Fines for the four first Times; the 5th to be put to the Pillory; the 6th to have the upper Lip cut off; the 7th, the under Lip; the 8th to have the Tongue cut off. *De Noy* concluded his Speech by requiring that *Daille's Books* should be burned, and the Author with his Approvers (his three Colleagues) severely punished; in which respect he missed his Aim.

It cannot be imagined what Number of Vexations the Reformed had to suffer by the Concessions which *Lewis* made to the Clergy, against the poor Reformed. Nay, upon many Articles, the King granted our bitterest Enemies whatever they required in their Bill, how contrary

### BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1013

contrary soever it was against his Father's Lewis 13. and his own Edicts, solemn Promises, and <sup>1636.</sup> Declarations. So all Churches, condemned <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> <sup>ban VIII.</sup> by the last grand Assizes, were to be demolished ; and Ministers were forbid to preach out of the Place of their Abode, consequently the Annexes were without any publick Exercise of Religion ; they were forbid to preach upon the Lands of the Clergy, or within five Leagues Distance from the Parliament Cities ; or in Episcopal Cities, &c. and several others no less unjust ; whereby it plainly appeared that the Reformed had not only no Favour, but even no Justice to expect from their implacable Enemies.

Most part of the Decrees above-mentioned <sup>1637.</sup> were revived this Year ; but several had very grievous and vexatious Articles added to them. The Parliament of *Rouen*, by a Decree of the 18th of *March*, forbud to keep any publick School at *St. Lo*, and allowed Masters only to teach in the Houses to read and to write, without Catechising, or making publick Prayers or Lectures contrary to the Tenets of the *Romish* Church. The 18th of *April*, the Privy-Council issued forth a Decree, forbidding all manner of Religious publick Exercise in the Absence of the Ministers, or in any other Place but that which was allowed by the Edicts. The Consistories were forbidden to hinder Parents, Tutors, and Masters from sending their Children, Pupils, or Servants to Papist School-Masters approved of by the Ordinary. The Reformed at *Paris* had erected an Alms-House in the Suburb of *St. Marceau*, for the Reception of their own Sick. But upon Complaints thereof brought

Uuu 2 before

1014      *History of the Reformation and of the*  
Lewis 13 before the Privy-Council, a Decree was issued  
<sup>1637.</sup> forth the 30th of June, ordering the Sick in  
~~Pope Ur-~~ ~~ban VIII.~~ that House to be transferred to the *Hôtel Dieu*—  
or to the *Charity*, and the Beds and other  
Household-Goods to be deposited there 'till the  
King should dispose of them; and that the  
Steward of the House, with his Family,  
should quit it, under Penalty of Imprisonment  
and other corporal Punishment.

A thousand other little Injustices were per-  
petrated, too tedious to relate. Amidst these =  
Vexations, the Churches expected to receive =  
some Comfort from their National Synod,  
which met this Year at *Alençon* in *Normandy*,  
by the King's Appointment. They opened  
their Session the 27th of May; the Reverend  
Mr. Benjamin *Basnage*, Minister of *St. Mars*  
in *Normandy*, was chosen Moderator; the =  
Reverend Mr. *Daniel Couppé*, Minister of  
*Loudun*, Aſſessor; and Peter *De Launay* Esq;  
Elder in the Church of *Charenton*, together  
with . . . . \* Secretaries. Then —  
St. Mars Esq; Counsellor of State (a Man  
still more at the Court's Devotion than *Augustus Galland* Esq; had been, as it is plain by  
the intolerable Propositions he made to this  
Synod) presented his Credentials for sitting in  
St. Mars', the Synod as the King's Commissioner. After  
*Speech.* the reading thereof, he made an ingenious  
Speech, before he presented the Articles, with  
which he was charged by his Instructions. He  
extolled to the Skies the King's Power, which  
the Hand of God, that had assisted him all  
along, had rendered formidable both abroad  
and at home. He spake of the Misfortunes  
that

\* Mr. *Blondel* is named in my Author; but as that  
Name is not inserted in the List of the Deputies to the  
present Synod, I chuse to leave it in blank.

that had befallen them, while they were possessed of the Cautionary Towns; and of the QUIETNESS they enjoyed since they depended solely upon the King's Favour. He compared their present Condition, grounded upon the King's Word, and upheld against the Passions of People agitated by too various Commotions, to the Earth that hangs poised in the Air by the Word of God. He heightened the Confidence that the King had in them, as appeared by that Mark of his Favour, graciously allowing them to meet together in a time of War: From all which he inferred, that it behoved them to rule their Thoughts, Words and Actions by Obedience.

Then he came to his Instructions, and declared, I. That the King forbid them to hold any Intelligence either at home or abroad. II. That the King did not allow, that one Province should hold Communication with another, as it had happened between the Provincial Synods of the Lower Languedoc and Dauphiné, on account of the Rev. Mess. Cre-gut and Arnaud. III. That it was the King's Pleasure, N.B. that the Ministers should preach Obedience, and THAT WHENEVER ANY ORDER SHOULD BE ISSUED OUT, WHICH MIGHT SEEM REPUGNANT TO LIBERTY OR CONSCIENCE, for want of knowing the true Motives, he forbid them to tax his Conduct with any Design against their Religion, the Liberty whereof he was resolved to maintain; consequently he ordered them to forbear the Words, Scourges of God, Persecution, Martyrdoms, or the like. IV. That he forbid them to use the Words Antichrist, or Idolaters, or such like, when they spoke of the

Lewis 13. 1637.

Pope Urban VIII.

1016      *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. *Pope, or the Catholicks; and to forbear all*  
<sup>1637.</sup> *sharp and offensive Words against the Mini-*  
*Pope Ur-*  
*ban VIII. sters who had turned Catholicks, under the*  
*Penalty of Interdiction, or a greater Punish-*  
*ment, if the Case required it. V. That he*  
*forbid the selling any Books of Religion, print-*  
*ed without or within the Kingdom, if they*  
*were not first examined and approved by two*  
*Ministers appointed for that Purpose, under*  
*the Penalty of Forfeiture. VI. That the*  
*King willeth, that the Synod should order to*  
*obey the Civil Judges in the Causes of Mar-*  
*riage of a Person, whose first Marriage had*  
*been annulled by their Sentence; and to re-*  
*yoke what the Provincial Synod, held at ~~An-~~*  
*duze, had done to the contrary. VII. That*  
*the Ministers should obey the Declarations*  
*concerning the Annexes, under the Penalty of*  
*forfeiting the Favours granted by the Edicts.*  
VIII. And whereas also you are allowed, says  
the Commissioner, by the 44th Article of par-  
ticular Matters in the Edict of *Nantz*, to con-  
vene the chief Members of any Church before

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1017**

*the poor Ministers to a starving Condition ; the Lewis 13.  
Inenorale LEWIS and his Cardinal not paying, 1637.  
for above six Years together, the Sums granted Pope Ur-  
ban VIII for that Purpose by his Father or by himself, ~~ban VIII~~  
and never paying the Arrears due.* IX. And  
urther, since it cannot be imagined, that any  
Person could be guilty of such extreme Base-  
ness and Ingratitude, as to refuse a Contribu-  
tion to the Support and Maintenance of his  
own Pastor ; however, lest there should be  
uch an one, and to prevent it for the future,  
is Majesty explaining the 44th Article before-  
mentioned, doth permit every *New-Year's-*  
*Day, or any of the twelve Days in the begin-*  
*ning of the Year, to convene the principal*  
*Members of every Church in the Nature*  
*of a Vestry, to consult about their Minis-*  
*ter's Salaries, Charges of Journies unto*  
*Solloquies, and for the Maintenance of the*  
*Professors and Regents in your Universitie*,  
*and the repairing of your Churches, and to*  
*make a List of all Persons able to contribute*  
*towards the said Charges ; which being brought*  
*before a Judge Royal, shall be authorised by*  
*him ; and then every one so assessed by him*  
*hall be compelled to pay in his Quota ; and in*  
*case of Refusal, it shall be levied by Distress*  
*nd Fine, notwithstanding his Opposition or*  
*Appeal, as is done in the gathering in of his*  
*Majesty's Revenues : And therefore his Ma-*  
*esty forbiddeth all Ministers to go a gathering*  
*or their Maintenance from door to door.*  
*This was but another Device to know the more*  
*ubstantial Members of every Church, to point*  
*them out, and to pinch them more severely upon*  
*occasion.) X. And his Majesty being infor-*  
*med that the Synod of Nimes hath granted*  
*into the Rev. Mr. Petit, Minister of that*

Uuu 4 Place,

1018 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. Place, and Professor in Divinity, the Sum of  
<sup>1637.</sup> 700 Livres; he doth now decree that the  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. said Sum shall be paid out of the Moneys de-  
signed for the Maintenance of the Universities  
by the last National Synod, and to be taken  
out of the Dividend belonging to those three  
Colloquies which compose the said Synod;  
and his Majesty commandeth and injoineth  
you to observe and keep those aforesaid Ca-  
nons, as well for the Payment of the Minister,  
as for the raising of Moneys. XI. Whereas  
the Synod of *Nimes* decided, that Baptism  
administered by one who had neither Call, nor  
Commission, was null; and enjoined Pastors  
not in the least to scruple the baptising such  
Children who had had Water poured upon  
them by Women, or any Lay-men, without  
Call or Commission to baptize; 'tis his Ma-  
jesty's Pleasure that this Article be amended,  
for such Reasons as I shall recite unto you in  
the very Words of my Instructions.

Because from hence comes the Opinion of  
Re-baptizing: for from the Doubt they make

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1019

cannot say there hath been a Want or Failure Lewis 13. of any Call, hath decided this Point, and in <sup>1637.</sup> ~~safe~~ of Necessity hath judged probably of the <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> Infant's Disposition; therefore all Persons are ~~called~~, and the Word and Water intervening, the Church will not have this Act to be any more repeated. *Benoit* has prodigiously mangled these four last Articles in the second Volume of his History of the Edict of *Nantz*, Book XI. upon what Account, or for what Purpose, I cannot tell.

The Synod expressed their Resentment of *Answer'd* these Injustices by the Mouth of the Moderator, but with that Prudence and Management <sup>by the Moderator.</sup> that was agreeable to their present Condition; they justified the Synod of *Nimes*, and those of *Dauphiné* and *Cevennes*, from the false Charges put upon them, and excused their Communication one with another as absolutely necessary. They promised that the Provincial Synods should never make any Regulations, nor order Fasting Days, for the general Body of the Churches; that they would submit to the Government, and forbear all sharp Expressions and Reflections; but they besought the King to repress the outrageous Language of the Catholicks. Moreover, they promised not to publish any Book without Approbation, and that they should follow the Ordinances of the Civil Magistrates, as to the dissolving of Marriages. He insisted much upon the Article of the Annexes, and plainly evinced, that the Decrees issued forth either by the great Sessions, or by the Privy-Council against them, was quite contrary to the very Words and Meaning of the Edict of *Nantz*. He denied that the Ministers were paid out of the Poor's Box, or by Gatherings from House to House, and *approv'd*

1020 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. approv'd of what had been done for the Rev.  
1637. Dr. *Petit*, as done according to the ancient  
*Pope Ur.* *VIII.* Use. Lastly, he approved the Determination  
of the Synod of *Nimes* concerning the Baptism  
administered by Women or Laymen, and de-  
clared that they could not in any wise depart  
from that Article of their Confession of Faith  
and Discipline. Therefore they besought his  
Majesty that, since he was pleased to allow  
them the free Exercise of their Religion, he  
would likewise be pleased not to insist any more  
upon that Article.

Then they sent the Rev. Mr. *Jean Gigord*,  
Minister of *Montpelier*; *Daniel Ferrand*, Mi-  
nister of *Bordeaux*; and *John Rieber*, Lord of  
*Cerizi* Esq; Elder of the Church of *Gaulé* in  
*Normandy*, Deputies to the King, with very  
adulatory Letters to his Majesty, and much  
more so to the Cardinal. But when the Synod  
offered to read the Memoirs they had received  
from their Principals, concerning the manifold  
Infringements of the Edict; the Commissio-

Having prevailed over the Commissioner, they read the Bill which was to be tendered to his Majesty by their Deputies : It contained nineteen Articles, several of which had been granted to the last National Synod in 1631, but had remain'd unperform'd. Such were, 1°. The Release of the Slaves from the Gal- leys on account of the last Troubles, in 1629. 2°. The Payment of the King's Moneys for the Maintenance of the Churches (there were above seven Years Arrears due.) 3°. and 4°. The Restitution of above eighty Churches, seventy-eight whereof were particularly de- signed by their Names. The fifth concerned the Church-yards, which had not been restored to them since the Year 1625, tho' that had been promised them, by the Answers at that time given to their Bills. The others were new : The first complain'd, that tho' by a Decree of the Council of the 13th of May, a Stop had been put to the Cavils of the Catholicks of *Alençon*, where the Synod was, concerning the Right of Exercise in the City, and that of burying in the Suburbs of *S. Blaise*, where the Reformed had a Church-yard ; yet, notwithstanding the said Decree, and during the Sessions of the Synod, the Reformed had been a-new sum- moned before the Council upon the same ac- count. The next was about the Affairs of the Country of *Gex*, where *Machaut* had sub- verted, by his Ordinances, all the ancient U- sages of the Country ; and even the Regulations made in 1612 by the Commissaries, <sup>with the</sup> Consent of the Bishop and the Catholick Inha- bitants,

1022 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. bitants, and confirmed by a Decree of the  
<sup>1637.</sup> Council of the 13th of December, in the same  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. Year. The third and fourth complain'd of  
certain Decrees of the Parliaments of *Rennes*,  
*Rouen*, *Bourdeaux*, and of the Council itself,  
for obliging the Reformed to put Hangings  
before their Houses on the great Procession-  
Days, and to contribute towards things which  
the second Article of the Particulars of the  
Edict of *Nantz* had dispensed with ; such as  
Fraternities, the repairing or building of Pres-  
byteries, &c. The fifth complained that Chil-  
dren were taken away from their Parents  
without their Consent. The sixth and seventh  
spoke of the Colleges, on which account the  
Reformed were prosecuted where-ever they  
undertook to settle any ; especially they com-  
plained, for that the Commissaries named for  
parting the Colleges of Royal Foundations in  
*Languedoc*, having been divided in their Opin-  
ion, the Catholick had forbid to teach the  
Reformed Divinity in that Part of the Col-  
lege which was to be their own, and the

The Deputies being arrived at Court, and Lewis 13.  
admitted to Audience, the Rev. Mr. Ferrand <sup>1637.</sup>  
made a flourishing Speech to the King, where-  
<sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup>  
he carried the King's Independency as high  
as he could ; he styled his Majesty *the Sun of  
his Heaven, the Soul of this vast Body, the  
Heart of this Gallick Monarchy* ; and wished  
for him, *an innumerable People going and com-  
ing at the first Beck and Motion of his Majesty.*  
That was very fine indeed ; but was it becoming  
to a true Frenchman, nay, to a sincere  
Protestant Minister ? But that which he made  
to the Cardinal was still more adulatory ; and  
I am sure that his Forefathers would have  
lisp'd and fretted at his saying to the Cardi-  
nal, that he was that *Intelligence which mov'd  
that admirable Monarchy WITH THE GREA-  
TEST REGULARITY ; That Assistant Spirit  
of this great Body, which heretofore was like  
one of the floating Islands, but now your most  
admired Conduct hath bound it so fast with the  
chains of Royal Authority, that in the greatest  
and most dreadful Tempest it abideth firm and  
unmoveable.* He had told him a little before,  
*that the Stedfastness of God and the King's Word  
bin'd visibly in the Face of his Eminency, HE  
BEING THEIR LIVELY POURTRAITURE.*  
I don't know whether the Reformed Churches  
owned him when he pray'd, that *God Almigh-  
ty would take from our Days and add to bis  
the King's) and unto yours also, MY LORD.*  
But for all this Bombast, they got nothing but  
air Words, only the King order'd 16,000  
livres for discharging the Expences of the  
synod, to which and to the Commissioner he  
wrote, and deferred to answer their Bill, 'till  
they had broke up.

In

Lewis 13. In the mean while, the Commissioner had  
1637. been very pressing to oblige the Synod to name  
<sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
~~ban VIII~~ two Persons for their Deputies-General, that  
were to attend the Court, and declared unto  
them, that in case they did not agree with  
him, the Marquis of Clermont should be con-  
tinued, and another chosen, without their  
Concurrence, to be join'd with him. There-  
upon, the Synod held a Conference, by some  
Deputies of every Province, with the Com-  
missioner, and they agreed to continue the  
Marquis of Clermont, and to adjoin to him  
— Marbault Esq; for the Commons. The  
Synod wrote to the King about that Nomina-  
tion ; he accepted of it : But the truth is,  
that Mr. Marbanlt, either on account of his  
great Age, or for some other Reason, had very  
little to do, and that the said Marquis em-  
grossed all the Affairs of the Churches ; and  
from this very Time, the King took upon him  
to name but one general Deputy to attend the  
Court, in which Nomination the Churches

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1025

hould be excommunicated. But the best thing Lewis 13. which the Synod did, was the suppressing the <sup>1637.</sup> Pope Urban Disputes, which for some Years past were come <sup>ban VIII,</sup> to a great heat amongst the Divines, about <sup>the</sup> Universal Grace ; which indeed would have completed the Ruin of our Churches, had not a Stop been put to them, by obliging the two Parties to a mutual Forbearance. There were at this time 647 Ministers in France, and 626 Churches, besides a great Number destitute of Ministers, and the Annexes.

This Year, the Reformed had the sorrow <sup>1638.</sup> France un- to see their King putting his Kingdom under <sup>the</sup> Protection of the Blessed Virgin ; where- <sup>Virgin's</sup> by they were threatned with a general Perse- <sup>Protection.</sup> cution.

The Duke of Rohan died of the Wounds he receiv'd at the Battle of Rhinfield, and was buried in the Church of St. Peter at Geneva. The Persecutions against the Sick to oblige them to turn Catholicks were continued. The Relapses began also to be prosecuted in Languedoc. The Duke of Bouillon issued forth an Edict the 30th of August, in behalf of the Reformed of his Principality of Sedan, which was as favourable as could be wish'd,

On the 5th of September, God sent into the World, for the Punishment of our Sins, Lewis 14. XIVth, the Scourge of his own Kingdom, and the Plague of Europe. That Birth occasioned the Erection of several Masterships, and even the granting Letters of Nobility ; and to render the Joy more universal, the Reformed were admitted to be Partakers of these Favours as well as the Catholicks, without any Difficulty at all.

But these Favours could in no way make amends for the many Vexations the Reformed <sup>1639.</sup> Several <sup>Vexations</sup> had <sup>of the Re-</sup> formed.

Lewis 14 had to suffer, in many Parts of the Kingdom.  
1639. The Cardinal was at variance with the Court  
*Pope Urban VIII* of *Rome*. That went so far, that they talk'd  
in France of creating a *Patriarch*, and by that  
means, to break off all Correspondence with  
the Holy See; but lest these Heats should  
prove a Scandal to the Catholicks, some A&ts  
of Injustite or other must be done to the Re-  
formed. Those of *Villiers-le-bel* were forbid to  
sing Psalms, to say their Prayers, or to work  
upon Holidays. The Ministers in *Dau-  
phiné* were forbid by the Parliament of *Grenoble*  
to preach without the Place of their Residence,  
or to obstruct the sending of Children and  
Pupils to Catholick Schools and Regents, un-  
der a Fine of two thousand Livres, and Im-  
prisonment, or other corporal Punishment for  
the Ministers; they were ordered to hang  
Tapestries before their Houses, on *Corpus  
Christi* Day, and the *Assumption* of the *Virgin*;  
which they were obliged to do in several other  
Places, tho' the King had expressly promised

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1027

the Sacrament, when they met it in the Lewis 13. Bureaux ; that they did not allow their Servants to go to Mass ; that they would not have them comforted by a Priest, &c. in their sickness ; that they obliged them to work upon Holy-Days ; requiring a Regulation to be made upon these Articles. His Request was granted, as to the three last Articles, and the Reformed were forbidden to give any account to their Servants upon these accounts. As to the first, there was a Provision in the Chamber ; the Catholicks would fain oblige the Reformed to kneel when they could not get out of the way ; and the Reformed pretended that they were exempted from it. That was brought before the Privy-Council, Decree issued forth the 23d of October, concerning the Opinion of the Catholicks, upon the Refusal of the Reformed, condemned them to forfeit 500 Livres for the first Fault, 1500 for the second ; and 2000, with Banishment out of the Province, for the third. That Decree was an exorbitant Infringement of the Edict of Nantz, which exempted the Reformed from every thing contrary to their Conscience. The Precedency was adjug'd, by a Decree of the Council of the 30th of November, to the Catholick Officers over the Reformed, in the Chambers of Accompts, Aids, and Exchequer at Montpellier, in the same manner as it had been in the Chambers of Guyenne and Languedoc. So that in all the Sovereign Courts the Reformed were divested of their Privileges.

But this Year they had to suffer one of the most crying Injustices that could be offered : The Decree of the 23d of October last, con-

VOL. IV. X x x the 1641.

1028 · *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 13. the Chamber of *Castres* to be register'd, Yean  
<sup>1641.</sup> the Register, supported by the Reformed  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII. Counsellors, refused to enroll it; and *Boyer*  
~~and~~ and *Baulés*, Consuls of the same Religion, re-  
fus'd the Publication of it. The Reason of  
their Refusal was obvious enough: The Re-  
formed could not pay that outward Mark of  
Veneration to the Sacrament, which they  
don't think to be adorable, without wound-  
ing their Conscience. Therefore the Court  
being inform'd of this Refusal, a new Decree  
was issued forth the 2d of *January*, to explain  
the former, whereby it was order'd, that both  
Men and Women should get out of the way  
upon the Tinkling of the Bell; and if they  
could not, that they should put themselves in  
a Posture of Respect; the Men, by pulling off  
their Hats only. But lest the Reformed should  
take this for a Token of Kindness to them,  
another Decree was issued forth the same Day,  
that the Register and the two Consuls should  
be proceeded against, for not having register'd

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1029

Sudent and Counsellors of that Chamber, who Lewis 14. were all taken out of the Parliament of Thou-<sup>1641.</sup> louse; they were denied even what is granted <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> to Criminals in ordinary Cases; they were sent to Jail, condemned to pay a Fine and all the Charges, to beg pardon on their Knees, and be suspended from their Offices for six Months. This was a Precedent which the Parliament of ~~Charleuse~~ knew very well how to improve afterwards.

I shall but just mention here the dreadful *Massacre* ~~Massacre~~ of Ireland, perpetrated by the Pa-<sup>of Ireland.</sup> pists, whereby above a hundred and fifty thousand Protestants miserably perished in two Months time, by several kinds of Tortures and Punishments, which *Rome* only can invent, and *Papist* execute. The Tragedy began on the 2d or 2d of November 1641.

Mary of Medicis, Queen Dowager of France, <sup>1642.</sup> died at Cologne the 3d of July 1642. She <sup>Death of</sup> had done what she could to be reconciled with <sup>Mary of</sup> Richelieu, only she refused to sacrifice Father ~~Ghasteloube~~, the Abbot of St. Germain, and the Viscount Fabroni. She had been wandering for ten Years together in Flanders, in England, in Holland, and then in Germany. She died incumber'd with Debts, and left nothing to recompense her own Servants.

On the 13th of March had been concluded *Treaty of Madrid.* the Treaty of Madrid, signed by Fontrailles, in the Name of the Duke of Orleans, of the Duke of Bouillon, and of Cinq-Mars, first Gentleman of the Horse; Spain promised them 12000 Foot, 5000 Horse, and large Sums of Money. Richelieu receiv'd a Copy thereof, by a Spy he had in the King of Spain's Council. The Consequence of this was, that Cinq-Mars and De Thou, Son to the great

1030 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. Historian, were behated at Lyons, the first as

1642. one of the Actors and Principals in the  
Pope Urban VIII. Treaty; the other for not having revealed  
what Cinq-Mars, (HIS OWN PARTICULAR

FRIEND) had told him about that Conspiracy; tho' it was clearly proved, not only that he had no hand at all in it, but even that he had done his best endeavour to divert his Friend from it. *Bouillon* would have had the same Fate, had not the Dutchess his Wife threatned to deliver Sedan to the Spaniards, was her Husband judged with Rigour. However, he was very glad to redeem his Life by yielding Sedan to the Crown of France. As to the Duke of Orleans, he made a full Confession of all; he asked Pardon, and consented to have no Guards nor Appanage, if he was suffer'd only to live in the Kingdom. *N. B.* This Conspiracy was not against the King, but against the Cardinal, whose Tyranny was become intolerable.

Riche-  
lieu's  
Death.

This was the last Act of the cruel and detestable Policy of Richelieu. He died the 4th of December, aged 58 Years. Lewis never loved him, but he rather dreaded him; he maintained him, because he thought that he could not do without him. 'Tis to that Man, that the two late French Kings and the present are beholden, for their arbitrary Government and despotic Power.

1643.  
Lewis  
XIIIth's  
Death.

Lewis XIIIth did not survive him long, his Constitution was very weak, and his Health had been very much impaired through the continual Fatigues his Favourites or Prime Minister had put him to for the twenty last Years of his Reign. His Body was quite worn out, and having languished for some Weeks

Weeks in his Bed, he died the 14th of May Lewis 13. at St. Germain en Laye in the 42d Year of his Age, and just beginning the 33d of his Reign. The many Executions he caused to be made even of the greatest Men of his Kingdom, oftentimes upon very slight occasions, and only to gratify the Jealousies of his *Richelieu*: The Barbarities perpetrated by his Orders at *Negreplisse* and *Privas*; the manifold Infractions of his Treaties, and Violations of his most solemn Promises to his Reformed Subjects, plainly declare what sort of Man he was: To which I may add the cruel Treatment he used to his own Mother, to his own Consort, to his own Brother, all which he sacrificed to the ungrateful *Richelieu*. The best that I can find in him, is his exactness in putting in execution the Laws against Duels: The Counts of *Boutteville* and *la Chapelle* paid, with their Heads upon a Scaffold in the *Greve*, the Violation thereof; notwithstanding the most pressing Intreaties and Sollicitations of the greatest of the Kingdom for having their Lives spared. He named before his Death *Anne of Austria*, his Consort, to be Regent; the Duke of *Orleans* his Brother, to be Lieutenant-General; the Prince of *Condé* and Cardinal *Mazarini*, to be Chiefs of the Council. The Authority of the Queen Regent and of the Duke of *Orleans* were extremely limited by that Disposition; every thing in the Council was to be done by the Plurality of Votes. But it was soon reversed after his Death.

*LEWIS XIV.* was but four Years and Lewis 14. eight Months old, when he came to the *succeeds his Father.* Crown. Four Days after his Father's Death, the Parliament of *Paris* declared his Mother

Lewis 14. Regent of the Kingdom, without any Condition or Reserve ; and four Hours after, she  
<sup>1643.</sup> Pope Urban VIII. named Cardinal *Mazarini* Prime Minister.

— Tho' it is true, that she could hardly do without *Mazarini*, who was, as one may say, the only Man thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs abroad, having been employed by *Ricbelieu* in Matters of the greatest Importance for many Years together, and even had been recommended by him to the King, as the ablest and propereſt Person for ſucceeding him in the Ministry ; and tho' upon that account ſhe was to be excufed, and even Praised for having ſacrificed her private Reſentments to the Publick Good ; nevertheless it is not an easy thing to make her Apology, for having forſaken her ancient Friends, who had forſaken every thing for her fake ; nay, for having ſacrificed ſeveral who had been loaded with Misfortunes on her account, and because they ſided with her during the late Ministry. So that her too little regard for thofe who had been her Friends,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1033  
part of the King, of his Crown, and of his Lewis 14.  
Kingdom, against the Efforts of those GOOD <sup>1643.</sup> *CATHOLICKS,* who endeavoured the Subver- <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup>  
*sion of the one and the other.* But more of this in its proper place.

This new King, at his Accession to the *A Decree* Crown, issued forth a Declaration the 8th <sup>for the E-</sup> of July, confirming the Edict of Nantz. <sup>dit of</sup> *Nantz.* Tho', says he, that Edict and all other Declarations and Regulations are PERPETUALS, we do confirm them a-new, as far as need is, or may be, by these Presents, &c. So that it is plain that the Court was still then persuaded, that the Edicts which were perpetual, preserved all their Force, even after the Decease of him who had given them; and that there was no occasion for his Successor to confirm them, in order to give them a new Strength. Much more then were they to be deemed INVIOABLE, when the Successor had adopted them as his own, confirming them by his own Declaration.

Nevertheless, the Reformed received no Benefit by it; they were vexed in several Places, and could receive no other Redress of <sup>1644.</sup> *The Re-* <sup>formed con-</sup> *tinue to be vexed.* their Grievances, but in Words and in Paper. True it is, that the Troubles and Confusions wherewith this Minority was attended, left the Court neither time nor means for redressing these Grievances, tho' it had been as well disposed in behalf of the Reformed, as they could have wished. So that not only the Parliaments, but even the inferiour Courts in the Provinces paid very little regard to the Orders that came from Court, and did what they pleased. So in *Bearn,* the Reformed, who were the greatest Number in the Parliament of *Pau*, having lost by degrees that Advantage, petitioned for a mi-

1034 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 14. parted Chamber; or at least that their Causes  
<sup>1644.</sup> should be referred to the Chambers either of  
Pope Urban VIII. *Languedoc or Guienne*; or that they may  
challenge four Judges, either Presidents or  
Counsellors without giving cause. But all  
that they could obtain was a Decree com-  
manding the said Parliament to do them  
Justice, so that they should have no farther  
occasion for Complaint.

*The Duke of Bouillon,* whose Cession of  
of Bouil- Sedan, Raucourt, St. Mauges, &c. had been  
lon's forced, had a mind to improve the Opport-  
Flight. tunity of a hoisterous Minority, for breaking  
his Word and re-entering into Possession of his  
former Estate. He would have succeeded  
better, had he taken another Course, and  
flatter'd Cardinal Mazarini; but he chose to  
follow his Dutches's Advice, and instead  
of repairing to Lorges near Blois, to settle  
with the King's Ministers what Compensation  
he was to have in Lands of his Majesty's  
Demesn for his Sovereignty of Sedan, &c.  
he retired clandestinely with her into Swit-

**Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1035**

for that purpose, bearing Date June 1644, Lewis 14.  
and was registered in the Court of Aids the <sup>1644.</sup> Pope In-  
30th of August. nocent X.

In the same Month of *August* died Pope ~~Urbanus~~ <sup>Pope In-</sup> VIII<sup>th</sup>, after a Pontificate of 28 <sup>Pope Inno-</sup> Years, 11 Months, and 22 Days. He was <sup>cent suc-</sup> succeeded by Cardinal *Pamfilio*, elected the <sup>ceeds Ur-</sup> ban VIII. 10th of September, who took the Name of *Innocent X.*

From the Year 37, there had not been <sup>The 28th</sup> any National Synod, which indeed was very <sup>National</sup> detrimental to the Churches; the King's <sup>Synod.</sup> Council being well assured of the Fidelity of the Reformed, granted them one for this Year, to be held at *Charenton*. It was the third held at that Place. Accordingly they met there, by their Deputies, on the 26th Day of December. The Reverend Mr. *Dre-lincourt* opened the Sessions with a Prayer to God, and then proceeded to the Election of the Officers of the Synod. The Votes were delivered in Writing for the first time, and the Reverend Mr. *Garrisoles* Minister at *Montauban* was chosen Moderator, the Reverend Mr. *Basnage* Minister of *St. Mere Eglise* Assistant, and the Reverend Mr. *B'ondel* formerly Minister of *Houdan*, together with *Theodorus le Coq* Esq; Elder in the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Then *De Cumont* Esq; Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, having delivered his Credentials, whereby he was appointed to assist in the Synod as the King's Commissioner; he made a Speech, which was no better than a Mingle-mangle of base Adulations to the King; of Exhortations to Passive Obedience; of ridiculous Complaints, against what had never been complained of before; of unjust Orders which

Lewis 14. which could not be complied with, without  
1644. renouncing their Religion; of Severities more  
*Pope In-* capable of exasperating than of encouraging  
*nocent X.* his Hearers. According to that Man, Slav-  
ery was to be the Lot of the Reformed; nay, they ought to think themselves very happy, if they were suffered to live, even in that Condition. Nevertheless, that Man was a Reformed, but of those Reformed who knew how to make their Religion and the Welfare of their Brethren subservient to their own Fortune and Interest.

These unreasonable Complaints, these unjust Orders, that rough Language, were enough to convince the Synod that they were not to depend upon the Promises of the King's Good-will to them made by the Commissioner, they might foresee that they were to suffer one time or other all manner of Oppression.

Nevertheless the Moderator answer'd in the Synod's Name, with a great deal of Hu-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1037

tion of Faith having been tendered to Lewis 14  
francis II. almost such as it was now, and <sup>1644.</sup> Pope In-  
the Exercise of the Reformed Religion al- nocent X.  
lowed in consequence of the Edict of Ja-  
nuary 1561, and afterwards, of the Edict of  
Vantz, the Words thereof could not be al-  
tered. That it was not the whole Body of  
Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which was  
stated in our Confession of Faith, *the Abuses*  
*and Fallacy of Satan*, but only those Articles  
which had been added to the Gospel Doc-  
trine; and that it was but just to excuse  
Words dictated by Sincerity itself, and by  
the Motion of a Conscience quite ignorant  
of the Art of dissembling and equivocating.  
That they had nothing to do with the Printer  
of *Geneva*, who was not under their Jurisdic-  
tion; and that his Calendar expressed nothing  
but what was the true Sense and Meaning of  
all the Protestants and Reformed, concern-  
ing the Council of *Trent*, which he styled  
*Desectable*: And thereupon he quoted the  
Protests of *Charles V.* against the same Coun-  
cil, by *Mendoza* his Ambassador thither; of  
*Henry II.* by *Amiot*; of *Charles IX.* by *Du*  
*Ferrier*, who had styled that Council, A  
**SCORPION PRICKING THE GALLICAN**  
**CHURCH.** Then he accounted for what had  
been done in several Provinces where the  
Reformed had thought proper to improve  
the Benefit of the King's Declaration at his  
Accession to the Crown, notwithstanding the  
unjust and violent Oppositions of their Gu-  
vernors or their Lieutenants. He charged  
the Lady of the Manor at *Anduze*, with an  
extreme Malice and Violence, who being sup-  
ported by the Catholicks of the Place and  
the Neighbourhood, had endeavoured to  
suppress

1038     *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 14. suppress by main force one of the ancientest  
<sup>1644.</sup> Reformed Churches of the Kingdom, had ex-  
*Pope In-*  
*nocent X.* pelled the Minister thereof ; and lest he should  
find means to be restored, had procured his Im-  
prisonment, and committed several other like  
Acts, whereby she had provoked the Reformed  
to repel Force by Force. He shewed forth,  
that in the whole Province of *Languedoc*, they  
preached only in the Places which had en-  
joyed that Benefit for above 80 Years before ;  
that the Ministers were very moderate in  
their Sermons ; but the Missionaries were  
apt to wrest the most innocent Words in the  
worst of Senses, tho' they themselves kept  
no bounds in their Sermons. That they  
were bound by their Discipline (the free Ex-  
ercise whereof was allowed unto them) to cen-  
sure Parents when they sent their Children to  
be educated by Papist Regents or School-  
Masters, and especially by *Jesuits* ; that such  
a thing was so much the more tolerable in the  
Ministers, as the *University of Paris* itself con-

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1039

when he was told that the Bell had ever Lewis 14. been in that Steeple ; that, at the time of <sup>1644.</sup> the Capitulation, it had been indeed pulled <sup>Pope In.</sup> down, and put in a Corner of the Church, <sup>Inocent X.</sup> in order to repair the Steeple which was falling to Ruin ; but these Reparations being made, the Bell had been set up again.

After these Speeches, which on both Sides were more for Form sake than for Utility, the Synod wrote to the King, and amongst other things, *they congratulated him upon his Birth*, which the Reformed had earnestly besought God to grant in all their religious Assemblies. They wrote likewise to the Queen Regent, to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Prince of Condé.

The King answered the 4th of January ; <sup>1645.</sup> He assured them of his perfect Good-will, and promised to keep the Edicts ; that he would take a singular Delight in securing unto them the free Enjoyment thereof, as they had done under the late King. Which last Clause was very equivocal. The Commissioner allowed them Liberty to read several Letters of the Church and Academy of Geneva, of the Reverend Mess. Diodati and Andrew Rivet, after he had opened and perused them first. But having sent the Originals to the King, he let them know, that his Majesty did not think proper they should answer them ; tho' they related only to Matters of Doctrine and Discipline. Then the Commissioner proposed to them for Form-sake the Baron of Arzilliers, whom the King had already named to be their Deputy-General, and which they accepted, being not able to do otherwise. Nevertheless, they required that the ancient Order should be restored, and that in the mean while the

Lewis 14. the King would be pleased to name a Deputy  
1645. for the Commons ; but neither of these De-  
*Pope In-* nands was granted. The King continued  
*nocent X.* to name the Deputies of his own accord,  
and would have none for the Commons.  
Then the Commissioner notify'd to the Synod, That his Majesty did not allow them  
to deliberate upon political Matters, but only  
to name a select Committee, to draw up  
their Bill of Grievances ; which being ac-  
cordingly done, the said Bill was drawn, con-  
taining some old Grievances which had not  
been redressed, and some new ones were ad-  
ded, particularly concerning the Suppression  
of several Places where they had right of  
Exercise ; and the Refusal of admitting the  
Reformed to Charges, and Offices which they  
were entitled to, even to the Masterships of  
the very Mechanicks. But they obtained  
very little, besides Words and 16000 Livres  
for discharging the Expences of the Synod.

*Codurc, Minister and Professor at Nimes,*

Milliners of Paris took it in their heads to Lewis 14. draw certain Statutes for their Trade, and <sup>1645.</sup> got them confirmed by Letters Patent, re-<sup>Pope In-</sup>  
gistered in Parliament the 29th of April. <sup>nocent X.</sup>

The first Article of these Statutes excluded the Maids and Women of the Reformed Religion from being admitted into that Mastership. The University of Poitiers enjoyed the Revenue of some Messenger-Houses, or Post-Offices. Now Filleau LL.D. in that University, and the hottest Persecutor, obtained that none but Catholicks could be admitted into any of these Offices.

It was not for want of Zeal in the Clergy <sup>Assembly of</sup> that the Reformed were not more vexed this <sup>the Clergy.</sup> Year. They held an Assembly at Paris, and the Archbishop of Narbonne charged them, in his Speech to the Queen Regent the 27th of July, that they were tired with the lawful and natural Subjection under which Lewis the Just had reduced them, and were endeavouring to resume their last Power.

He complained that they had restored by Force their Exercises in several Places, and said, that if the Annexes were, this day, granted unto them, they would, to-morrow, require the Restitution of their Cautionary Towns. I shall but just mention a very odd Story of the House of Roban. Margaret of Tancrede's Roban, only Daughter and Heiress of the late Story. Duke, after having refused several Matches, and especially the young Prince of Talmont Son to the Duke of La Trimouille, had a fancy to be her own Carver; and breaking her secret Engagements with the young Marquis of Ruvigny, Father to the late Lord Galway, she contracted a new one with the young Marquis of Cabot who was a Roman Catho-lick.

1042 *History of the Reformation, and of the  
Lewis 14. licks.* The Dutches Dowager of Roban her  
1645. Mother, being informed of this, was in  
~~Pope In-~~ deep Affliction ; and seeing that all her Ar-  
guments, and those of the Ministers for hin-  
dering her Daughter from marrying a Ca-  
tholick, far from prevailing over her, had no  
other Effect than to hasten the Conclusion of  
the said Marriage ; she thought proper to  
publish the Secret, which she had kept con-  
cealed till then for very good Reasons, even  
from the late Duke her own Husband, viz.  
that she had had a Son by the Duke during  
his last Misfortunes, which she had taken care  
to be privately educated at a Gentleman's  
House in Normandy ; from whence *Margaret*  
*of Roban*, with the help of *Ravigot*, who  
was in the Secret, found means to convey  
him to *Leyden*, unknown to the Dowager.  
But when the Marquis saw, that all his Ex-  
hortations and Threatnings could not reclaim  
*Margaret* from her Inclinations to *Chabot*, he  
revealed to the Dowager the Place where  
*Tancrede*, which was the Name of the Child,  
had been conveyed, and where he was still.  
Thereupon the Dutches sent in all haste to  
*Leyden*, to bring over her pretended Son into  
*France* ; which was executed with great care  
and caution. *Chabot* on his part sent some  
Messengers upon the same Errand, but they  
arrived an Hour too late. The Dowager  
set up all her Engines to have *Tancrede* ac-  
knowledged for the Son of the late Duke  
of *Roban*. The Cause was brought before  
the Parliament ; nobody could imagine how  
the late Duke could have been so far igno-  
rant that he had a Son, as not to mention a  
single Word of him in his last-Will, where-  
in he mentioned only his Daughter and

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1043

Heiress *Margaret*. *Tancrede* could not be Lewis 14.  
*posthumous*; he was above nine Years old <sup>1645.</sup> *Pope In-*  
when he was brought to *Paris*, and the Duke *nocent X.*  
died only in *April 1638*. The Duke had ~~been~~  
not been with her for more than a Year  
when he died. If she had had good Reasons  
to conceal his Birth from the Publick, what  
reason could she have to conceal the same  
from her Husband? That afforded her É-  
nemies a pretence for casting a blemish up-  
on her Virtue. The Parliament was much  
puzzled upon that Affair. *Tancrede* had the  
Shape and all the Features, nay the very same  
Inclinations of the late Duke; but *Chabot*  
answered, that he might be his natural Son,  
which the Dutches's his Widow had a mind  
to set up for punishing her Daughter. On  
the other hand, the Dutches's Evidences did  
fall very short of what was requir'd; but  
Death came to decide the Quarrel. The  
Cause was depending till the Beginning of  
the Civil War between the King and the  
Parliament. The Dutches engaged her  
*Tancrede* in the Parliament's Party; he was  
wounded in a Sally, taken Prisoner, brought  
to *Vincennes*, where he died of his Wounds.  
Some Years after, the Mother and Daughter  
were reconciled together. The young  
Dutches persisted to her Death in the Pro-  
fession of the Reformed Religion; she died  
a little before the repealing of the Edict of  
*Nantz* in 1685. The Marquis of *Chabot*  
had taken the Name of *Roban*, by his Mar-  
riage-Contract; so his Children took the  
same Name, tho' their Descent from that  
most ancient and most noble House was  
only by this *Margaret*.

1044 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. The like Vexations were continued against  
1646. the Reformed, several of their Churches and  
*Pope In-*  
*nocent X.* little Schools were suppress'd. But on the o-  
~~Vexations~~  
~~continue a-~~  
~~gainst the~~  
~~Reformed.~~ ther hand, the Court was somewhat favourable unto them ; for the Ministers were exempted from paying Taxes (as it was their Right to be) and a Decree was issued forth the 20th of *Jane*, exempting the Reformed from hanging Tapestry before their Houses on Procession-Days. But these Decrees were of none or very little service to the Reformed in the Provinces, especially in those wherein they were in small Numbers. The Parliament of *Bourdeaux*, wherein the furious *De Saül* was Attorney-General, the Parliaments of *Thoulouse* and *Dijon*, the Prefidialships, nay, every petty Judge in a Borough, took upon them to vex and persecute them in different manners, without any regard to the Edicts, Declarations or Decrees, issued forth by the Council of State.

*Condé;*  
*Death.* The Prince of *Condé* died this Year in December ; he was born 6 Months after the Decease of *Henry of Condé*, Husband of his Mother, who was poisoned at *S. John of Argely*, in *March 1588*, as we have related in its proper place.

*Espernon*  
*and Sully's*  
*Death.* The Duke of *Espernon* died in *January 1642*, being 88 Years old ; he was the ancientest Peer of *France*, the ancientest Officer of the Crown, the ancientest General and Governor of *Provence*, the ancientest Knight of the Order, the ancientest Counsellor of State ; and perhaps the oldest Nobleman of his time. The Duke of *Sally* died a little before, aged 80 or 81, seven Years after he had received the Marshal's Staff.

The

## Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1045

The same Vexations continued this Year Lewis 14° as before, either through the Weakness of <sup>Pope In-</sup> the Court, which obliged it to connive at <sup>Innocent X.</sup> these Injustices, or for some other Reason.

However as Affairs began to be much <sup>Treatment of the Re-</sup> involved in the Kingdom, the Court stand-<sup>formed.</sup> ing in need of all her Friends, thought pro-<sup>1648.</sup> per to treat the Reformed more favourably ; but they could feel the Effects of these good Dispositions only in the Places where the Court-Party prevailed, for in others, the Parlements, the Magistrates, the Governors, and others, paid no regard at all to the King's Orders ; nay, the Fidelity of the Reformed was imputed to them as a Crime in the re-  
*Bellious Provinces.*

The Treaty of Peace was concluded at <sup>Peace of</sup> Munster in the Month of February, between Munster, Spain and the Seven United Provinces. Spain yielded for ever all manner of Right and Pretensions over the said Provinces. France acceded to that Treaty with the Empire in October following. The Princes and the Electors of the Empire were maintained in all their Rights and Prerogatives. Alsacia and the Sovereign Lordship over the Cities of Metz, Toul, and Verdun were yielded to France, which continued the War with Spain.

This last dreading, left all the Forces of <sup>Civil</sup> her Antagonists being united together, and <sup>War.</sup> falling upon her, she should be crushed, endeavoured to create Jealousies against her in all the Courts of Europe. But the Civil Wars that began this Year, gave some respite to Spain. Cardinal Mazarini had already maintained himself in the Government for four Years together ; and in order to put a stop to the Factions, he did drive off the most

Y y y 2 petulant

1046 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. petulant with Trifles, and introduced at  
1648. Court a luxurious and effeminate way of  
~~Pope In-~~ Living ; he diverted the Courtiers with O-  
peras, and the People with Buffooneries of  
the *Italian Play*. But as he attempted to  
create new Charges of *Masters of Request*,  
which were to serve alternatively for six  
Months, to load the People with new Taxes,  
to increase in the Provinces the Authority  
of Intendants, to send some of them to Places  
where they were become intolerable ; and  
above all, to enrich his own Family at the  
Expences of the State : All the Orders of  
the Kingdom rose against him. They were  
tired to see a Foreigner in the first Autho-  
rity, and he was loaded with the publick  
Odium.

The President *Blanc-Mesnil*, and Coun-  
sellor *Broussel*, having been arrested by Or-  
ders of the Court, the People of *Paris* took  
up Arms, and carried the Barricado's almost  
to the Gates of the Royal Palace. The Tu-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1047

a Disturber of the publick Peace, and order-<sup>Louis 14.</sup> ed Levies of Soldiers, and the King's Troops <sup>1648.</sup> Pope In-  
to remove twenty Leagues further from <sup>Inocent X.</sup> the City. The 20th of the same Month the ~~French~~  
Prince of *Conti*, the Dukes of *Beaufort*,  
*Longueville*, *Bouillon*, *la Rochefoucault*, and  
*Noirmoutier*, got into *Paris*; the Prince was  
made Generalissimo, the Dukes of *Elbeuf*,  
*Bouillon*, and Marshal *de la Motte*, his Lieu-  
tenants; *Paris* was blocked up. The Prince  
of *Condé* seized all the Avenues, except *Brie*,  
*Comte-Robert*, and *Carenton*. The 8th of  
*February*, *Carenton* was forced by the King's  
Troops, at the sight of ten thousand *Pari-*  
*sians in Arms*: The Duke of *Cavillon*, a  
Royalist, was deadly wounded in the Action.

The 9th of *February*, N.S. England af-<sup>Charles I.</sup>  
forded to the World the most dreadful In-<sup>bis Death.</sup>  
stance of the Rage and Fury of a People,  
when not restrained by any Laws human or  
divine, in the Death of King *Charles I.* ex-  
ecuted at *Whitehall*. *Henrietta* his Consort,  
and his own Favourites, together with Car-  
dinal *Richey* and *Mazarini* had set an Edge  
to the Ax, which sever'd his Head.

The Court of *France*, standing in need <sup>The Court</sup>  
of the Reformed, did them as much Justice <sup>setteth the</sup>  
as she could upon several accounts; and the <sup>Reformed.</sup>  
23d of *December* issued forth a general De-  
cree, ordering that the Edicts and Declara-  
tions in their behalf should be fully executed,  
that they should not be disturb'd neither in  
the Exercise of their Religion, or in the Pos-  
session of their Churches, or in the other  
Concessions of the Edicts: His Majesty wil-  
ling, that they should enjoy them in the same  
manner as they had done under the late King,  
without any Innovation to their Prejudice,

3048     *History of the Reformation and of the  
Lewis 14 and forbidding to continue any Prosecution  
1650. against them upon such accounts.*

*Pope In-*     That Decree having not its desired Effect  
*nocent X.*     in certain Places, where the Catholicks pre-  
-tended that the King did forbid only to be-  
gin new Prosecutions, but that he designed  
not that those already begun should cease; at the Instances of Baron *d'Arzilliers* De-  
puty-General, the Court on the 20th of *A-*  
*pril* issued forth a second Decree confirmatory  
to the first, and the King reserved to himself  
the Cognizance of all Affairs of that kind,  
and interdicted it to all other Courts of what  
Denomination soever.

*The Princes  
Prisoners.*     The Troubles of *Paris* had been appeased  
by an Agreement made between the Court  
and the Parliament on the 11th of *March*,  
the last Year. But the Beginning of this, the  
Queen-Regent dissatisfied with the Conduct  
of the Princes and their Adherents, caused  
the Princes of *Condé* and *Conti*, with the  
Duke of *Longueville* their Brother-in-Law, to

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1049

Herward Esq; tho' a sincere Reformed, was made by him Super-Intendant of the Exchequer. The Clergy cried aloud against it. Their Agents-General opposed it with all their Might. Jealousy, Envy, Injustice, Inhumanity, and whatever Men bred up at the Feet of *Gamaliel*, but of the Pope, <sup>1650.</sup> *per-Intendant.* Herward *Reformed* *Sk-* *can imagine*, were the chief Arguments they made use of in this Occurrence; but all in vain, the Cardinal stood his ground, and supported d'Herward, who was continued, and being of quite a different Character than the Duke of Sully, he was not only the main Support of the Churches, but he gain'd as many Friends, as the other had begot Foes, during the whole time of his Administration.

Nevertheless, for to allay in some measure *Unjust Regulations* the Mortification of the Clergy, something must be done for that purpose; therefore at Poitiers. Chateauneuf, Keeper of the Seals, sent Orders to the King's Council at Poitiers, the 20th of May, not to suffer any Reformed to be admitted in any Office of Attorney, or Notary, or Serjeant. At Chateaubriant they were deprived of the Right of being admitted Provoits of the Merchants in their turn, and even of that of Voting, tho' they made up the third Part of the Inhabitants. There was a Sedition at Nimes against the Bishop of the Place, who kept concealed in his Palace a Child belonging to Reformed Parents, in order to have him brought up in the Roman Religion.

Every thing seem'd disposed to some great Revolution in the Kingdom. The Queen-Regent had been obliged to grant the Release of the Princes Prisoners; and the Car-

Lewis 14. dinal being obliged to leave the Kingdom,  
1651. went before to *Havre de-Grace*, where the  
*Pope In-* Princes had been transferred from *Vincennes*,  
*nocent X.* in order to set them at liberty ; and from  
*The Car-* thence he proceeded to *Liege*. But he had  
 *Cardinal* left at Court some proper Persons, amongst  
 *quits the* which the Marquis of *Ruvigny* and — —  
*Kingdom.* *Beringhen* Esq; both Reformed, managed his  
Affairs with such Success, that he was re-  
called ten Months after with greater Autho-  
rity. The Princes came to *Paris*, not de-  
signing to live in Peace. *Condé* began a  
Treaty with *England* and *Spain*.

*Complai-* Every one knows what Condition *England*  
*sance of the* was in, at the time we are speaking of. After  
*Court for* the fatal Death of King *Charles*, *Cromwel* took  
*Cromwel.* upon himself the sovereign Authority, under  
the Title of Protector; and having overcome  
all Opposition, he govern'd with a greater  
Authority than ever any lawful King had  
done. Dreaded at home, he kept all the  
neighbouring Powers in awe, and was not  
sorry to see them embroiled in Civil Dis-.

## OK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1051

rms, that the Treaty was protracted to a Lewis 14.  
at length. On the other hand, the Diver-<sup>1651.</sup>  
y of Interests caused a great Disunion a-  
mongst the Malecontents, the one Party aim-  
g at things which the others opposed with  
their Might. The Nobility murmured a-  
inst their Government, and held frequently  
ivate Conferences. They cried aloud to  
ve an Assembly of the General States, to  
dress the publick Grievances ; but the Par-  
liament opposed that Remedy for their own  
ivate Interest, lest the States should abridge  
eir Authority ; and because they were un-  
illing that People should be beholden for  
eir Release to any other Assembly besides  
eir own. Nevertheless, on the 18th of  
January, they issued forth a Decree for in-  
rming against the Depredations made by  
*Mazarini* in the Exchequer. Some time  
ter the King issued forth a Declaration,  
hereby all Foreigners, and even the French  
Cardinals, were excluded from the Council,  
being Dependants of the Pope. Another  
Decree of the Parliament of Paris was issued  
orth against the Cardinal, about the latter  
end of December, whereby it was command-  
ed to pursue him, and fall upon him wherever  
e could be apprehended, and 150,000 Li-  
res Recompense were promised to whomso-  
ver, who would produce him dead or a-  
ve.

Amidst the Troubles wherein the King-  
om was involv'd, *Lewis XIV.* came to his <sup>Majority</sup> <sub>of Lewis</sub>  
Majority, and was declar'd such the 7th of XIV.  
September. I don't design to enter into any  
f the Particulars of this Civil War, which  
oblige *Mazarini* twice to leave the King-  
om, and the Court to go out of *Paris* ;  
from

1052 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 14. from whence *Lewis* transferred the Parlia-  
ment to *Pont-à-l'Isle*, but was obey'd only by  
<sup>1652.</sup> Pope In-  
nocent X. part thereof. It was not till the 21st of Oc-  
tober 1652, that the *Parisians*, tired with  
the War, intreated *Lewis* to return into the  
Capital, wherewith he comply'd.

*Fidelity of* I shall only observe, that had it not been  
the Re-  
formed. for the Reformed's Fidelity, that was proof  
against all Temptations, one may say, that  
the Crown which was tottering over the  
Head of *Henry the Fourth's* Grandson, would  
quite have fallen to the ground. And indeed had they joined with the Prince of  
*Condé*, as they were strongly sollicited, the  
*SLINGERS* would certainly have hit at  
their aim; but far from list'ning to the most  
advantageous Terms proposed unto them,  
*Rochelle* obliged its Governor the Count of  
*Dognon*, who sided with the Prince, to fly  
from the City, and forsake the Castle. *St.*  
*John of Angely*, tho' without Walls, defended  
itself against the Rebels Troops, and not only  
that but they sent part of their Militia to

City had such an influence over *Toulouse*, Lewis 14. that after having for some time wavered, <sup>1652.</sup> they took the same Party. Twelve hun-<sup>Pope In-</sup>  
dred Men of *Montauban* sent to the Marquis

*St. Luc*, Lieutenant for the King in *Gau-*  
*gnac*, forced the Town of *Moissac* to surrender,  
and took the Garrison Prisoners. Five hun-  
dred Men of the same City took a Passage  
upon the *Garonne*, and thereby afforded  
means to the Royal Army to disengage two  
Regiments besieged by the Prince's Troops  
in *Miradoux*. *Realmenç* tho' dismantled,  
*Clairac*, the Provinces of *Vivarais* and *Ce-*  
*vennes*, gave especial Proofs of their Fi-  
delity.

A Synod was held this Year at *Aymet*, for  
the Province of *Lower Guienne*; wherein the  
Ministers and Elders unanimously agreed  
to persevere in Obedience, and to exhort  
their Churches to do the like. Most part  
of the Nobility, and the Reformed of the  
half-parted Chambers followed the same Ex-  
ample; and if some Persons, such as the  
Marquis of *La Force*, and some others of  
that Rank fided at first with the Prince, they  
were the first in the Province that returned to  
their Allegiance, when the Violence of the  
Storm was over. In a word, the Fidelity of the  
Reformed was such, and the Court was so sensi-  
ble of the Importance of the Service they  
had done, that it made no difficulty to  
give them a publick Testimony of its Grati-  
tude, by a Declaration given at *St. Germain*  
the 20th of *May* 1652, sealed with the broad  
Seal, wherein amongst the Reasons which ob-  
liged *Lewis* to ratify and confirm the Edict  
of *Nantz*, other Edicts, Declarations, &c.  
in behalf of the Reformed, and to order the

1054 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
Lewis 14. strict Observation thereof under severe Pe-  
<sup>1652.</sup> nalties, you will find this, *Because they had*  
Pope In-*nocent X. given undeniable Proofs of their Affection and*  
*Loyalty, especially in the present Occurrences,*  
*whereof We remain fully satisfied.* But this  
was not the only Token of the Court's Satis-  
faction and Gratitude towards the Reformed.  
They were restor'd at *Pamiers*, from whence  
they had been exil'd since the Year 1625 or  
1626. The second Consulship of *Alez* and  
of *Montpelier* was order'd to be filled con-  
stantly by a Reformed, whereas it had been  
alternate since 1629. The Ministers were  
allowed to preach in the Annexes, notwith-  
standing all contrary Decrees and Orders,  
which were all reversed. In one word, the  
Reformed fared more than tolerably well for  
two Years or thereabouts.

1653. The Submission of *Paris* did not put an  
*Paris sub-* end to the Civil War, it was a Year or there-  
mits. abouts before the Prince of *Condé*'s Party was  
quite subdued; and that Prince, who took

VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1055

They are too full of a certain spiritual Pride, Lewis 14.  
ever expecting either an Union of them 1654.  
h the Reformed, or any good Reformation Pope In-  
heir own. nocent X.

In the Month of June, Lewis XIV. was Lewis's  
inted at Rheims, by the Bishop of Soissons. Corona-  
promised upon his Oath not to grant tion.  
Pardon for Duels. Christiana Queen of  
eden resigned her Crown to her Cousin  
wles, and she turned Catholick some time  
x.

The Marquis d'Arzilliers Deputy-General Ruvigni  
the Reformed being dead, Lewis by the Deputy-  
er End of last Year had named of his General.  
n accord the Marquis of Ruvigny, Father  
the late Lord Gallway, to be his Successor.  
The Reformed, as we have said, were more  
n tolerably well treated, generally speak-  
, for about two Years after the Declara-  
a of May 1652 above-mentioned. But  
Year the Alliance of France with Crom-  
! against the House of Austria, hindering  
t perfidious Court from putting in ex-  
ion the Designs already laid against their  
generous Deliverers; they enjoyed still  
ne respite during the Protector's Life,  
ich, nevertheless hinder'd not the Papists  
n shewing forth their inveterate Hatred  
inst the Reformed in the Places where they  
uld do it safely. The most wicked Parlia-  
nts of Toulouse and Aix exerted them-  
ves this Year in the most unjust, tyrannical,  
i cruel manner, not only against private  
rsions without any regard to Rank and  
ality, but even against whole Commonal-  
s, which they were so bold as to inter-  
, and deprived them of those Rights  
ich they had so well deserved.

Pope

Lewis 14. Pope Innocent X. died in February, after  
1655. Pontificate of ten Years, four Months and  
<sup>Pope A-</sup>  
<sup>lexan. VII.</sup> twenty-two Days. He was succeeded by  
Innocent took the Name of *Alexander VII.*

*dies, and*  
*is succeed-*  
*ed by A-*  
*lexander*  
*VII.*

*Persecu-*  
*tion of the*  
*Wal-*  
*denses.*

This Year the *Waldenses* did suffer a most cruel and barbarous Persecution from the Duke of Savoy, their Sovereign, who caused his Troops to make such an inhuman Execution upon these poor People, that Words are wanting to express the great Variety of Tortures, altogether beastly and hellish, whereto they were exposed, without any Distinction of Age, Sex, or Quality. The Reverend Mr. Leger and *Samuel Morlaat* Esq; published a Relation thereof in their History of the *Waldenses*. The Court of France interposed its good Offices in behalf of these poor People; and whereas the Duke of Savoy had made use in that barbarous Execution of the French Troops that were sent to the Assistance of the Duke of Modena against the Spaniards, Lewis resented or feigned to resent it very high. But the Dread of *Cromwel's* Name was more efficacious with him, than any other Consideration. And to do justice to whom it belongs. it is

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1057  
is and Dutch Ambassadors, that were upon Lewis 14.  
the Road. At which the Protector being <sup>1655.</sup> ~~Pope A-~~  
revoked, he desisted. It appears by Mr. ~~lexan.VII.~~  
~~Morland's Account~~, that the Gatherings ~~—~~  
made this Year in Great Britain and Wales,  
by Cromwell's Orders, for the Relief of the  
poor Waldenses, amounted to no less than  
1697 l. 17 s. 3 d. a vast Sum indeed, confi-  
- sing the times. I shall end this Article  
with a very remarkable Passage of Lewis  
IVth's Letter to the Protector, which I  
would not omit without injuring the French  
Reformed : " As to what remains, you have Lewis's  
newell judged in this Affair, not to believe <sup>Testimony</sup> ~~in behalf~~  
that I had given any Order to my Troops <sup>of his Re-</sup>  
to do such an Execution ; and the truth <sup>formed</sup> ~~formed~~  
is, there was not any likelihood such a Subject.  
Suspicion could possess the Spirit of any  
Person well informed, that I should con-  
tribute to the Punishment of any Subjects  
of the Duke of Savoy, Professors of the  
Pretended Reformed Religion, and yet in  
the mean time give so many Marks of  
my good Will to those of mine own Sub-  
jects of the same Profession, HAVING  
ALSO CAUSE TO APPLAUD THEIR FI-  
DELITY AND ZEAL FOR MY SERVICE,  
THEY ON THEIR PARTS OMIT NO OC-  
CASION TO GIVE ME PROOF THEREOF,  
EVEN BEYOND ALL THAT CAN BE  
IMAGINED, AND CONTRIBUTE IN  
ALL THINGS TO THE WELFARE AND  
ADVANTAGE OF MY AFFAIRS \*." The  
Author of that Letter magnifies nothing in  
what he says concerning the Zeal and Affec-  
tion, which his Reformed Subjects had for  
his

\* Morland's History of the Evangel. Churches, &c.  
p. 167.

1058 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14. his Person and Service. But how could he 1656. be so base and ungrateful as to repay Pope A- lexan. VII. their faithful Services with such unjust, cruel, and barbarous Usage, as he did afterwards?*

As to the Affairs of our Churches in France, they not only suffered several private Injustices and Vexations, but even a general one, at the Instigation and Pursuit of the bloody Clergy.

*Assembly of the Clergy in France.* There was this Year an Assembly of the Gallican Church held at Paris. Amongst several other important Matters that came under their Consideration, the Examen of the Moral of the new Casuists (so the Jesuits were called) was one of the most considerable. Some Doctors, pretty well known by the Name of Jansenists, had exposed the Remissness of the said Moral in such a full light, that every sober Man considered it as a downright Impiety. On the contrary, these rigid Doctors were much applauded by the Quality, especially of the Female Sex; so that the Assembly, in their Report,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1059

Purity. But that great and potent Body, Lewis 14. used for many Ages before to prevaricate, <sup>1656.</sup> Pope A- and several of its Members being too deeply <sup>lexan.</sup> VII. concerned in the Morals of the *Jesuits*, they ~~were~~ but faintly examined the Matter; and after many Sessions, they left the Matter undecided, and shamefully suffered themselves to be deluded by the *Jesuits*. Those sharp Politicians, in order to give work to this Assembly for diverting them from thinking of any Reformation in their Mora's, found means to engage them to endeavour the Destruction of two sorts of Hereticks, the *Reformed* and the *Jansenists*. These last were indeed unjustly suspected of a Correspondence with the first, because they agreed together upon several Points of Doctrine, especially concerning the Pope's Supremacy.

The *Jesuitical* Party prevailed then in this Assembly, and the Archbishop of *Sens*, then Prolocutor tho' not a Friend to the *Jesuits*, was not ashamed to display his Eloquence before *Lewis XIV*, in a way so unbecoming his Character and his high Station, that no body can look upon him but as an impudent Prostitute, who trod under his feet Truth and Honesty. I shall single out only three or four Passages out of a great Number of others which deserve no less the publick Censure. He represented the *Roman Church* as groaning under such an Oppression, that she would take it as a comfort, *was the Edit of Nantz strictly observed, after the lawful Explanations given by the late King.* He charged the Reformed with having by their new Attempts overturned all the wise Cautions taken by that great Prince against the Petulancy of their Spirit, and ascribed

1060 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. these pretended Attempts to the Declaration  
1656. of 1652, behind which they did screen them-  
~~Pope A-~~  
~~Ixan. VII.~~  
~~~~~ selves, and which all at once subverted all  
the Letters and Decrees either of the Coun-
cil or of the superior Courts which had been
the most favourable to the Church. He af-
ferted, with an unparalleled Impudence, that
the said Declaration had been surreptitiously
extorted from the Council, unknown to the
King, and during the Absence of his Prime
Minister. *But the very Date thereof was e-
nough to confute that cursed Calumny.* Then
he bitterly inveighed against the Reformed,
who, using the Liberty granted them by the
Decree of 1652, had restored their Churches
in Places unjustly condemned by the Violence
of their Enemies. He styled these Churches
*Synagogues of Satan, built upon the Patri-
mony of the Son of God.* He positively af-
firmed, that from the Year 1626 the Charge
of General Deputy of the Churches at Court
had been suppressed, *which was a notorious*
Evil, and a manifest Injustice for this

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1061

Paris to a Friend in the Country. But, notwithstanding the great Moderation of the Author, and the Politeœis of his Style, his ^{Pope A-} ^{Lewis 14} ^{1656.} ^{Texan. VII.} Arguments were too cogent, and hit too well home, to be answer'd any otherwise than by the Faggot: The Letter was publickly burnt at Paris by the Executioner's Hands. But the worst Effect of the Speech was, that, ^{the} the Cardinal durst not comply in every thing with the Clergy's Will, because he was so manage Cromwell; nevertheless something must be done, in order to please them. Therefore on the 18th of July a Declaration ^{Several} ^{Declar-} ^{tions of the} ^{Council.} was issued forth from the Council, which, as one may say, revok'd that of 1652, saying that it entrenched the most favourable Articles thereof. This is the first occasion, if I don't mistake, wherein Lewis XIV. was caught by his Ministers to lye grossly, without any respect for the Publick; a Lesson which he knew perfectly well how to improve, an Art wherein he was such a great Proficient, that even he surpassed his Masters. He was made to say in this Declaration, that he had given that of the 21st of May 1652, only on account of the Dread the Reformed were in, lest during the Troubles something should be aster'd to their prejudice. But in the said Declaration of 1652, he says positively that it was upon another account. *And inasmuch,* says he, *that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion have given us undeniable Proofs of their Affection and Fidelity, especially in the present Circumstances whereof we remain fully satisfied, &c.*

So it happen'd, that a violent Declamation wherein an Archbishop trod under his feet Equity, Probity, Honour, and Modesty, de-

1062 *History of the Reformation and of the*
Lewis 14. prived the Reformed of the just Recompence
^{1656.} due for the most faithful, the most seasonable
Pope A- Services that ever Subjects rendered to
Ilexan.VII. their Prince. The Decree of the Council
of the 28th of *August* against the Reformed
of *Montpelier*, which deprived them of the
Right of the Consulate, was likewise an Ef-
fect of the same Speech ; as well as another
Declaration issued forth the 16th of *December*,
concerning Patronages and other Rights, and
the publick Exercise in Episcopal Cities, and
in the Lordships belonging to Church-Men,
&c. whereby the Reformed were deprived
of their Rights in those respects either natu-
ral or acquir'd.

The Clergy, allured by the good Success
of their Iniquity, did not stop there ; they
pushed on further their Malice against the
poor innocent Objects of their Hatred, and
obtained several Decrees against them from
the Beginning of this Year. The most fa-
grant was that of the 11th of *Januari*, for-
bidding the Ministers to style themselves

K VIII. Reformed Churches in France. 1063

found not only Annexes, but even Lewis 14.
al Churches unjustly interdicted, as well 1657.
veral Acts of a crying Injustice against Pope A-
lexan. VII. al private Persons who suffered in their Is., Estates, Liberties, Privileges, and e-
n their Bodies, on several frivolous Pre-
s; but really on account of their Reli-

But on the 26th of July the Council forth a Decree, which was of gene-
cern for the Reformed; for they were
iden henceforward to hold any Colloquy.

was the second Ecclesiastical Court, etc Matters that could not be finally decided by the Consistories, were brought from whence there was Appeal to the Provincial Synod : See what we have said that Subject, in our Preface of the 3d Part.

1658.

is very easy to judge, by what has been
that the Court designed no good to the
rmed; and the Cardinal himself, who
so much behoden unto them for his own
ment, was resolved to work their ruin.
two Things stay'd him; the first was,
Cromwell was still alive; and he knew,
the best means of cultivating his Friend-
was to keep the Edicts. The second
that he designed to marry *Lewis*, and
ing about a general Peace; for which
ose it was requisite not to offend the
s abroad, nor to molest too much the
rmed at home, lest if any new Broils
d happen, the *Spaniards* might improve
Opportunity, and become more proud
tiff. Upon that account it was, that
Cardinal carried his Complaisance so far
Cromwell, as to help him to reduce *Dun-*
under his Power, providing however for

1064 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. the Safety of the Catholick Inhabitants, and
1658. of their Religion; which Caution was quite
^{Pope A-}
~~I~~^{xian.}^{VII.} neglected by the Ministers of *Charles II.* when
that Prince sold that Place to the *French* some
Years afterwards. But the Death of the
Protector delivered the Prime Minister of
Lewis XIV. from very great Perplexities,
and untied the Hands of our Enemies, who,
being no longer restrained by any political
View, were let loose into all manner of In-
justices and Cruelties. He died this Year in
September, and was succeeded in the Protec-
torship by his Son *Richard*, who resigned it
about eighteen Months after.

1659. Fourteen Years were already gone, without
holding any National Synod, which was very
detrimental to the Churches; but after many
Intreaties, they, at last, obtained a Licence
to hold one at *Loudun*, in the next Month
of *November*. Before I come to the Trans-
actions of that Assembly, I must take no-
tice of a Book reprinted this Year. The

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1065

the strongest Exhortations to Peace and Obedience; and that it seems, that Union and Concord might have been everlasting, in the ^{Pope A.} ^{1659.} ^{Examen VII.} wisdom, notwithstanding the Differences ~~between~~.

Religion, had all the Catholicks and ~~and~~ the Officers of Justice been animated by that Spirit of Moderation and Equity only he designs and endeavours to inculcate unto them all along his Work. He thinks the Words *PERPETUAL* and *REVOCABLE*, after a manner which only evinces, that it was not lawful to revoke an Edict published under that double charter. And indeed the zealous Catholicks made much noise about these Words, using them in the obvious Sense which they did. They pretended, that such an Edict did never to have been granted to People called *Heresiacks by the Church*. That a general Law of Toleration, which should have its force only as long as the King should please, would have been sufficient; but *Bell.* took a middle way, whereby he construed the two Words, in a meaning whereof every Right have been satisfied. *The Exercise of Religion*, says he, *shall last and be tolerated in this Kingdom until the Cause should fail, and till those who profess it should be better informed, or convinced in their own Conscience, BY THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST, of Error and Heresy;* so that the King, by these two Words, means to give a publick Assurance that he does design nor understand ever to alter or diminish the Will and firm Resolution he is in to keep his People in Rest and Quietness, on account of Religion, as long as the Cause shall stand. From whence we may justly infer, that

1066 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. the two Lewis's XIII. and XIV. who, at se-
1659. veral times in the most solemn manner, have
^{Pope A-} ratify'd that Edict of their Father and Grand-
lexan.VII. father, have adopted the same Intentions,
and have bound themselves to wait till those,
in whose behalf Henry IV. had granted the
said Edict, should be *better informed, or con-
victed in their own Conscience of Error and
Heresy*: Not by the Authority of one I WILL
HAVE IT so, or by a thousand unjust Vex-
tions, or by military Executions, or by the
Galleys, and exquisite Tortures and shameful
Death, but BY THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY
GHOST; ought they not, I say, to wait till
such a time, before they should think of re-
voking that Edict?

Mr. Benoit observes further, that though
there are several other things in *Bellar's*
Work, which may be taken in a very good
sense, and be useful for the Intelligence of
the Edict; nevertheless one may find in it
the Seeds of the most unjust Cavils, whereby
the plainest Concessions may be eluded: and

VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1067

greeable with this last; otherwise the Lewis 14
cmed should have obtained nothing, ^{1659.} Pope A-
their Condition would have been the lexan.VII.
after the Edict of Nantz as it was be- —

However, we stand much obliged
alloi for his Kindness in giving such an
llent Testimony to the Loyalty of our
fathers. (N. B. That he was a Roman
wick.) Indeed, says he, *'tis impossible*
gib us to deny, or deprive those of that
Opinion of this Praise, that they have
were faithful to our Kings in these last
times, which have shaken the State by
useable Conspiracy, than most part of
thers who were all staggering, and looked
ys. from what side the Wind would blow;
fore the others were nick-named TANT
FAUT *, as being very far and free
Suspicion of any League or Conspiracy a-
the State†.

about the middle of July was held the Provincial
vincial Synod of Guienne at Montpazier, ^{Synod of} *all Town in the Diocese of Sarlat. I do Montpa-*
just mention it, because our Enemies
e it in their heads to defame the Honour
Fidelity of the Reformed a few Years
re the repealing of the Edict of Nantz,
rging them with having plotted in that
od to league themselves with the Eng-
to invade the Kingdom of France. The
nifold Incongruities and Inconsistencies of
that

The Word may be rendered in *Englisb*, by *FAR*
M IT. It must be observ'd, that when the Re-
ned were requir'd to cry *Long Life to Guise, Pro-*
perty to the League! they used to answer *TANT S'EN*
, T, but rather, Long Life to the King. So that
e by little, that Expression denoted a Man strictly
ring to the King.

Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom 3. Liv. 5.

1668 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. that stinking Tale, have been so fully dif-
1659. play'd by the Reverend Messieurs. Claude
Pope A-
lexan. VII. and Juriel, that I need not to dwell any
longer upon that Calumny than is necessary
to observe, that for near twenty Years
together after the Synod of *Mempazier*, no-
body had any notice thereof, and that the
Persons named in that pretended Plot were
none of those that were present in this Synod.

*The 29th
and last
National
Synod.* Now the National Synod met according
to Appointment at *Loudun*, and opened their
Sessions on the 11th of November. The Reverend Mr. *John Daillé*, Minister of *Charenton*, was chosen Moderator; the Reverend Mr. *John Maximilian de l'Angle*, Minister at *Rouen*, Assessor; the Reverend Mr. *James des Loges* Minister at *Loudun*, and *Peter Loride des Galinieres* Esq; Elder of the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Then —————
de la Madelaine Esq; Counsellor in the Par-
liament of *Paris*, having presented his Creden-
tials, took his Seat as the King's Commis-
sioner. His Speech was almost modelled

them for having heretofore too much rely'd Lewis 14. upon their own Strength, which now was ^{1659.} broken; but he gave them hopes that the ^{Pope A-} King would make them Partakers of the Be- ^{texan.VII:} nefits of Peace lately concluded; nay, he positively promised them, in his Majesty's own Name, that he would maintain them in the Fruition of the Edicts. Then he accounted for the Nomination of the Marquis of *Ravigni* to be their General-Deputy attending the Court, instead of the late Marquis of *Arzilliers*, and would have them to look on it as a great favour, that the King would suffer the Marquis of *Ravigni* to take his Seat, and to vote in the present Synod. That done, he delivered what he was commanded to say, *viz.* That they must not ask for a Political Assembly, in order to name general Deputies. That they must not attempt to treat of any Civil Matters, nor to hold any private Assembly at any time, but in his own Presence; nor to name any Deputies to compose Provincial Councils; that the Provincial Synods ought not to prescribe any general Fasting; that they must oblige the Ministers to be modest and sober in their Sermons, and to forbear the Words *Antichrist* and *Idolaters*, whenever they spoke of the *Pope*, and of the Catholicks. Upon which account he blamed the Words *Abuse and Fallacy of Satan*, inserted in the 24th Article of the Confession of Faith. Then he forbid to admit in the Synod, any Foreign Ministers; nor to speak of the Restoration of those who had been deprived by the Decrees of the Council, or of the Parliaments; nor to call any Foreign Minister to be Ministers of the Kingdom, or to admit into the holy

1070 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. holy Ministry any of those who had follow'd
1659. their Studies at Geneva, or in Switzerland, or
Pope A-
lexan. VII. in England, or in Holland ; because they
are tinctured, says he, in those Academies
with Republican Notions. And for a greater
Security that they might obey this Article,
he required that in the Testimonies given to
the Students in Divinity, they should insert
the Place where they were born ; that they
should purposely insert an Article in the Acts
of the Synod, to exclude all those who should
have made their Studies in suspected Places.
He forbid them to read any Letters, before
he had perused them ; and not to receive
any from Foreigners. He required that the
Ministers should be obliged to take for their
Text the Commandments of God, and the
Obedience due to the King ; and to preach
that it is unlawful for the Subjects to take up
Arms against him upon any account soever ;
and desired that, for the least, a Sermon
should be preached upon that Subject during
the Sessions of the Synod. He did like

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1071

great a Length of time, and declared unto Lewis 14. them, that his Majesty would be no more ^{1659.} solicited for obtaining another National Sy- ^{Pope A-} ~~lexan~~ ^{VII.} nod for the future ; but that he would grant it of his own accord, whenever he should think it meet. That was to say, that they had nothing good to expect from Court, and that their utter Ruin was resolved and decreed, tho' it was to come upon them by degrees.

When the Commissioner had done speaking, the Marquis of *Ravigny*, for form-sake, delivered the Commission of Deputy-General upon the Table. Then the Moderator made to the Commissioner the usual Compliments, and desired him to use his best Endeavours for dispelling the Jealousies and Suspitions which his Majesty had conceived against the National Synods. He shewed forth, that these Assemblies had nothing more in view than to confirm the Doctrine of Obedience due to the Sovereigns, and insisted upon the Principles of the Reformed in that Subject. Then he required leave to deliberate upon the Propositions he had made in the King's Name.

Which done, they accepted of the Nomination made by the King for their Deputy-general, and the Moderator thanked his Majesty for so good a choice ; and for that he had left them at liberty to accept or refuse. but the Synod had a mind to settle the Deputation upon the ancient footing, and to have a Deputy for the Commons, as well as one for the Nobility ; and accordingly they named three Persons, that the King might choose one ; Messieurs *des Galinieres*, *de Jausaud*, and *des Forges le Ccq.* were the Persons ;

1072 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Lewis 14. sons ; but no regard was had to that Nom-
1659. nation : And the Marquis of Ruvigny re-
~~Pope A-~~
~~lexan. VII.~~ mained sole Deputy, which Commission he
filled up till the Revocation of the Edict.*

As to the other Points, the Moderator promised not to treat of any other Matter but Ecclesiastical ; nor to hold any Assembly but in the Commissioner's presence ; not to appoint any Provincial Council ; that the Ministers should keep themselves in the Bounds of Moderation, and should forbear all harsh Words or Expressions. But he desired that his Majesty should cause the same Moderation to be observed by the *Roman* Clergy. He excused the Words and Expressions of the Liturgy and of the Confession of Faith, as necessary to explain the Reasons our Reformers had had for breaking with the Church of *Rome*. And as for the Province, whose right it is to call the National Synod, proclaiming a general Fast ; and for the Ministers severely reprobating those Persons professing our Religion who

okVIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1073

their Students to travel to Foreign Uni- Lewis 14.
ties, that were either under the Protec- 1659.
-of, or in Alliance with the Crown of Pope A-
nne. As to the Charge brought against ~~the~~ ^{Pope A-} ~~the~~ ^{lexan. VII.}
an, that they infring'd the Edicts more than
Catholics; Mr. *Daille*, in a lively and
wing manner, plainly justified their Inno-
cence, and fully retorted the Charge upon
Enemies, which he evinced by so many
various Instances, that it was impossible
graspsy. In a word, his whole Speech
was well temper'd with Strength of Argu-
ments, with Modesty, with Respect to the
messign, and at the same time with a no-
dissimilitude, that I have seen nothing that
shd. be parallell'd with it in that kind.

After those Preliminaries, the Synod wrote
the King, to the Queen-Mother, and to
Cardinal-Minister, and deputed the Re-
vend Mr. *Eustache* Minister at *Montpellier*,
& *James d'Arlande* Lord of *Mirabel* with
Letters. They were kindly received
answering. The King faith in his Letter,
it he was very well pleased with the Con-
fess of the Reformed: He exhorted them
persevere in their Fealty; promised them
favourable Treatment, and that he would
always delighted in their Preservation under
Benefit of his Edicts, as he bad done,
as he, till then. The Superscription was,
Dear dear and well-beloved the PASTORS
& Elders deputed unto the Assembly of the
national Synod of our Subjects professing the
revered Reformed Religion at Loudun. He
gave them still the Title of Pastors, notwithstanding
the Decree of the Council in 1657.
the Cardinal's Answer is but short, I shall
sert it here, such as it is.

" SIRS,

Lewis 14. "SIRS, Your Deputies delivered unto
1659. "the Letter, which you have taken
Pope A-
lexan.VII. "trouble to write me. I owe you Than
The Car-
dinal's
Letter to
the Synod. "for your Civilities ; and the more, because
"His Majesty being persuaded as he is of
"your inviolable Fidelity, and of your Zeal
"for his Service ; 'tis but needless and fa-
"perfluous to mention any good Offices for
"you with His Majesty. I desire you to be-
"lieve that I have a very great value for you,
"as you do deserve it, being such good
"Servants and Subjects to the King. I have
"nothing more to say, but to refer myself
"to what shall be said of me by your own
"Deputies, and by the Letters of Monsieur
"de la Vrilliere. I remain SIRS, your most
"affectionate to do you Service, *The Car-*
"dinal MAZARINI."

The King granted them, as usual, the Sum of 16000 Livres for bearing the Ex- pences of the Synod. The Commissioner gave them leave to read the Letters directed to them by the Churches and Academies of Zurich, Berne, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Geneva, after he had first perused them ; but he did not allow them to return any Answer. He allowed them likewise to read the Infor- mations sent from Holland, for and against the Reverend Mr. Morus, whose Calling to serve the Church of Charenton was then op- posed by part of the said Church, because his Reputation seemed to be something am- biguous ; however, having been cleared, he was admitted one of the Pastors of the said Church. He allowed them likewise to en- deavour the composing of the Differences arisen at Castres, between d'Escrbiac and Brugeres,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1075

Brugeres, Counsellors in the Chamber of that Lewis 14. City, and at *Montauban*, where the Church 1660. was divided in two Parties, on account of Pope A-lexan. VII. the same Affair of these two Counsellors, who had agreed to refer their Cause to the Decision of the Church of this last City.

The Synod had a mind to renew the Affair of the Annexes; but the Commissioner did not allow them. However they enacted to make of that Affair one of the chief Articles of their Bill of Grievances, and they enjoined the Ministers, who were in the case, not to desist from preaching in those Places, notwithstanding all manner of Opposition, or else they would be dealt with as Deserters from their Ministry. They resolved likewise to proclaim a Fasting-day, which they appointed for the 25th of March 1660. The Catholicks cried very loud against it, as if the general Peace, and the King's Marriage, had been for the Reformed a Subject of Humiliation and Sorrow. They named *Loride des Galinieres* Esq; to take care of the Affairs of the Reformed Churches at Paris, which could not be commodiously managed by the Deputy-General, and appointed for him a Stipend of 3000 Livres; but that Nomination did not take place. Then they drew up their Bill of Grievances, wherewith the Reverend Alexander Dize Minister of *Grenoble*, and *Francis de Toulouge* Lord of *Feissac*, and Elder in the Church of *Uzez*, were charged. They made several other good and wise Regulations; and having shewed forth in the general Matters as much respect for the Sovereign's Will, as could be expected from Men of Honour, and as much Steadiness as Prudence could allow in such

1076 · *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14 nice Conjunctions, they put an end to
1660. their long Sessions the 10th of January 1660.
Pope A- The Province of *Lower Languedoc* was to
Ilexan VII. summon the next National Synod, and the
City of *Nimes* was the Place appointed to
meet in, about three Years after ; but our E-
nemies would not suffer us any longer to en-
joy our Privileges *.

*Bill of
Grievan-
ces.* Tho' the Bill of Grievances tendered to
the King by this Synod, is not inserted in
Quick's Synodicon, nevertheless, as it is to
be supposed that it contained the same Ar-
ticles as that presented by all the Provincial
Synods in 1658, and the Memoir drawn up
in April 1659, I shall abstract them out of
these two Pieces, such as I find them in *Benoit's History*, Tom. 3. Book 5.

The Provincial Synods, in their general
Bill of Grievances, had reduced all the prin-
cipal and most important Concessions of the
Edict to these five Heads. I. The Liberty
of residing in whatever Place of the King-
dom they should chuse without being in any

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1077

civil, tried before the Chambers of the E- Lewis 14.
dict, or half-parted Chambers created in their 1660.
Behalf. Now, after having observed that ^{Pope A-} ~~lexan.~~ VII.
these Concessions could not be of any Preju-
dice either to the Catholicks in general, or
the Clergy in particular ; but that the least
Contravention of them was destructive to the
Reformed, they went on to prove that the
Edict was in manifold respects infringed in
all these five Points, which they did evince
by twenty or thirty Instances upon each
Article ; so that their Veracity could not be
questioned, the Grievance complained of be-
ing plainly made out by such a Number of E-
vidences. They sent their Deputies to Court,
who, after four long Months Delays and
Cavils, obtained at last, with great ado, an
Audience. The Marquis *de la Forêt*, a Gen-
tleman of *Poitou*, was their Foreman ; his
Speech was wise, modest, respectful, tho' he
represented with great Energy the Attempts
daily made against the Edicts, which were
authorized by the Declarations and Decrees
which the Council so easily granted the Clergy.
The Decree of the 18th of July 1656 made
the chief Subject of his Complaints. He ob-
served by the way, that the Clergy's Remon-
strances that had occasioned the Grant there-
of, were but meer Calumnies ; and affirmed,
that amongst the King's Subjects, none were
more submissive, obedient and faithful, than
the Reformed. Speaking of the Obedience
due to the King, he said, That they did not
believe that any temporal Power had a right
to dispense the Subjects from their Allegi-
ance ; and that as to themselves, after hav-
ing paid their Duty unto God, they chearfully
~~were~~ to render to *Cæsar* what belonged to
Cæsar.

Lewis 14. *Cæsar.* He required that whatever had been
1660. enacted, contrary to the Edict of *Nantz*,
Pope A-
lexan. VII. should be repealed, and that it should be
fully restored in all its Parts. When he had
done speaking, he put the Petition or Bill of
Grievances into the King's Hands ; and that
Prince told him, *I will examine your Petition,*
and do you Justice. After the King's Au-
dience, the Deputies desired that of the Car-
dinal ; he denied it at first, but at last he
consented to receive the Deputies without
any Ceremony ; so that they named only two
of them to speak to him in their Name.
The Reverend Mr. *De Langle* Minister of
Rouen, deceased Canon of *West-Munster*, and
De Thiac Esq; Deputy of *Xaintonge*, were
conducted to his Eminency at *Vincennes* by
the General Deputy. They met him alone,
and Mr. *De Langle* made a very fine Speech,
tho' engaging and adulatory, it was very
pressing and moving upon the same Subject,
whereof the Marquis of *La Forêt* had treated

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1079

crees daily issued forth from the Council and Lewis 14. from the Parliaments. The Cardinal's An-^{1660.} *swver was very kind and obliging, but after Pope A-*^{Pope Alexander XII.} *the Italian way;* and all that the Deputies could obtain, were WORDS. Lewis had been taught to have no regard for the Reformed, nor for the Promises he made to them, how deeply soever his own Honour should be engaged in it. It is said, that some time after, a certain Person representing unto him the Examples of Henry IV. and Lewis XIII. he told him, *The King my Grand-father loved, but feared not you; the King my Father feared, but not loved you; and for my part, I neither fear nor love you.* That is very like Lewis XIV. Now it must be supposed, that these Deputies having not succeeded in their Commission, the National Synod inserted in their Bill of Grievances the very same Articles which were in this general Petition of the Provincial Synods: But the Deputies of the National Synod were not more successful than those of the Provincials; they were both baffled by the Artifices of that treacherous Court.

Their restless Adversaries, the Popish Clergy, used all Endeavours to envenom the *Abominable Suggestions of the Roman Clergy.* Ministers, that if upon occasion they had been able to save the State from Ruin, they might likewise upon another utterly overthrow it. Therefore it was but prudent to suppress that Party, and what good they had done must be no longer regarded, but as an Indication of the Mischief which some time or other they were capable of effecting. This devilish Policy, which hinders

1080 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. Subjects from serving their Prince, to avoid the
1660. bringing upon themselves or their Posterity
Pope A. Punishments instead of Recompences, took
lexan. VII. immediately with the ungrateful Court.
They began to execute the unjust and cruel
Design, long ago set on foot, of rooting out the
Reformed; and that they might clearly under-
stand, that it was their Zeal and Loyalty
for their King that now occasioned their
Ruin, they immediately fell foul on the
Cities of *Montauban, Rochelle, &c.* where the
Reformed had the most signalized themselves
for the Court's Interest: so that for the future
we shall see nothing else but a continual
Scene of the most heinous Injustices, and of
the most barbarous Cruelties.

1661. Was I to relate the Injustices and cruel
Of Caillon Treatments done to private Persons, I should
de la have taken notice of the Prosecution and
Touche. Martyrdom of *Caillon de la Touche Esq;*
That unfortunate Gentleman was calum-
mied, charged with being a *Rebel*, & a *Chal-*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1081

Moment. The Widow of the Deceased, Lewis 14. notwithstanding such a glaring Evidence of ^{1661.} her Husband's Innocency, could never obtain ^{Pope Alexander VII.} of the Parliament a Reversion of the Sentence, nor a Restoration of his good Name by any publick Instrument. But I will insist only upon Matters of a general Concern.

The Sorbonne having declar'd, in a full Assembly of its Doctors, that she ABHORRED ^{Scripture} ~~sons of~~ the Versions of the Holy Scripture, and no-branded. tified the same to the Assembly of the Clergy, which was soliciting that strange Declaration; Pope Alexander published a Bull the 8th of January, wherein he styled the Translators of the Scripture SONS OF PERDITION.

By a Decree of the Council, issued forth ^{several} Decrees. the 25th of the same Month, the Reformed Religion ORTHODOX, but only Pretended Reformed Religion. On the same Day another Decree was issued forth, forbidding the Ministers to speak loud when they exhorted the Criminals in Jail, and pray'd with them at the Place either of their Confinement or of their Execution. And on the 18th of February, another was issued forth on the same Subject, forbidding the Jailors and the Minister to suffer any body to be present at their Exhortations. But these Things were but Trifles in comparison of the cruel Treatment the Cities of Montauban and Rochelle receiv'd, and which engrossed the publick Attention for this whole Year. The occasion of their Misfortunes was as follows:

There was a College at Montauban, which, Cruelties for a long while having been occupied by ^{against} the Reformed alone, had been at last, like ^{Montauban.} that of Nimes divided; and the Jesuits had

1082 *History of the Reformation and of the*
Lewis 14 obtained what had been taken from the
1661. former, who, however were kept in Posses-
Pope A-
lexan. VII. sion of the best part thereof ; so that the
Jesuits Students were obliged to keep close
in their Forms, as soon as they came, and
durst hardly appear in any other Place of the
College. Such a Constraint was intolerable
to the good Fathers. For a long time they
had endeavoured to free themselves from it,
but till then they could not find any favour-
able Opportunity, and had been forced to
rest satisfied with their being tolerated only.
Now they took it in their heads to shake off
the Yoke ; for which purpose, as they were
wont to represent from time to time by their
Scholars some Theatrical Piece in the largest
of their Forms, they, in 1660, erected their
Stage in the College-Yard, on pretence that
the Intendant and other Persons of Quality
would do them the honour to be present at
that Representation. They had asked, and
obtained the Consent of the Rector of the

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1083

imprisoned only by its Authority, and they Lewis 14.
had their own private Jail. Now looking ^{1661.} Pope A-
upon the Magistrate's Proceeding as an In-lexan.VII.
ringement of their Privileges, they went
tumultuously and broke open the Jail, and
set their Comrades at liberty. The Consuls
came in their Regalia, and some of the Pro-
fessors in their Gowns; but neither the Au-
thority of the one, nor the Remonstrances
of the other, could appease them.

Now the Jesuits missed not this opportunity. They sent Information of the Fact to Court, not drawn according to the Rules of Truth and Justice, but according to the Jesuitical Methods; for they made of that private Cafe, wherein none but young Students were concerned, a publick one, wherein they involv'd not only their Professors and Regents, but the whole Church of Montauban, as if they had been the Abettors thereof, or had had any hand in it. They pretended that the Honour and Safety of the Catholick Religion requir'd, that such Indignities and Affronts put upon its Teachers should not go unpunished. Thereupon Hotman, Intendant of Justice at Montauban, received Orders from Court to dispossess the Reformed of their College, and to give it whole to the Jesuits. Hotman notified his Orders to the Consuls. These conven'd the most notable Citizens in a Chamber adjoining to the new Temple, and exposed the Advice which the Intendant had given them. The People understanding the Matter, instantly took fire, and some hundreds of them came tumultuously to the Church-Door. They suspected their Magistrates, at least they charged them with Neglect of Duty, for not having timely informed

1084 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14 informed the Court of the Right they had to
1661. the Academy. They could not bear the Pro-
Pope A-
lexan. VII. position of giving over that Right, they re-
quired time to inform the King of the Justice
of their Cause; at least they desired to see the
King's Order, and humbly besought the
Intendant to shew it to them, promising to
submit as soon as they should be duly ac-
quainted with his Majesty's Will.

Their Request was but reasonable, and had
Hotman been well intentioned, he might
have indulged that People so far without
derogating to his Character. But their En-
emies wanted to provoke them to some un-
due thing, that they might have a pretence
for crushing them. The wisest among the
Reformed Inhabitants were afraid left, little
by little, that Murmur should degenerate into
an open Sedition, whereby they should fall
into the Snares of their Enemies. Therefore,
in order to prevent it, they found no better
means than to open the Church-Doors, a
Minister came up in the Pulpit, and some

But the wicked Man did not stop there ; Lewis 14.
 he sent Informations to Court of whatever 1661.
 was past, which he magnified in every re- Pope A-
 spect ; and in order not to be contradicted lexan. VII.
 by those whom he was pleased to charge, he
 gave them no notice of what he wrote upon
 their account. They were informed thereof
 from Paris, and at the same time they were
 told from the same Place, that something very
 extraordinary was hatching against them.
 And indeed the Marquis of St. Luc, Lieute-
 nant in Guienne, had orders to march to
 Montauban, and to destroy it. Accordingly
 he came with about 5000 Men, Horse and
 Foot, took possession of the Gates and of
 the publick Places, and quartered his Troops
 upon the Reformed. The Magistrate agreed
 with the Officers for a certain Sum, so that
 they kept their Men within certain Bounds ;
 but the Stock of the City was exhausted in
 more than four Months time that these quar-
 terings lasted. And to the end that the In-
 habitants should not doubt but that their Re-
 ligion was the chief Cause of these military
 Executions ; those who turned Catholicks,
 were delivered of their Guests.

That was not all : Hotman received Orders
 to inform against those who had been in the
 late Riot, and to judge them conjointly with
 the Presidial, without Appeal. Consequent-
 ly he caused several Persons to be arrested,
 two of whom were condemned to Death and
 executed ; others were sentenced to be whipt,
 others to be present at the Execution ;
 others to Banishment, and their Goods and
 Estates forfeited. During these Transactions,
 the City deputed to Court for making their
 Remonstrances to the King. The Deputies
 were

1086 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. were kindly received outwardly, and sent
1661. back full of Hopes ; but, like Uriah, in the
Pope A-
lexan. VII. Old Testament, they were the Carriers of the
Orders to raze their Fortifications, to fill up
their Ditches, to level their Walls, to de-
prive the Reformed of the Consulship. And
so the Fidelity of that poor People received
the Reward due to Rebellion.

Against
Rochelle. About the same time *Rochelle*, without
the least Provocation, had a sad Experience
of that devilish Maxim held by their En-
emies, *That Faith is not to be kept with Her-
etics*; for notwithstanding the Declaration
made after the Reduction of that City in
1628, a Decree was issued forth by the
Council of State the 11th of November, con-
firming the Ordinance of *Colbert de Torre*,
Intendant of Justice and Police in *Brouage*,
Aulnay and *Rochelle*, published the 14th of
October, for expelling out of that City the
Reformed that were not Inhabitants, married,
Burghesses, or Merchants trading for their own

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1087

lispers. Item, The Ministers that were not Lewis 14.
born at *Rochelle*, &c. &c. 1661.

That Decree was register'd at the Seat of ^{Pope A-}lexan.VII.
Rochelle; and *Bomier*, one of the King's At-
torneys, was the Man that pushed on that
Affair with all his Might and Interest. He
was one of the hottest Persecutors; he had
been brought up amongst the *Jesuits*, and
being naturally base and wicked, he was de-
lighted with their Methods. After the Re-
gistering, the Ordinance and the Decree were
proclaimed by sound of Trumpets, com-
manding all those that were designed, of
what Rank and Quality soever, to quit the
City in a Fortnight, on the Penalty of 500
Livres; to which they would be constrained
by selling of their Moveables. When the
Proclamation was made, those who were
lately come to settle at *Rochelle*, submitted.
They were tempted by very fair Promises,
if they would turn *Catbolicks*; but they
were Proof against these Temptations, and
chose to suffer, rather than to do any thing
against their Conscience. (Note, that this hap-
pened in the midst of the Winter, and that
at that time the Rains continued very heavy
for three Weeks together.) But those who
were Natives of *Rochelle*, tho' they were sen-
sible that they could be included in one or
other of the Cases specify'd in the Declara-
tion, had a mind to wait till they should be
prosecuted, in hopes to find some Mitiga-
tion. But, on the contrary, their Persecutors
treated them with the utmost Severity. All
those who were summoned, were condemned;
nay, they could not obtain a Delay, even of
a single Day, not even of a few Hours.
But the Serjeants came instantly after Sen-
tence

Lewis 14. tence had been given ; they seized upon what-
1661. ever was the best in the House, to the Value of
Pope A- the Fine, and for the Charges of the Law, and
lexan. VII. exposed the rest to sale in the open Street.
They insulted, by Words, the poor People ;
and, joining Cruelty to Injustice, they pulled
out of their Houses decrepid old Men and
Women unable to stand, Women in Labour
or newly brought to Bed, Persons sick in
Bed, without any Mercy ; some of them
died in the Arms of the Carriers, and others
with the Fatigue and Grief. This Persecu-
tion lasted two Months, and near 300 Fa-
milies were in that manner and upon these
account's expelled the City.

1662. I shall here pass over numberless unjust
Against Decrees and Declarations upon several Affairs
Milbaud. relating to our Churches, because I chuse to
sum up the whole under some few proper
general Heads in the Conclusion of this Book.
But I cannot omit the cruel Treatment the
Reformed of Milbaud met this Year. They

book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1089

hat on the 10th of February there was a Bu- Lewis 14.
al, which the Reformed made at their ^{1663.} Pope A-
Tour, and with the same Attendance as u- lexan.VII.
al; for the said Decree having not been ~~rec'd~~
tified unto them by the proper Persons,
ould not be of any force as to them. The
spucines took this opportunity for opposing
hem, they assaulted the Funeral, and endeav-
oured to stop their March with such a Vio-
lence, that some of the Company, not able to
ear any longer, fell upon them, and abused
hem. Those Good ANGELICAL FA-
MERS failed not to magnify the Harm
ley had received. They charged the Re-
formed with having trod them under their
et, bruised them with Sticks, plucked
ff their Beards; and that they designed to
t their Convents in flames, had they not
een hinder'd by a prodigious Fall of Snow.
he Informations were modelled upon these
omplaints without any farther Examina-
on; the Minister of the Place, one of the
orthiest of his time, was falsely charged.
he Intendant *Pellet* received Orders to re-
enge the Capucines. He did it with the
tmost Severity, nay Cruelty, seeing that
here had not been any Bloodshed. Two
ere hang'd, two condemn'd to make *A-
mende Honorable*, and to Banishment; two
thers were banish'd for five Years; the Mi-
nister for ever; some Women were sentenced
to be whipped; 29 or 30 others, who had
bsented, were hanged or burnt in Effigy.
That was not all; all the Reformed of Mil-
and were declared Accomplices of the Re-
bellion against the King's Orders, and fined
4000 Livres, besides the Charges. They
ere deprived for ever of the Consul-
ship,

1090 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Lewis 14. ship, &c.* That Text has no need of any
1664. *Commentary.*

Pope A-
lexan. VII. Amongst other flagrant Injustices done to
the Reformed this Year, there were some of
College of *Castres*, as well as that of *Nimes*, had formerly
given to *the Jesuits* belong'd to the Reformed exclusively to all
others, but they had been obliged to yield
part of each to the Catholicks. Now the
first Regent of *Castres* being deceased, the
Catholick Consuls of that City, spurred to it
by the Archdeacon of *Castres*, deprived the
second Regent and several other Officers of
the College who were Reformed. Their
pretence was, that by the Decrees the Re-
formed could keep only small Schools to
teach Children to read, write, and cast
Accounts : which Pretence was absolutely
false ; for if that had been the case, to be
sure the Reformed Academy at *Montauban*,
far from being transferred to *Puilaurent*, as
it had been two Years before by the Court's

arded, the Justice of their Cause was slighted ; Lewis 14. acCouncil who was in possession, to tread un- 1664. under their feet Justice, Truth, Honesty, and ^{Pope A-}lexan:VII: whatever is sacred amongst Men, whenever a case before them had any relation to the lights of the Reformed, issued forth a Decree the 17th of September, whereby they were ordered to produce in three Months time the instruments whereby they were entitled to any share in the said College ; and in the mean while they settled the *Jesuits* in it, they ascribed unto them the head Mastership of the College, the two Regent Places designed for the Catholicks, and the Licence of filling by Provision the two other Places belonging to be Reformed, till the King should have ordered otherwise, which he never did.

The *Jesuits* had but indirectly interyen'd ^{And at} this Affair of *Gastrès* ; but it was not the Nimes. same at *Nimes*. They were Party against the Reformed. The College had been divided between them and the Catholicks in January 1634, by some Commissioners of the half-artert Chamber. There had been a new Transaction between them in April 1652, confirmed by the King's Council ; the Deed of hat Confirmation had been registered in the tolls of the Chamber of *Gastrès*, and of the Court of Accounts at *Montpellier* ; so that all he most solemn Forms required in such cases ad been observed. Thereupon the Reformed bought that they could make such an use f their Portion as they might think proper, having over it an undeniable Right grounded upon the most glaring Evidences. Therefore they made some new Buildings for alarging their College. The *Jesuits* suffered hem to go on till the Building was almost fi- VOL. IV. B b b nished.

1092 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. nished. Then they tender'd a Petition to the
1664. Commissioners, shewing forth that the Reform-
Pope A-
texan.VII. ed had usurped those Places whereupon they
had built, (*tho' it was plain that part therof
belonged to themselves, and the other to the City,
with which they had agreed;*) they pretended,
that the King having granted them the Col-
lege, they ought to be superior in it; and
that no Alteration could be made in it with-
out their Consent. The Commissioners were
divided, and the Affair was brought before
the King's Council; where, after their wonted
custom, the Reformed were condemned. But
as they were sensible that their Sentence was
unjust, they endeavoured to cover it with a
Veil; which served only to cover them-
selves with a greater Shame. *LEWIS* or-
dered that the *Syndick* of the College of *Jesuits* should be put in possession of all the
Places, which before the Transaction of 1652
had made part of the College, together with
all the new Buildings erected since that time

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1093

no Reformed Regent could be admitted without being approved and received by their Rector; and they could not be deprived, but by his own Consent; they and their Disciples were obliged to be submissive to his Orders; he had a full Authority to deprive them without giving Cause, &c. Let the Reader judge, whether there was any Equity in that Decree containing such odious Conditions, whereto the Reformed could not yield without wounding their Honour or their Conscience. Nevertheless they could obtain no Redress.

But the Affair of *Privas* is of such a shocking nature, that one can't read it without A-^{Cruelties at Privas.}stonishment and Horror. The Reformed had been restored to that Town by Lewis XIII. and in consideration of the great Services they had done him in the Wars against his Brother the Duke of Orleans; they had obtained leave to rebuild their Houses, and till their Lands, and to trade. Nay, by a Decree of the King's Council, they had been admitted to the Magistracy and all other publick Offices of the Town. But they were so much neglectful, that they did not require the Repeal of the Declaration issued forth against them in 1629, during the last Civil War of the Duke of Robeⁿ, whereby their Goods and Estates were forfeited, they were forbidden to settle themselves again in that Town, and it was declared that if at any time they did contravene, Possession should not be deemed a Reason whereupon they could ground any Right. Now the wicked Clergy thought proper to improve the Simplicity of these poor People. They were allured to it by the cruel Success they had had against the Reformed of *Rochelle*, whose Case was near the same. There was at *Privas*

1094 *History of the Reformation and of the*
Lewis 14. two hundred and sixty Families, two hundred
^{1664.} whereof were Reformed : So then their En-
Pope A-
lexan. VII. mies (*true Cannibals*) sued them before the
Council, in consequence of the said Article of
that Declaration. They were mightily sup-
ported by the Prince of *Conti* Governor of
Languedoc, and after very tedious Pursuits
they obtained a Decree the 22d of *February*
this Year, whereby HONEST LEWIS ordered
that the Declaration of 1629 should be execut-
ed in its full extent, forbid the Reformed of
what Quality soever to inhabit that Town
upon a thousand Livres Penalty, enjoined the
Inhabitants of that Persuasion to quit it im-
stantly, on the Penalties enacted by the said
Declaration ; allowed the Catholicks, the new
Converts, or those who should turn hereafter
Catholicks, to dwell in it, restoring them to
their Goods and Estates, notwithstanding the
incurred Forfeiture, &c. &c. That Decree
was executed with all the Rigour and Cruelty
that could be expected from *Cannibals*.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1095

against all Sense, not only of Pity, but even Lewis 14.
of Justice and Equity. 1665.

I shall take notice in another Place of a famous Writing published the Beginning of this Year by the *Jesuit Mefnier*, against the *Several Rights and Privileges of the Reformed*. The *Pope A-*
lexan. VII. *unjust De-*
crees.
most notable Injustices of this Year were as follows : The Reformed Commissioner, who was joined with a Catholick in all the Provinces, was forbidden, by a Decree of the Council of the 26th of *January*, to contradict his Colleague in any thing ; so that he was obliged to see the most crying Frauds and Injustices done under his Name, without daring to oppose them. By another Decree of the 24th of *April*, the Council referred to the Commissioners the Cognizance of all Affairs concerning Religion, and the Exercise thereof, Church-Yards, Temples, the Observation of the Edict, &c. from whom however the Parties might appeal to the Council. The Commissioners Catholicks set up themselves to report their own Causes in the Council, which was very unjust, and of immense Prejudice to the Reformed ; for they drew up the Cause after their own Passion, without taking any notice of the Oppositions made by the Reformed ; they used to set in a full light the Reasons of the Catholicks, but they hardly related those of the Reformed, and they became in a little time Judges and Party in their own Causes. It was by these means that so many Churches were suppressed in *Britany*. *D'Argouges* Commissioner in that Province, a violent and furious Persecutor, having tried those Churches, and drawn up the verbal Process, set up himself for Judge in the Council ; the rest of the Counsellors owning that

1096 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14 that was not just, nevertheless he was suffered
1665. to go on.

Pope A- Nobody would take the part of these af-
lexan.VII. flicted Churches, besides the Dutches of *R-*
Dutches ban; but she was out of favour at Court.
of Rohan's The Dutches of *Soubize* her Daughter had
Generosity. withstood the Pursuits of the GALLANT
LEWIS, who, being not used to meet with
Resistance, was extremely provok'd at the
young Dutches's Virtue; so that *D'Argouges*
finding his Master in a Fit of this ill Humour,
obtained without much ado the Confirmation
of his Sentences; and tho' the Chancellor had
engaged the Council to spare the Church of
Blain, at least during the Life of the Dutches,
who resided in that Place, nevertheless he or-
dered her to level that Church to the ground,
which was executed.

1666. So many Vexations, Injustices and Cruel-
ties done to the Reformed without the least
bis Answer Provocation, and only in order to gratify an
to the Elec- impudent Clergy, obliged some Princes in
tor of Branden- Alliance with *France* to interfere for them.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1097

thority, against his Reformed Subjects, thought Lewis 14.
that it was better to deny that any such thing 1666.

was done in his Kingdom. Accordingly, in *lexan. VII.* Pope A.

his Answer to the Elector's Letter, he told —

him, *That some ill-designing People had pub-*

lished some seditious Libels in Foreign Countries;

as if his Reformed Subjects were deprived of

the Benefit of the Edicts, Declarations, &c.

granted them by his Predecessors and by himself,

which would be, says he, against my Intentions

for I do take care that they should be main-

tained in all their Privileges, and that they

should be kept upon the same Footing with the

rest of my other Subjects. And that he might

be the better credited, he adds, To that I am

engaged by my Royal Word. And, N. B. By

THE GRATEFUL SENSE I HAVE of the

Testimonies of their Fidelity they have given me

in the last Commotions; for they took up Arms

for my Service, and vigorously as well as suc-

cessfully opposed the wicked Designs which a

Party of Rebels had formed in my State against

my Authority, &c. What more glaring Evi-

dence can we desire of the Innocence of the

Reformed, than such a Testimony offer'd in

their Behalf by their very Persecutor?

The Persecutions continued very severe in 1667.

Posson this Year and part of the next, ma-

ny of their Churches were condemned and de-

molished, and a vast Number of Persons of e-

very Rank and Sex were sent into several Pri-

fons, where they were kept, some for several

Months, others for several Years, without

any regard for their Age, Sex, or Quality;

amongst whom were the Ladies De Ferin, and

De Regnié; several were condemned to Death,

and executed for having been present at some

religious Assemblies.

1098 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. Pope Alexander died this Year, and was
1667. succeeded the 20th of June by Cardinal Ref-
^{Pope Cle.} *pigliotti of Pistoia*, who took the Name of Clem-
~~ment~~ IX.

1668. This Year the Provinces sent a new Depa-
^{A Deputa} tation to the King, to endeavour the Redres-
^{tions to} of their manifold Grievances. The Reverend
^{Court.} Mr. Du Bosc Minister at Caen, having been
deputed by his Province, was, on account of
his rare Talents, named by the Deputies of the
other Provinces for setting down in Writing
some Considerations upon their Grievances,
which he did perfectly well. But another Af-
fair of very great Importance for the Reform-
ed happened, which afforded him an opportu-
nity of displaying these Talents in a way which
redounded much to his Honour. The Clergy
were endeavouring to obtain the Suppression
of the Chambers of the Edict, and of the half-
parted Chambers. Every one may judge how
deeply the Reformed were affected by that
Piece of Injustice. The Court was upon the
point of gratifying our Enemies in that re-

was prepossessed against the Ministers, and who Lewis 14 at first feigned not to take notice of this Ora- 1668. tor, did no sooner hear him speaking, than he ^{Pope Cle-}~~met IX.~~ began to listen with great Attention to what ~~he~~ he said ; and at the end was pleased to own, that that Affair had not been represented unto him under that Shape. He conferred with *D^r Bosc* for some time upon that Subject, and told him, that he would consider of it. But, notwithstanding this and several other Conferences held with the Ministers of State, and their Petition and Remonstrances ; all their Cares and Troubles hinder'd not the King from suppressing these Chambers in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Rouen*, by a Decree of January 1669. The Reformed were for the future referred to the Great Chamber, for all the verbal Appeals ; all the Favour granted them was, that they may challenge two Counsellors Clerks without shewing Cause. As for the Writing-Suits, they were referred to the Chamber of Inquests, where they were not allowed to challenge any body ; only the Counsellors Clerks were not to be admitted Rehearsers of the Cases.

This was indeed a terrible Stroke to the Liberties and Privileges of the Reformed ^{1669.} ~~Same Pa-~~ Churches, whereof the Clergy boasted as of a compleat Victory got over these Hereticks, ^{courtof}~~ed to the~~ ^{Reformed.} whereby they expected to have crushed them. Nevertheless the Court thought proper to give the Reformed a sham Comfort, by revoking the Declaration of 1666. That Declaration was the Clergy's Work, and consequently framed as it could be expected from such Men ; it suited very well their proud and cruel Genius. I have called this revocatory Declaration a *sham Comfort*, not but that there was

1100 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. was in it many things which they could not
1669. satisfy with, but because it was not the
Pope Clement IX. Court's Intention that it should be executed.

Two things above all were to be found in the Preamble, which much pleased their Fancies : 1°. That the Decrees, whereupon the Declaration of 1666 was grounded, were repealed with the Declaration itself ; so that the Clergy, by a single Stroke, lost all the vast Sums of Money and Trouble they had been at and paid for getting this Declaration. 2°. The King was made to say positively that this new Declaration would stand as A LAW FOR THE FUTURE, which caused the Reformed to believe that, for the future, there would be something sure and lasting, which should stand instead of a new Law, and would be no longer obnoxious to Cavils. But as that Declaration was grounded only upon some political Views, it was observed only so long as these Views subsisted, and did fall to the ground even before they ceased.

Of Mar- There was a Gentleman, namely *Marcilli,*

OKVIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1101

ich were disguised unto him, either by the ^{Lewis 14.} Agents of *France*, or thro' the ^{1669.} Perfidiousness ^{Pope Cle-} his own Ministers. The Marquis of ^{Ru-} ^{ment IX.} ~~the~~ was then near this Prince ; the King ~~the~~ ving sent him to remove the Jealousies, ich *Charles* had but too justly conceived of Designs, and of the Conduct of his Coun- ; and he had been named for that Embassy t only on account of his great Capacity, but > on account of his Religion, whereby he s better enabled than another to persuade it his Master did intend no harm against Religion, and that he treated his Reformed bjects with Equity. I don't know how to oncile this Message with the general Char- ter of the Marquis. How a Reformed, nay Deputy-General of the Reformed, perfectly ill acquainted with all the Wrongs, Inju- xes, &c. done every day to his Brethren, d no less acquainted with the wicked De- ns of the Clergy ; and the bad Dispositions the King's Council against us, could with safe Conscience endeavour to persuade His *Britannick* Majesty, that His Most Christian ajesty bore no ill-will to the Reformed ; ut ho treated them with Equity like the rest his Subjects ? How could he endeavour to ter His *Britannick* Majesty from joining th the two other Protestant Powers, in or- effectually to oppose the ambitious Designs the *House of Bourbon*, which aimed already an Universal Monarchy, and at the total Ex- pation of the Protestant Religion ? And w deeply must he have been concerned when saw King *Charles*, (who was not otherwise ill-inclined for that Alliance, wherein he d enter'd only for dazzling the Parliament's es, and for obtaining larger Supplies,) not only

Lewis 14 only renouncing unto it, but even entering
1669. upon a War against the United Provinces,
~~Pope Cle-
ment IX.~~ which cost the Nation above five Millions
Sterling? But the best of Men are subject
to the Failures of human Nature *.

To return, *Ruvigny* being thoroughly satisfied that *Marcilli* was actually the Man, informed his Master of the Discoveries he had made upon that Subject; and let him know, that he was gone into Switzerland, where he continued his Practices. The King spoke of it to the Marshal of *Turenne*, who sent into that Country three Officers professing the Reformed Religion. These Gentlemen being become acquainted with *Marcilli*, allured him into a Place where he could receive no Assistance, carried him away by Force, and safely brought him to *Paris*; where he was tried, condemned to be broke alive upon a Wheel, and executed. He suffered the Torture and that cruel Death with Constancy. Now it is pretended, that in order to remove the Suspicions and Jealousies which the Protestant Powers enter-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1103

Besides that Declaration, it was thought proper to issue out another in August following, ^{1669.} Pope Clement IX: hereby the King forbids his Subjects to go ^{out of} meat IX: it of his Dominions and to settle themselves ⁱⁿ

Foreign Countries, and commands all those ^{A Declara-}
who were already settled to come back in six ^{ration for-}
months time after Notice given unto them ^{bidding to} ^{go out of}
the said Declaration, under several Penal- ^{the King-}
ties against the Delinquents. The Prince of ^{dom with-}
arente, Son to the Duke of *La Tremouille*, ^{out Leaves.}
had lived for several Years in the United Provinces with the King's Licence, and had obtained ^{and Tu-}
nined very fine Employments in those Countries; nevertheless he resigned them all, and ^{Tarente}
the Dutches his Mother being dead, he turned Papist, and was followed by all his Children, his Daughter excepted; who persever'd in the Reformed Religion, and was married with the Duke of Oldenburgh, a near Relation to the King of Denmark. The Marshal of Turenne soon after followed the same bad example, and turned Papist. It is remarkable, that for many Years together he had been Proof against the most ensnaring Temptations: Cardinal Mazarini and the King himself had oftentimes tried to shake off his Connency, but all in vain. Which was ascribed to the good Example of his own Sisters, specially of the Dutches of *La Tremouille*, and of his youngest Sisters; and above all to the Princess of Turenne, his Consort: She was only Daughter to the Duke of *la Force*, a Lady of great Learning, and of a exquisite Piety. As long as she and her two Sisters-in-Law (for whom the Marshal had a great regard) lived, he was stedfast and unmoveable in his Principles; but the Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* being concluded, and

1104 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. and his Wife dead, he turned of his own ac-
1669. cord.

*Pope Cle-
ment IX.
Of the Re-
verend Dr.
Charles
Drelin-
court.* But amongst the greatest Losses which the
Reformed Churches had to sustain this Year,
the Death of that Reverend Divine CHARLES
DRELINCOURT, one of the Ministers of the
Church of *Paris*, which resorted to *Charenton*
for their publick Worship, was one of the most
considerable. He was born at *Sedan* the 10th
of *July* 1595. His Father *Peter Drelincourt*
had been chief Secretary to *Henry Robert de
la Mark Duke of Bouillon*, and Sovereign
Prince of *Sedan*, &c. then he was made Ma-
ster of the Rolls or Register in the Sovereign
Council of that Principality. His Mother
was *Anna Buyrette* Daughter to *Nic. Buyrette*
Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; her
two Brothers were Ministers, the oldest *Thomas
Buyrette* was barbarously murdered at *Paris*
the third Day of the Massacre in 1572. As
to our Reverend Divine, having finnished his
Studies, he was received Minister in *Jany*
1618. and exercised his Function at *Laperrière*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1105

sons. He busied himself with Success upon Lewis 14.
the Affairs not only of his own Church, but 1669.
of several others, who consulted him upon ^{Pope Cle-}
~~mentIX.~~ any important Emergency. It is not possible ~~to~~
deservedly enough to recite the Services he
has done the Church by his pious Labours,
either by his Books of Devotion, or by his
Polemical Works. There is such a Gracefulness
in the first, they are so full of the Spirit and
Expressions of the Holy Scripture, that every
pious Soul has found and finds still in them a
delightful spiritual Food. As to the others,
they were of a wonderfull Use to the Reform-
ed; it has been, and is still owned by every
one, that most part of them were so well ad-
apted to the meanest Capacities, that the
most clownish Peasant, and even little Chil-
dren who had learnt them, were able to con-
found any Missionary, and put him to a *non-*
plus. He has been considered, on account of
his Writings, as the Scourge of all the *Roman*
Controvertists; but for all that, he was well
beloved by every Party. He had a free ac-
cess to the Secretaries of State, to the first Pre-
sident, the King's Attorney-General, and the
Lieutenants Civil and Criminal; but he made
use of his Interest with them only for reliev-
ing several afflicted Churches, or for serving
private Persons; some of whom he advanced
in the World, others he redeemed from
Whipping, or from the Gallows or Galleys.
He was beloved and respected by the greatest
Lords of our Religion, the Duke of *La Force*,
the Marshals of *Chatillon*, *Gassion*, *Turenne*, the
Duchess of *La Trimouille* had a singular Ve-
neration for him; and not only they did send
for him to their own Hotels, but they went
oftentimes to pay him Visits. The Foreign
Princes

1106 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. Princes and Lords had the same regard for
1669. him. At last, after a most troublesome ca-
~~Pope Cle-~~ men, IX. reer, he went the 3d of November to receive
at the hands of his most gracious Lord the
Recompence of his pious Labours, dying, as
he had lived; in the Sentiments of an humble
Submission to the Will of the Almighty; his
Virtues supported his Faith, and his Faith en-
liven'd his Virtues. His bodily Constitution
was so good and healthy, that he never ex-
cused himself whenever occasion was offer'd
to perform some Function of his pastoral Of-
fice. That was a time when Persons of all
Ranks, in their Afflictions, were very glad to
receive the Instructions and Consolations of
their Ministers, and were not so brutish as to
rebuke them, when they charitably came to
perform near them any of the Functions of
their Ministry. Our godly Divine took a
peculiar delight in the Performance of this,
and very few have ever attained even to his
Abilities in that respect, which cannot be pa-
rallell'd but by his Zeal and Activity. At

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1107

His devotional Books are, *A Preparation to the Lewis* 14.
Holy Supper; that was the first Book he ever published. *A Catecism*; *An Abridgment of Pope Clement IX.*
Controversies; *Consolations against the Dreads of Death*; *Charitable Visits of the Sick*, &c. 5 vol. *His Works.*
8^o. and 3 vol. of Sermons. His Polemical Works are, *The Jubilee*; *The Roman Fight*; *The Owl of Jesuits*; *The Triumph of the Church under the Cross*; *An Answer to Father Caussin*; *Of the Honour due to the blessed Virgin, a Disputation with the Bishop of Bellay*; *Of the Honour due to the Sacrament*; *An Answer to La Milletiere*; *Dialogues against the Missionaries*, in 4 vol. *The sham Pastor convicted*; *The sham Face of Antiquity*; *The pretended Nullities of the Reformation*; *An Answer to Prince Ernest of Hesse*; *An Answer to the Speech of the Clergy, uttered by the Archbishop of Sens.* This last was burnt by the common Hangman; the Reverend Author went under the Name of *Pbilalethes*; *A Defence of Calvin*. I don't speak of several Letters, nor of several Prayers of his, that have been published; nor of his Manuscripts, which have not been printed as yet.

He married a very rich Heiress, Daughter *His Children.* to a Merchant of *Paris*; with whom he had fifteen Children, thirteen Sons and three Daughters; but only five Sons and a Daughter survived him. The eldest of the Family was the Reverend Mr. *Laurent Drelincourt*, Minister first at *Rochelle*, and then at *Niort*; where he was in great Esteem and Veneration: He lost his Sight about 6 Months before his Death, which happened in June 1680, aged 56 Years. Several of his excellent Sermons have been published, and a Collection of *Christian Sonnets* upon several Subjects,

Lewis 14. which are much valued by all Persons who
1669. have any taste for Piety and Virtue. Besides,
~~Pope Cle-~~ he was a solid Divine, a fine Preacher, a great
~~ment IX.~~ Scholar in Hebrew, this was peculiar to him-
self at that time, that having made a parti-
cular Study of the French Language, he was
become such a perfect Master in it, as to be
consulted even by the celebrated Mr. Conrard,
Secretary of the French Academy, upon the
nicest Difficulties of that Language. He had
no Son, but he left two Daughters; the eldest
was married to the Reverend Mr. Baigneaux,
Minister of Poitiers, both dead in London;
the youngest to Mr. Barbot Merchant, and
Author of the Voyages to Guinea, inserted in
Churchill's Collection of Voyages: She is
my Wife's Mother.

The second Son was the Reverend Mr. Henry Drelincourt, Minister first at *Gien*, and then at *Fontainbleau*, where he died unmarried long before the Revocation of the Edict.

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1509

The fourth was *Anthony Drelincourt*, Doctor Lewis 14.
Physick. He retired into Switzerland, and
as honoured with the Title of Physician Extra-^{1669.}
ordinary to the Lords of Berne: He prac-^{Pope Cle-}
sed his Art with very great Applause, and
died in 1730, leaving no Issue.

The fifth, was the Reverend Doctor Peter
Drelincourt. He came over to England be-
fore the Death of his Father, entered into holy
Orders, and by his Learning, Capacity, and
great Merit, no less than by the Interest of his
friends, he was promoted to the Dignity of
Dean of Armagh. He distinguished himself
at that Station by several good Works, but
more especially by an extraordinary Zeal for
the Propagation of the true Protestant Reli-
on in Ireland, and his extensive Charity to
the Poor, erecting and endowing Schools and
Homes-houses. His Inclinations to Beneficence
were mightily supported by the generous Dis-
positions of his Lady *Anne Drelincourt*, who
is not relaxed in well-doing, but still con-
tinues the same Marks of her Zeal for the
Propagation of the Protestant Religion, and
her Tenderness and Compassion for the
Sufferings and Miseries of the Poor. The
everend Dean died in London in 1722; he
left behind him an only Daughter, at present
elict of the Right Honourable *Francis Lord*
Viscount Primrose. I hope that the Reader
will easily forgive me this long Digression, in
consideration of that most excellent Divine
Charles Drelincourt, whose Name and Me-
mory is and will be blessed through all the
ages of the Church.

To resume the Thread of this History. 1670.
one of the worst Effects of the Marshal of ^{Projects of} *Re-union.*
Verenne's Change, was, that he renewed the

1110 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14 Projects of a Re-union between the Protestants
^{1670.} and the Catholicks, which had been so many
Pope Cle- times attempted before him, and had only
ment IX. served to create Troubles and Confusions in
the Churches. The Marshal knowing not
how to spend his time during Peace, took it in
his head to resume that Work, and was so
self-conceited as to expect a better Success
than those who had entered the Barrier before
him. He fancied himself to be as great a
Master in Divinity, as he was in the military
Art; and that it would be as easy for him to
manage the Motions of the Divines, as it was
to range his Battalions and Squadrons. True
it is, that he was supported by some Apostate
Ministers, who being tired with playing the
Truant at *Paris*, where they expended the
Pension allowed them by the Clergy, sought
to enter upon Business, that they might de-
serve some Benefice or something like. The
Court entered into that Project. They de-
signed to engage in it as many Ministers as
possible, according to the Scheme ascribed to

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1111

and modestly to deliver their Opinion there- Lewis 14.
upon in the Synod, when occasion should be 1670.
offered. The King consented to have his Pope Cle-
ment IX. Name set down at the head of these Proposi- tions, and to assure all those who should con-
cur to the good Success of that Project, of
being well rewarded for their Trouble.

Indeed such an Undertaking is a thing very *Reflections*
laudable in itself; nay, 'tis a Duty incumbent upon that
on every Christian, and more especially to those
who are established in the Church for teaching
others, to procure, to the utmost of their Abi-
lities and Power, the Advancement of that
pious Work; but then certain Dispositions are
absolutely requisite, in order to obtain the de-
sired Success; and above all, a great Humi-
lity of Mind, which disposes us to believe
that others may be in the right, and we in
the wrong, rememb'reing always the Apostle's
Precepts, Hast thou Faith? Have it to thyself Rom. xiv.
before God, &c. In Lowliness of Mind, let each 22.
Man esteem others better than himself: In Ho- Phil. ii. 3.
sour prefer one another. A perfect Charity Rom. xii.
which disposes us to bear with the feeble- 10.
minded, to bear with their tolerable Errors,
which don't affect the great Principles of Chri-
stianity, and not to break the Union for things
merely indifferent in themselves. *For the* Rom. xiv.
Kingdom of God is neither Meat nor Drink, but 17.
Justice, Peace and Joy, by the Holy Ghost. A
sincere Love for Truth, which disposes us not
only to seek eagerly after it, but to own it
when discerned; to embrace and follow it
constantly, howsoever contrary it may be and
prove to our prejudic'd Opinions and tem- Prov.
poral Welfare. *Buy the Truth, and don't sell* xxiii. 23.
it, says the wise Man. When these inward
Dispositions are in the two contending Parties,

112 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

ewis 14 then they may proceed to the Examinations
1670. of the controverted Points; that cannot be
done without agreeing upon a Rule, which
Pope Cle-
ment IX. might serve as the Standard, for trying whe-
ther such Article of Doctrine or Discipline
is found or not. But now the Difficulty lies
about the Rule, which shall we take to be our
Standard? There is a great Disagreement be-
tween the two Parties about that Point. The
one will have the Scripture only for a Rule, and
they are grounded upon several plain Passages
of that holy Book, which expressly forbids them
not to recede from the sound Words taught
them by the *Prophets* and the *Apostles*, but
also upon the Method established in the Church
during the three first Centuries, for determin-
ing Controversies about any Point of Doctrine.
The others are not contented with this, but
they will have the Church, that is to say, an
human Authority, either the Councils or the
Popes, or both together, whereby the Con-
troversies about Matters of Faith should be
determined. In order to compose these Dif-
ferences, it had been proposed sometimes
under Henry IV. by *Du Plessis, Chamier*, and
some others, to restore every thing in the
Church, as they stood in the middle of the
fifth Century; but *Du Perron* and others
did not think proper to stand by that Rule,
how reasonable soever it was, for they saw
plainly that by that means they must give
over the most essential Points, which have oc-
casioned our Separation, and which were ut-
terly unknown to that Antiquity, or had been
condemned by the Fathers and the Councils.
We read in *Socrates*, Hist. lib. v. ch. 10. and in
Sozomen's Hist. lib. vii. cap. xii. That *Theodosius*
the Great, by the Advice of *Nestorius*, Patriarch
of

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1113
of Constantinople, who had consulted *Sisennius*, Lewis 14.
made a Proposition much like to that to the ^{167c.} *Bishops of each Sect*, which he had conven'd ^{Pope Cle-}
in that Capital in the Year 383, in order to ~~—~~ ^{ment IX.}
find out means of re-uniting all the Christian
Churches together in the same Faith. He
asked them, *Whether they would refer them-*
selves to the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors, who
had lived before the beginning of these Disputes?
They durst not accept the Challenge, being
conscious that their Condemnation was writ-
ten in Capital Letters in those Books. The
same it is with those of the *Roman Church*.
They have too much of that carnal Pru-
dence, ever to accept such a Challenge; they
are sensible that whenever they shall accept it,
they must at the same time irrevocably part
with *Transubstantiation*, and other Errors con-
comitant to that *Monster*, with the *Worship of*
Images, with the *Purgatory*, such as it has
been taught in that Church these five or six
last Centuries, with their *Service in an unknown*
Tongue, with the *Infallibility* of the Councils,
with the *Celibacy* of Priests, with the *Invoca-*
tion of the Virgin and Saints, with the *Indulgences*, and a great Number of others
their Tenets. Nay, I dare say, that they
would not accept the Challenge, were they of-
fered to restore things in the Church as they
were, even in the time of *Charlemain*. No,
there was still too much *Purity* for them,
either in the *Doctrine* or in the *Discipline*.
Nothing will satisfy them but what the Dark-
ness and gross Ignorance of the tenth, eleventh
and twelfth Centuries have brought forth.
To that they will refer us. So that when they
proposed in *France* a Re-union with the Re-
formed, it was only in order to ensnare them,

1114 *History of the Reformation and of the*
Lewis 14 and then to force them to comply with every
1670. thing. For it has been, and it is still too well
Pope Cle- known by many sad Experiences, that the
ment IX. West is no more opposite to the East, than that
Spirit of Humility, of Charity and a sincere
Love for Truth, is to the Spirit of the Church
of Rome, and to the Dispositions of her Sup-
porters.

In order to be fully convinced of this, we need but to look back upon the Scheme laid in the Year 1631, when Cardinal *D'U Riccius* attempted the same Work. The first Article of the Scheme was, that the *Roman Church* should not yield a tittle, either as to her Doctrine or Worship; no, not so much as to the Articles of the smallest Importance, or as to such as had been the first occasion of Schisms, *viz.* Indulgences. How then could they expect to succeed in the Attempt, and to overcome the strong Reluctancy the Reformed had for their monstrous Tenets? They were to make choice of such soft Words in expressing their Doctrines, which should remove the Harshness

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1185

were to bring it so about, that the Reformed ^{Lewis 14.} should be the Solicitors, to the end that in ^{1670.} the Re-union they might appear as penitent ^{Pope Clement X.} Children that make the first step towards their Mother to regain her Favour ; and that the *Roman* Church might look like a Mother that held forth her Arms to embrace her Children returning to their Duty.

To bring this to pass, they designed to make use of the Synods themselves, and they were to propose the Scheme in the Provincial ones, that they might more easily influence the Elections of Deputies to the National, and the Deputies themselves who should have been at their devotion. The first Step, was to send a Deputation to the King, setting forth, that certain ill-affected Persons went about to persuade him, that the *Reformed Religion* infused into its Professors, Sentiments contrary to the good of his Service ; but that they were resolved to shew the contrary by a faithful and plain Explanation of theirs : for which purpose they besought his Majesty to grant them a free Conference with such Doctors as he should please to name ; and that if they could be satisfied that they might be saved in the *Catbolick Religion*, they would readily re-unite themselves. They were to be taken at their words. The King was to grant a Conference as long and as free as they could desire, and be himself present at it. Then they were to force all the Provinces to stand by the Treaty, which the Ministers, their Deputies, (many of whom were already bribed) should conclude. Edicts, Proscriptions, Banishments, military Executions, &c. were the Arguments to be made use of with the obstinate. Such was the Scheme proposed in *Ricbelieu's* time, and there

1116 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. there wanted not a good Number of Ministers,
1670. not only those who were corrupted in their
Pope Cle- Morals, or who gave way to their Ambition
ment IX. and Avarice, but even good sober Men, and
otherwise well-minded, but short-fighted and
mistaken, who supported the same with all
their Might, thinking thereby to do Service
to God and the Church. But the Plague
raging then in several Provinces, the Provincial
Synods could not be assembled; and other
Accidents happening, the Project re-
mained in suspense; and tho' from time to
time it had been resumed, it had never been
carried so far as this Year 1670. Several Mi-
nisters of the Synod of the *Isle of France*, of
Anjou and *Berry*, &c. were bewitched with
the Scheme. So that the Court thinking now
to have a sure Game, was for forwarding the
Work; for which purpose, tho' she had for-
merly shewed forth such a great Reluctancy
to grant the Reformed Liberty for holding
any National Synod, now she of her own ac-
cord offered a Licence without being request-

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1117

very well how to supply their Places, being Lewis 14.
afraid lest the Court should impose upon them 1670.
some Persons more at her devotion than the Pope Cle-
ment IX. Church's.

I have spoken of the first : I must say some- Of the Re-
hing of the second. He was born at Châtel- verend Mr.
Verraud the 6th of January 1594. He began Dailié.
his Studies very late, because his Father who
was a Proctor (Sequester, in Latin ; Receveur
les Consignations, in French) at Poitiers, de-
signed him for his Successor in his Bufines ;
but seeing his Son's Inclinations quite bent
another way, he yielded : so that, being al-
ready eleven Years old, he was sent to St.
Maixant to learn the first Rudiments. He
was past eighteen Years old, when he com-
menced Student in Divinity at Saumur ; and
he same Year 1612, the great *Du Plessis* took
him into his House to be Tutor to two of his
Grandsons, with whom he went to travel
even Years after. Being returned into France
in 1621, he was received Minister in 1623,
and was Chaplain to that Lord (whom he af-
fisted to his last Moment) the same Year in
November. In 1625, he was named to be
Minister at Saumur ; and the next Year he
was called to serve the Church of Paris, as
one of her Pastors, and continued in that
Service for the remaining part of his Life. He
was one of the learnedest Divines of his time,
and one of the Controvertists whom the Ca-
tholics valued most. He was of a very strong
Constitution as to his Body, which enabled
him to attend constantly his Study, wherein
he was exceedingly delighted. Besides 20
Vol. in 8°. of Sermons upon several Subjects,
being extremely laborious and endowed with
the Gift of an easy Conception and Production,
he

1118 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14 he enriched the Publick with many other
1670. Works. The first which he published in 1631,
Pope Cle- was about the Use of the Ancient Fathers in
ment IX. *Lat.*, much valued at that time by the *Pres-*
byterians, but little by the Divines of the es-
tablished Church here in *England*. He left but
one Son, who had been his Colleague in the
Church of *Charenton* for about twelve Years,
and who died at *Zurich* in 1690.

Now, while the Church of *Paris* was afraid
lest the Court should take exception against
the Ministers which they might nominate, in
order to oblige them to take some of her own
choice, they luckily were delivered from their
Fears by Mr. *Caillard*, Advocate in the Par-
liament of *Paris*, who had done some con-
siderable Service to some of the chief Ministers
of State, who promised him that the Church
should not be opposed in her Election; and
accordingly the Reverend Messieurs *Allix* and
Ménard were elected: they both died in *Eng-*
land, the first Canon of *Sarum*, the second
Chaplain to the King, and Canon of *Windsor*.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1119

be deprived thereof ; that in honour they Lewis 14.
ould not be so soon suppress'd, but in order 1670.
to prepare them to that Suppression, it was re- Pope Cle-
uise to begin by giving more trouble to the ment X.
Officers thereof, which was easily done by such
Translation.

All this while the Deputies of the Churches 1671.
were at Court, soliciting an Answer to their ^{Deputies of}
Petitions, and a Redress to their Grievances ; ^{the Re-}
nd being tired with the tedious and affected ^{formed}
Delays of the Council, who had not as yet ^{sent to the} Bastile.
eported their general Petitions to the King,
hey resolved to have it published in Print.
Heretofore it had been observed, That, upon
ccasions like this, such a Method had been
accesful, because the Council was more sen-
ible to Complaints that became publick, than
to private Sollicitations, these remaining secret,
they could elude them without Danger ; but
they found themselves obliged to pronounce
omething or other upon others, when they
aw that all *Europe* was informed of them.
Nevertheless the Deputies missed their aim for
his time ; for tho' their Petition was as
modest and submissive as could be desired,
the Council was offended at it. The Marquis
of Chateauneuf sent for them to his own House,
asked their Names, and pick'd out Verdier
Deputy of Montauban, and Chabot Deputy of
Poitou, whom he sent to the Bastile. The
rest of the Deputies, far from being dismayed
by such a Violence, affected to take no notice
of it, and went on with their Busines. Two
Days after they desired to be admitted to the
King's Audience ; they tendered him another
Petition, beseeching that his Majesty would
be pleased to order, that the former Petition
and Bill of Grievances should be read before
him.

1120 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14. him.* In the mean while the Council released
^{1671.} *Pope Cle-* the two Prisoners, who had been Captives for a
ment X. Month. The King referred to the Duke of
~~Villeroy~~ *Villeroy*, and *Le Tellier* Secretary of State, the Cognizance of the Matter of the Petition, and of the Bill of Grievances. But tho' they were pretty well intention'd, their Labours were fruitless, because the Petition could not be reported, the King being at this time entirely bent on his Expedition against *Holland*.

Amongst the great Number of Churches, the Titles whereof were examined by the Commissioners, some few were preserved, tho' they had no better Title than those which were condemned.

^{1672.} *War a-* The War being kindled between *France* and the *United Provinces*, the Affairs of the *Dutch*. Churches were kept in a kind of Suspense. The King took the Field in *May*, while his Fleet, joined with that of *Charles II.* was to attack the *Dutch* by Sea. He was not sorry that this War should be thought to be a War of Religion, either that he really intended it

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1121

the Reverse, an Inscription to this Effect : That Lewis 14.
sby bad secured the Laws, and the Reformed Religion; assisted, defended, and reconciled Kings; restored Freedom to the Ocean; procured by their Arms a glorious Peace, and established the Tranquillity of all Europe. On the other hand, *Joshuab van Beuningben*, who had been employed in negotiating this Peace, struck a Medal, and compared himself to *Joshua* stopping the Course of the Sun. As the King of France had taken the Sun for his Device, the Meaning of this Medal could not be mistaken. But the States immediately suppressed it. As for the first, and some others which discovered too great Presumption, they were not broke till two Years after*. But Lewis very highly resented that Affront, which likely rouzed his natural Ambition, and prompted him to attempt what was seen in the Year 1672. But from that Evil arose a great Good. The Dutch had at last their Eyes opened upon the Conduct of their chief Officers. The Prince of Orange, William III. of glorious and immortal Memory, was restored to all his Birthrights, &c.

In the while, the Provincial Synods in *Ministers, France* having resolved to continue the publick Exercises of Religion in the interdicted *cuted in Guienne.* Places, several Ministers in *Guienne* were put to trouble upon that Account. They preached either in the Church-Yards, or upon the Ruins of Temples, which had been demolished. That Attempt was represented to the King with such odious Colours, that *Dagueffau*, Intendant of the Generality of *Bourdeaux*, received Orders to try, without Appeal, the Prisoners, 35 in Number, amongst whom were five Ministers,

* *Rapin's Hist.* Tom. II. ook 23.

1122 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14. nisters, who had been arrested. The Syndics 1672. of the Dioceses of Sarlat, Aire, and Agen, were Pope Clement X. Party against them. Sentence was passed upon the Prisoners the 22d of June. The Reverend Mesieurs Royere Minister of Issigeac, Canole Minister of Gours, and Malide Minister of La Bastide, were fined at three thousand Livres in the whole for the King, and to make Amende Honorable. This last Part of the Sentence was executed the same day ; and besides that, they were to pay one thousand Livres each for a civil Reparation towards the Syndics of their respective Dioceses, and thirty Livres each for the Poor ; the others were severally mulcted. That Persecution cooled the Zeal of the Ministers in that Province ; they ceased to assemble in forbidden Places.*

Pelisson's But I must not pass over an Event which *Barbary*. fully evinces what I have several times observed, viz. That the *Roman Religion* destroys even the natural Affection of Parents for their Children. PAUL PELISSON, born at Loudun, Attorney in the Parliament of Paris,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1123

Kingdom, under the Penalty of Death if ever Lewis 14.
he returned, and all Goods and Estates which ^{1672.} Pope Cle-
he might pretend to, forfeited. That Sen-
tence was given in the Parliament of Paris, ~~on~~
the 29th of August, 1672.

They went on in the Suppression of Chur-
ches, and it is almost incredible to what a
small Number they were now reduced; I dare say,
that there was hardly half the Number of those
that subsisted in 1659. The Clergy had found *Ways for*
~~out~~ a very noble method for getting *Profelytes*, ^{making}
which was to release them from the Obliga-
tion of paying their Debts for three Years to-
gether. Tho' they had obtained a Decree
upon that Subject on the 21st of January 1668,
nevertheless it had not been executed before
this Time, when one *John de Verffe*, Advocate
in the Parliament of Bourdeaux, being incum-
bered with Debts, thought proper to turn Pa-
pist, and obtained the King's Declaration,
purporting the same as the Decree of 1668.
The Projects of Re-union were still on foot
this Year, and went very far, but proved a-
bortive by the Care and Diligence of the
Church of Paris, and of the Provincial Sy-
nod of the Isle of France, assembled this Year
at Charenton.

A Plot was discovered, whereof the Che-^{1674.}
valier of Rohan was principal, and *Leautremont*, the Chevalier Rohan's
De Preaux, the Marchio-
ness of Villars, and a School-master their
Agent, were Accomplices. They had pro-
mised the Dutch to procure an Insurrection in
Normandy, and to deliver *Quillebeuf* into their
hands. *Leautremont* was killed resisting to
the Archers that came to seize him; the four
others were apprehended, they confessed the
Fact, the two Chevaliers and the Lady were

VOL. IV. D d d d beheaded,

1124 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14 beheaded, and the School-master hanged.*

^{1674.} *The Clergy always ready to render the Re-*
~~Pope Cle-~~ *ment. X. formed odious, missed not this Opportunity*
~~to~~ *to raise Suspicions against them, especially a-*
gainst those of Normandy. The Dusch Fleet,
which for a long while threatened that Coast,
seemed to authorize these Mistrusts. The Go-
vernors of Lower Normandy received Orders
to watch narrowly the Reformed of their Di-
strict. The Duke of Roquelaure was sent into
that Province for securing the Coasts against a
Descent. But all these Measures served only
to set forth the Fidelity of the Reformed in a
brighter Light; for after the strictest Examina-
tion, nothing could be found out but what
much redounded to their Honour and Glory.
The Duke of Montailler, Governor of that
Province, was not believed at Court when he
spoke in their behalf, because he had been
formerly a Reformed. But the Marquis of
Beuvron confirmed his Testimony, and the
Marquis of Matignon went further still; for
of his own accord, and without being sollici-
ted, he made their Apology in a Letter he
wrote to the Council; wherein he sayeth,
that those who endeavoured to raise Suspicions
against the Reformed, were bad Subjects to
the King. The Duke of Roquelaure himself
confirmed all these glorious Testimonies.

This Year offers nothing very remarkable as to what concerns Religion. The Affairs of the War took up all the Time of the Court, so that it had none to bestow upon other Things.

Turenne The Marshal of Turenne was killed in Alsacia, *killed, and* in the Month of July, being in the 64th Year *the Count* of his Age or thereabouts, he was buried at *Schom-* *berg made* St. Dennis, by the King's Orders; but that *Marshal* high Mark of Distinction was not sufficient

'to

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1125

to blot out the Remembrance of the unheard- Lewis 14.
of Barbarities his Troops had perpetrated in ^{1675.} Pope Cle-
the Palatinate the Year before, and which the ment. X.
Elector *Palatine* resented so highly, that he sent him a Challenge.

There was in the same Month of July, a Creation of seven Marshals of *France*, amongst whom was the Count of *Schomberg*. His Religion had till then been an Obstruction to his being raised to that high Dignity ; the King himself had offered it unto him before, if he would turn Catholick ; but that Lord was so generous as to answer, that his Religion was dearer to him than any thing else, and if it proved an Obstruction to his Advancement, it was enough for him that his Majesty should think him worthy of it, tho' he should never attain it. The Necessity of State was for this Time stronger than the Catholick Zeal, and the Count was presented with the Staff when he little thought of it. He commanded in *Catalonia* when he received it ; he had been desired to hear some Divines about the controverted Points, he had complied with that Request ; but after the Conference, he openly declared that he was not satisfied with their Solutions. I have spoken of that Lord, and of his Ancestors and Descent, in the 7th Book, to which Place I refer the Reader.

The War continuing this Year, the Affairs 1676.
of Religion were almost superseded at Court, Pope Cle-
and the Deputies of the Provinces made fruit- ment dies,
less Instances with the Council, to obtain a succeeded by
Redress of their Grievances ; nothing was al- Innocent
tered, except as to the Residence of Mini- X.
ters, who were allowed to reside where they
should think it more convenient. Clement X.
died the 21st of July, being 86 Years old, and

D d d z was

1126 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. was succeeded on the 21st of September by
^{1677.} Cardinal Odescalchi, who took the Name of
Pope In-
nocent XI.

Several (be set out from St. Germain the 24th of Fe-
Injustices. bruary) the Deputies succeeded no better this
Year, than they had done the last, tho' their
Grievances amounted to thirty-four Articles,
besides ten or twelve more which regarded
only the Province of Aulnix. It is almost in-
credible how far the Parliaments, the other
inferior Courts, the Intendants, nay every
petty Officer of Justice, carried their Injustice
and Violence in the Provinces. The Parlia-
ments of Pau, in Bearn; of Bourdeaux, in
Guienne; of Rennes, in Britany; of Rouen, in
Normandy; De Muin, Intendant of Saiz-
tonge, Aulnix, &c. the Bailif of Rouen, the
Judge of Caudebec, and several others signa-
lized themselves by their Wickedness, which
prompted them to a thousand Acts of Injustice
and Violence. I shall single out only two In-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1127

that BAK'D DIVINITY ; they condemned Lewis 14.
one *John Fourgon* to twenty Livres Fine, to all
the Expences, &c. tho' he had pulled off his
Hat on that Occasion, for avoiding the Insults ^{1677.}
~~of the Mob~~ ^{Pope In-}
of the Mob ; and they approved of the Rude-
ness of the Priest, who, not satisfied with
that Mark of Respect, assaulted the poor Man,
and dragged him to the Audience. Many o-
ther like Vexations, Injustices, Violences, &c.
may be added to these, which I forbear, for
Brevity's sake.

The War between *France*, *Spain*, and the 1678.
United Provinces ended this Year, by the
Treaty of *Nimeguen*; concluded the 17th of
September. About the same time, the Mar- ^{Change of}
quis of *Ruvigny*, Deputy-General of the Re- ^{the Depu-}
formed, desired to resign his Charge in behalf ^{ty-Gene-}
of his Son, so well known in the World by ^{ral.}
the Name and Title of Lord Viscount *Galway*.
He was very agreeable to his Majesty, well be-
loved at Court, and in great Consideration with
the Ministers. He discharged that important
Office in a Way much redounding to his Ho-
nour ; tho' on account of the Wickedness of
the Times, his Endeavours were not attended
with the desired Success.

But while the Patience of the Reformed 1679.
was tried by numberless Cavils and Vexations, ^{Destruction}
of the Re-
their implacable Enemies were forwarding ^{formed re-}
their utter Ruin. Two things disposed the ^{solved.}
Court to indulge the Clergy in that respect.
Peace was made, and the Council, free from
the Distractions of the War, was ready,
wholly to sit upon that business. Besides that,
the Execution of five *Jesuits* and some Lay-
men here at *Tyburn*, on account of their hor-
rible Plot, made a great Noise every-where,
but exasperated the Brotherhood, especially in

1128 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14 France, (Father La Chaise being deeply en-
1679. gaged in that Piece of Villany) to such a de-
Pope In- nocent XI. gree, that they resolved to be revenged at any
nace rate: and whereas it was not in their power to do so upon the Protestants in England, they fell with Fury upon the poor defenceless Reformed in France. They endeavoured to raise the Mob against them, by exposing in several Places the Pictures of these Traitors, their dearest Brethren, suffering Martyrdom, as they called the just Punishment they had undergone for their Crimes; and would have brought things even to a Massacre, so well were the People prepared by their Insinuations, had not their devilish Designs been prevented by the Court's Directions. But if they had not this Year their Belly-full of Heretick Blood, at least they had the pleasure to see the Reformed losing their Rights and Privileges through the Perfidiousness of the King and his Council.*

Several Injustices For, not to mention here the Persecutions against the Sick, who were not allowed to die and Perse-in Peace without being vexed by the Priests

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1129

them to issue forth. So in the Month of Lewis 14. July, the half-parted Chambers, the only Means which the Reformed had for skreening themselves from the Violence of the Parliaments, were suppressed by an Edict, on ^{1679.} ^{Pope Inno-} ^{cent XI.} ^{Half par-} ^{ted Cham-} ^{bers sup-} ^{pressed.} Lewis supposed as falsely in this as in most part of his other Transactions, that these Courts were become needless, and was not ashamed to refer the Affairs of the Reformed to the Cognizance and Judgment of their merciless Enemies, the Clergy, who had a right to sit in the great Chamber of the Parliaments, and who thereby became their Judges and Parties.

Mais was publickly restored at Geneva this ^{Mass re-} Year in the Chapel of Chauvigny, Resident of ^{Mass re-} France. The Citizens were not a little surprised at this Proceeding of his, and a Riot ensued, and some Papists were ill used; but by the Diligence of the Magistrate, it was suppressed, and some of the Ringleaders were sent to Jail.

It would be not only a tedious, but a difficult Matter to give in an exact and particular Account of all the Decrees issued forth, of all the Methods which had been already put in use for about fifteen Years together, and were still continued, till they had utterly compassed our Ruin, by the Revocation of the Edict. I shall then instance but in a few. I. Law-Suits ^{Eight} in Courts of Justice. II. Deprivation of all Civil Office, nay, of all Means of getting a ^{Heads of} ^{Persecu-} ^{tion.} Livelihood. III. Missionaries. IV. Persecution against Children, and against their Parents, or Tutors. V. Persecution against Churches. VI. Against Ministers. VII. Against Books. VIII. Military Executions. I

1130 *History of the Reformation and of the*
Lewis 14. will single out one or two Instances only upon
1680. each of these Articles, and then conclude.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

First Me-
sked. I. **LAW-SUITS IN COURTS OF JUSTICE,**
either Parliaments or others. I do question
much; whether the Reader will believe what I
have to say upon this Article, tho' it is real
Fact, but of so shocking a Nature, that the
Hottentots themselves would be ashamed of it.
And indeed the Laws of Nature are so un-
alterable and inviolable, that God himself hath
had such a Regard for them, as to leave them
whole and intire, and require nothing from
Men, but what is most agreeable to these pure
and primitive Rules of our Duties. But the
Popish Religion, treading under foot whatever
is sacred amongst Men, even Nature it self,
prompts its Votaries to the wickedest Actions,
without any regard to Justice, Equity, Pro-
bity. This is very plain in the present Case
we have now under our Consideration. In
common civil Matters, as about a piece of

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1131

I PLEAD AGAINST AN HERETICK : I HAVE Lewis 14.
TO DO WITH A MAN PROFESSING A RELI- 1680.
GION ODIOS TO THE STATE, AND WHICH Pope Inno-
THE KING WILL HAVE EXTIRPATED. cent XI.

Mr. *Lieutaud*, a Surgeon, living at *Aix* in *Provence*, having got a Warrant for apprehending a Nurse of one of his Children, who had robbed him, and was fled from his House, that Wretch carried her Impudence so far, as to come and assault him in his Shop ; she flew at his Face, scratched him, pulled off his Hair, and did him several other Outrages. He complained thereof to the Magistrates, but that wicked Woman covered her Violence and Villany with this false Supposition, that as she was attending the Sacrament that went by at that Instant, she had perceived *Lieutaud* threatening her from his Shop ; at which, being not able to refrain her Zeal, because he shewed so much Disregard for that holy Ceremony, she fell upon him on that account. Tho' that impudent Creature was already noted for her Lewdness, and charged with a domestic Robbery, nevertheless her Excuse was admitted, and upon her Evidence, her Master was sent to Jail, and criminally prosecuted at her Instance for Irreverence to the Sacrament, which Charge however was intirely false. In vain did he challenge the Parliament of *Aix*, and required to be tried by the Chamber of *Grenoble*, as the Edict directed : the Parliament obstinately insisted to keep that Affair in their own hands, they tried him, he was condemned, and sentenced both he and his Wife, to be brought by the Constables of the ordinary Seat, from Jail to their own House, and there at the Door of their Shop, upon their Knees, and

Lieutaud

1132 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis ¹⁴*Lieutenant bareheaded, holding each a lighted*
^{1680.} *Taper in their Hands, while the Host should*
Pope Inno. *cent XI. pass, they should ask its pardon in Presence of*
two Ushers of the Court. That Sentence was
forcibly executed in *May 1660*. That kind of
Amende Honorable was unheard-of before:
Till then, the most that the legally convicted of Irreverence for that idolatrous Ceremony were sentenced to, was to pay some small Fine, and be forbidden to do the like for the future. Nevertheless, the Fury of his Persecutors was not fully satisfied with that Ignominy, but for nine Years together he was continually harrassed by some new Law-Suits upon sundry false Pretences, 'till in *May 1669* he was arraigned for the supposed like Fault as in *1660*, and would have been sentenced to some corporal Punishment, had he not appealed to the King's Council, where he was still soliciting in the Year *1671*. *N.B.* That in the Year *1650*, when the Plague raged at *Aix*, this very same Man had had courage enough to shut up himself in the Infirmary, to

sions, for what they are pleased to call Blasphemy, that is to say, to speak of the blessed Virgin, or of other Saints, of the Lord's Supper, &c. according to the Notions of the Reformed; or for Irreverence to their *Pastry Idol*, that is to say, for not bowing to it: Nor of the Persons that were admitted as Evidences against us, Lewd Women, Pick-pockets, other such like People, who got their Livelihood by turning Informers, were admitted; nay Children of seven Years old were bribed and brought as proper Evidences in Matters relating to these two pretended Crimes. And tho' the former were fully convicted of Perjury, nevertheless, very seldom the Persons accused could obtain any Redress or Satisfaction for a long Imprisonment, and the vast Charges they had been at during the trial; TURN CATHOLICK, were they told in full Court, AND YOU SHALL BE RIGHTED, OR ELSE DEFEND UPON IT, THAT YOU COME OFF VERY CHEAP. We have already observed, that by a Decree of the Council in November 1680, a Creditor could not sue for three Years together the Recovery of his Debt, if his Debtor turned Papist.

II. A Second sort of Persecutions whereby they had a mind to tire the Patience of the Reformed, was The depriving them of all Civil and Military Offices, and of profitable Employments, nay, of the Mastership in Trades even the most Mechanicks and of all Ways and Means of getting their Livelihood. For several Years before the Reformed had already fell, that the Jurisdiction of the Chambers settled in their Behalf by Henry the Great, for the Administration of Justice, was in a declining Condition. The sending of Commissioners in the Provinces,

Second
Head.

1134 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. Provinces, outwardly for executing the Edict,
1680. but in reality for infringing, or at least for coun-
Pope Inno- tenancing the Infringement thereof in its most
cent XI. essential Points. The referring the Cognizance
of Cases of *Relapses, Apostates and Blasphemers,*
to the Parliaments, exclusively of the Cham-
bers of the Edict, to which such Affairs did
properly belong. The Declaration of the
fifty-nine Articles issued forth the same Year
1666. It was not enough for our Enemies to
have struck at the Jurisdiction of these Cham-
bers, but they must have them supprest: ac-
cordingly in the Year 1669, as already ob-
served, those of *Paris* and *Rouen* were sup-
pressed. There remained three more, in *La-*
guedoc, Guienne and Dauphiné; but notwith-
standing the King's positive Promises to let
them subsist, they shared the same Fate as the
two former, by his Decree of 1679. The
Officers of the Reformed Religion, who had
served in these three last Chambers, were dis-
persed in the Parliaments of *Bourdeaux, Tou-*
louse and Grenoble, but were purposely exclu-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1135

followed by several other Parliaments. And Lewis 14. in 1682, LEWIS went further still: for he ordered these Lords to deprive the Reformed Officers, that actually served, and put Catholicks in their stead. The Judges-Royal had been already deprived by a Decree of 1679; and in 1682, the Provosts, Lieutenants, Exempts, and Archers of the Marshalseas, Vice-Seneschals, Vice-Bailiffs, Lieutenants-Criminal of the short Gown, were likewise deprived by a Decree of the Council, on account of their Religion. By another, of about the same Date, the Officers of the Courts of Aids, of the Chambers of Accounts, of the Seneschals, and Presidial-Sees were likewise deprived. Nay, LEWIS forbade the Judges to take for Assessors and Voters in the Judgment of the Causes, any Advocate or other Persons of our Religion, not so much as for being Juryman or Umpire. Lastly, in 1685, all these Officers of the Chambers of the Edict, who had been transplanted in the Chambers of Parliaments, received orders to dispose instantly of their Offices, or else they should be deprived. So were we left to the Mercy of our merciless Enemies, by an ungrateful Prince, whose tottering Crown we had settled upon his Head.

He deprived us not only of all Offices of Judicature, but even of all Civil Offices in Cities, Towns, Boroughs, &c. such as Consulships, Registers, Notaries, Tabellions, Watchmakers, Door-keepers; in a word, of all manner of Offices, from the first to the last, belonging to the Town-Houses, Council-Houses, &c. The Officers of the Army and of the Navy were not much more favourably treated than those of Justice and Police. True it is, that there was no publick Decree against them

Lewis¹⁴ them before the Year 1685. But for several
1682. Years before that Time, they could hardly at-
~~Pope Inno-~~tain the least Charges in the Armies, and when-
~~cent XI.~~ever they obtained a Company after very long
Services, they were sure to be deprived of any
further Advancement, unless they were extra-
ordinary well supported at Court, or that they
should turn Catholicks.

The Reformed were likewise deprived of all other Charges, Offices, Employments either honourable or profitable, or both together, of whatsoever Denomination, either at Court or at the Bar. They could be no longer admitted after the Year 1680, to be Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Midwife-Men, or Women; and those who had practised for several Years before, were forbid to continue upon very severe Penalties. Traders and Artificers were in the same manner excluded from Masterships; and to make it short, it was plain that our Enemies aimed at starving us, if they could, by depriving us of all Ways and

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1137

most part were decayed or lazy Traders and Lewis 14^o.
Artificers ; and in order to encourage them to 1683.
enter upon that Busines, they allowed them Pope Inno-
cent XI. so much for every Convert, or rather Per-
vert, according to the Quality or Merit of
the Proselyte. These new Apostles over-ran
the Kingdom, assuming the Name of *Propa-*
gators of Faith, their Houses were called *Houses*
of Propagation, or more commonly, *Houses of*
Missions, and they *Fathers of Mission*. Some
of them were constantly residing in the same
Place ; but others, especially the Laymen,
ran from one Province to another, sowing,
wherever they went, Seeds of Sedition and In-
justice. They all agreed in one and the same
Character of Impudence and Cavillation.
Whenever any one had the misfortune to fall
into their hands, he ought to resolve either
to hear him patiently without Interruption, or
to be sued for Blasphemy, if he was bold enough
to offer to speak plainly his Mind, as to the
Doctrines and Worship of the Church of
Rome. The weakest and simplest among us fell
most commonly into that Snare, dreading the
Consequences of a Prosecution, they chose to
abjure ; but their Dread was no sooner over,
than commonly they resumed their former
Profession. They went to hear the Sermons
of a Minister, and immediately after they went
up upon the Stage of a Mountebank to confute
the Minister ; and oftentimes either thro' Ma-
lice, or for want of Memory, they made him
say what he had never thought of, or clipt
the most essential part of a Proposition to
make it appear false or ridiculous. The People
was extremely well pleased with them, because
they diverted them with their Buffoonries, but
the most sensible and rational Part amongst the
Catholicks

Lewis 14. Catholicks themselves could not bear with
1683. them. They were impudent enough to en-
Pope Inno- deavour to intrude themselves into the synodi-
cent XI. cal Assemblies, and whenever that Honour was
denied them, they challenged the chief Mem-
bers thereof either personally, or by Writing,
or by Placards. Sometimes they interrupted
the Minister that preached before the Synod,
and gave him the lye to his Face, in order to
oblige him to a Conference ; at other times
they informed against some Polemick Book,
and charged it with being full of Blasphemies
and Impieties, and caused it to be notified to a
Synod by a Serjeant, to know whether they
did or did not approve such a book. In short,
nothing was more noxious than these mischie-
vous Creatures, especially in the last Times of
our Subsistance in *France*. They enticed
Children of eight Years of Age, and even un-
der, by giving them some Sugar-Plumbs, or
little Images, or some *Agnus Dei*, &c. to come
to their Church ; they asked them, whether
they did not like the *French* Church, and if

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1139

foul and forcible means, when the fair ones, Lewis 14.
that is to say, Flatteries and Promises or some 1683.
Money, proved ineffectual. There were Pope Inno-
cent XI. Houses of Propagation in most part of the best ~~best~~
Towns of the Kingdom, where there was any
Reformed, especially since the Year 1666.
They did the same with the Female Chil-
dren, with young Girls, with the Servant-
Maids, &c. as the Missionaries did with the
Boys, &c. they inticed them out of their Pa-
rents or Masters Houses, they carried them
away into their own Houses, if there were
any in the Place; and having them once in
their Possession, they used them very barba-
rously whenever they proved refractory : See
the Appendix. But more of this in the next
Article.

A fourth Method of vexing the Reformed, *Fourth
Method.*
was by depriving them of their Children, car-
rying them away into Monasteries, or Nun-
geries, or some other like Place, according to
their Sex, and in several ways persecuting the
Parents on account of their Children.

For several Years before this time, the Court
and the Parliaments, at the Instigation of the
Clergy, had given many cruel Strokes to the
natural and civil Rights of Parents over their
Children, confirmed unto them by the Edict
of Nantz. Long ago the Reformed had ob-
served with the greatest Concern, that their
Enemies aimed at depriving them of all means
of giving a Protestant Education to their Chil-
dren, in order to keep them in a gross Ignor-
ance of the Truths of our Religion, and that
they might the more easily induce them to
turn Catholicks. By a Decree of 1670, the
Reformed School-Masters were forbidden to
teach any thing else besides Reading, Wri-
VOL. IV. Eeee ting.

1140 *History of the Reformation and of the
Lewis 14. ting, and Casting of Accompts. By another
1683. of the same Year, we were forbidden to have
Pope Inno- more than one School in every Place allow-
cent XI. ed for the publick Exercise of our Religion,
and to have more than one School-Master
for every School, who could not be paid nei-
ther with the Monies of the Commonalties,
nor by the Contribution of other Churches.
Which unjust Decree was confirmed by an-
other of 1671. To which, a greater Severity
was added by that of 1683, whereby it was
ordered, that the Schools should be situated
as near to the Churches as possible; and
the School-Masters were expressly forbid to
keep any Boarders; the Ministers were allow-
ed to keep two together, and no more. The
Malice and Wickedness of our Adverfaries is
plainly evinced by all these Decrees. 1°. We
were forbidden to keep Schools in Places where
the publick Exercise of our Religion was not
allowed. And several hundred of our Churches
had been suppress'd by manifold unjust, fraudu-*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1141

that they should prove needless for the Churches, Lewis 14.
whose Temples were situated several Miles ^{1683.} Pope In-
far from the Place of their abode. ^{Pope In-} 5°. Our noxent XI.
School-Masters were allowed only to teach ~~the~~
Reading, Writing and Arithmetick; lest some
of them understanding Latin, they should be
able to teach the Children the first Elements
of Sciences; for the same reason, they were
forbidden to keep Boarders; and the Min-
isters could have but two; and lastly, upon
the same account it was, that our Colleges
and Academies were suppress ^{one after another.}

In the Year 1647, the Reformed of *Méle* were
quite deprived of their Rights to the College
of that Place, which had been built and en-
dowed by the means of a Legacy left for that
purpose, by *Desfontaines* Esq; a Gentleman
of our Profession. That of *Nerac* was sup-
press in 1648; and those of *Bergerac*, were
denied to have one. Those of *Loudun*, lost
their own in 1635. In 1661, the Academy
of *Montauban* was transferred to *Puy-laurens*,
which last was suppress in March 1685. In
1663, by a Decree of the Council, none but
Popish Professors and Regents could be ad-
mitted to teach in the College of *Montpellier*.
That of *Anduze* was put upon the same foot-
ing with the small Schools, in the same Year.
In 1664, *Castres* lost its College, which was
fraudulently taken from them, and given to
the Jesuits: And a few Months after, *Nimes*
shared the very same Fate; no Reformed Pro-
fessors or Regent could be admitted into it,
without the Approbation of the Jesuits, and
they were in every thing submitted to their
Government. To be short, the Academy of
Sedan was suppressed in 1681, notwithstanding

1142 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14th ing the most solemn Promises to the contrary,
1683. when that Province fell into the hands of
Pope Inno- cent XI. LEWIS. The Academy of *Die* in *Dauphini*
— had the same Fate in *September* 1684, and
that of *Saumur* in *January* 1685. Nay, they
went so far as not to suffer us to have any
Riding-Master of our Profession. That was
not all, but for absolutely depriving the Pa-
rents and Tutors of all means of giving their
Children or Pupils a Protestant Education;
they were expressly forbidden by a Decree of
1681, to send them abroad without the King's
Licence, till they were 16 Years old. On
the other hand, they forgot nothing to force
the Reformed to entrust Papist Tutors and
Masters with the Education of their Children
and Pupils. So a Decree was issued forth in
1666, forbidding the Ministers and Confis-
tores to censure, rebuke, or any otherwise to
obstruct those who had a mind to send their
Children or Pupils to Papist Schools: which
Decree was confirmed by another in 1669.

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1143
and Assemblies, under the Penalty of a per- Lewis 14.
petual Banishment out of the Kingdom, For- 1683.
feiture of their Goods and Estates, and a per- Pope In-
petual Interdiction of the Church, wherein the nocent XI.
Child should have been admitted.

But the more terrible Stroke against Children, was the Declaration of the Year 1681, whereby LEWIS, shaking off all manner of Shame, enacted, that the Children of the Reformed were, at seven Years of Age, capable of Reason and Discernment, in an Affair of such great Importance, as that of their Salvation. Upon which ground, he commanded, that whenever they should be of that Age, they might be admitted into the Pale of the Roman Church, abjuring the Reformed Religion; and their Parents were strictly forbidden to obstruct them upon any Pretence soever. By the same, these Children were left at liberty, either to remain in their Parents Houses, or to force their said Parents to pay them a Pension without, rated according to their Rank and their Wealth. It was likewise forbidden to send our Children abroad to be educated, till they be 16 Years old. By a Declaration of 1665, the same thing had been already enacted, as to the Pensions to be paid to Children by their Parents, if they did chuse to leave the paternal House; but then they ought to be more advanced in Years, viz. 14 Years for Males, and 12 for Females: That was the Age prescribed by Charles IX; but this last Act goes beyond all Rules of Equity, against all natural Notions, that a Child should be declared capable to determine for himself, as to the Choice of his Religion, at an Age when the human Laws disculus him of all manner of Crime, whatever his moral Actions might

Lewis 14. be. It must be owned, none, but a Popish
1683. Stomach, could ever be able to digest such
^{Pope Inno-} a monstrous Morsel. I need not to show here,
^{cent XI.} the Injustice of such a Declaration : Every
sober Reader must be sensible of the Falsity,
Ridiculousness and Impiety of its Principle ;
that it was destructive of all paternal Authority,
that it subverted the most inviolable Laws
of Nature and of Religion. But no Consideration
at all was able to mollify the CANNIBALIANS ; and in the dreadful Persecution
carried on the same Year 1681, against
the Reformed in Poitou, it was observed, that
Children were no more spared than those who
were more advanced in Years, they unmercifully beat and bruised them with Sticks, or
with the Flat of their Swords, or even with
the But-end of their Muskets ; so the Child of
Susanna Thomas at St. Catherine's, and that of
Peter Marsault at Exoudun, shared the like
Fate ; this last by a Lieutenant of Horse.
After the same manner were they treated in

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1145

geon for a long time, condemned to large Lewis 14.
Fines, till they had re-presented them again, ^{1683.} Pope Inno-
though they knew not where to find them. cent. XI.
We have had a great many Instances of such inhuman Usages. We need not to say, that whenever wicked and disobedient Children had a mind, they might ruin their Parents, for which purpose, they needed but to charge them before a Magistrate, or a Priest, with obstructing their Conversion with Threats, &c. and their Business was done ; Parents and Tutors were instantly condemned without any regard to Truth and Justice.

A fifth Method for ruining the Reformed *Fifth Me-*
Religion in France, was the Persecution against *thod.*
the Ministers. Every one may easily guess, *Persecu-*
that while the Reformed were so unjustly dealt *gainst Mi-*
with, their Ministers were not spared, more *nisters.*
than the Laymen. Contrary-wise, they were more exposed than others to the Persecutions of our Enemies, either on account of the Hatred against their Persons and Character, or because it was a shorter way to involve their Churches in the Persecutions raised against them, and destroy one with the other. This Article treats only of the Persecutions against the Persons of Ministers.

First of all, they were molested in a thousand ways, about the Place of their Residence. By the 6th Article of the Edict of Nantes, the Reformed, without distinction, were allowed to live in any Place of the King's Dominion, without being molested on account of their Religion, or obliged to do any thing against their Conscience. And in the private Articles, the first explained plainly the meaning of that 6th in the general. It imports expressly, that that 6th Article, concerning

Lewis 14. Liberty of Conscience, throughout all his Ma-
1683. jesty's Dominions, shall be strictly observed,
~~Pope In-~~ even in regard to the Ministers, Tutors, Pro-
fessors, School-Masters, &c. which may re-
side wherever they please, provided, that in
other respects, they do behave themselves ac-
cording to the Edict.

But little by little, the Ministers were de-
prived of that Advantage. The Declaration
of 1666, gave the first Stroke to that Liber-
ty. It imported, that the Synods should not
allow the Minister to preach or reside alter-
natively in several Places, but that they should
be ordered to preach and reside in the Place
appointed for them by the said Synods. The
Declaration of 1669, altered something in
the former, and instead of *to preach and to*
reside, they inserted, *to preach, OR to reside*.
But by a Decree of the Council in 1674,
things were restored, as they were in 1666,
and the Ministers were expressly forbidden to
reside without the Place, where they had been
sent by the Synods to preach. What we

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1147

and of proceeding extraordinarily against them. Lewis 14.
The next Year, 1683, another Decree for-^{1683.}
biddeth them to reside nearer than six Leagues ^{Pope Inno-}
^{ciet XI.} from the abovesaid Places under the same Pe-
nalties. Thereby they were hindered from
residing in Places, where they had not only
their Relations, Friends and Acquaintances,
but also their Houses, Estates, and all their
Affairs; which consequently absolutely required
their Presence. But that was not all. In
1684, Lewis issued forth a Declaration, where-
by they were forbidden, 1°. To preach
more than three Years in the same Place ;
2°. To preach nearer than twenty Leagues
distant from the Place where they had been
Ministers for the said three Years : 3°. To
live as private Men any nearer than six Leagues
distant from the said Places, or from any
other where the publick Exercise of our Reli-
gion had been supprest ; 4°. To return before
full twelve in the Places where once they had
been Ministers. I leave to the judicious and
impartial Reader, to make what Reflections
he thinks proper upon that monstrous Decree.

Secondly, nothing was omitted for molest-
ing the Ministers in the Exercise of their Mi-
nisterial Functions, and for depriving them of
all means of subsisting.

The Prohibition of serving Annexes aimed
chiefly at the reducing their Salary so low,
that they were not sufficient for their Main-
tenance. By the same motive it was, that
the Declarations of 1666 and 1669, forbid
the Synods and Consistories to afford any As-
sistance to the Churches, and Ministers, besides
those where the said Consistories were settled.
And by another of 1683, they were expres-
sly forbidden to raise any Contribution for
their

1148 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Lewis 14 their mutual Assistance, upon Penalty of Di.
1683. Pope Inno-
cent XI who should offend after that way.*

Besides that, most part of the Edicts, Declarations and Decrees of the Council and of the Parliaments, were as many Snares, wherein they unavoidably must fall and be undone: for instance, in the Year 1666 and 1669, the Synods were forbidden to allow the Ministers to preach, or reside alternately in several Places. That was a Snare to intrap the Ministers, if they did preach in other Places than in their own Churches, though that was not expressly forbidden unto them by the said Declarations. And accordingly, the Chamber of the GREAT DAYS in *Languedoc*, took that Pretence for sending several Ministers of *Cevennes* Prisoners, and fining them at 500 Livres each, because they had preached in a Church destitute of a Minister. Afterwards that of *Toulouse*, openly forbid the Ministers of its Jurisdiction, to preach in any other Place besides their own Churches, and in

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 149

a Minister, either in his Sermons, or in his Lewis Books, or in Companies, impugned the Errors and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, ^{Pope Inno-} ^{1683.} cent XI. that was enough, though he did it with all possible Modesty and Moderation ; he was accused for having not spoken of the *Roman Religion* with the UTMOST RESPECT. And indeed, to say simply, that there were Errors in the *Roman Church*, was reputed a Crime. If a Minister spoke of the Persecutions whereunder the Reformed laboured, he was accused for having spoken against the State ; or, if in order to show, that the Church of God has been always persecuted, he mentioned the Names of *Pharaob*, or *Nebucbadnezzar*, or *Nero*, or *Julian*, or some other Persecutor, that was a Crime of High-Treason, that was to have spoken against the King's Person. It was upon such like Charges, that every day some Minister or other was summoned, sent to Goal, &c. This was the Reason of Lewis's Declaration in 1683, wherein, after having forbidden us to admit any Roman Catholick in our Assemblies, he enjoined us however, to appoint a particular Pew for them in our Churches, that they might hinder the Ministers from preaching any thing against the Reverence due to the Roman Religion, or prejudicial to the State, and to the Service of his Majesty. These Papists were usually Priests or Monks, who turned Informers, and did not scruple to swear falsely ; as we shall see presently in some few Instances.

Furthermore, the Ministers were forbidden by the Declaration of 1666 to suborn, as they call'd it, the Roman Catholicks, and to persuade them to turn Reformed ; and by another of 1681, they were forbidden to hinder the CONVER-

Lewis 14. CONVERSION of the Reformed, who had a
1682. mind to turn Catholicks. So that a Minister
~~Pope Inno-~~ was almost put to silence, daring not to speak
cent XI. ~~in~~ his Mind, or to discharge one of the most es-
sential Parts of his Duty, without seeing him-
self put to great Trouble, and exposed to pub-
lick Shame.

By the Declaration of 1679, against the *Relapses*, the Ministers were forbidden to admit them to a Recantation, under the Penalty of Disobedience, and of Interdiction. By the Edict of 1680, which forbids the *Roman Catholicks* to turn Protestants, the Ministers were likewise forbidden to admit them to profess our Religion, or to suffer them in our Churches, and Assemblies, under Penalty of Deprivation for ever: Till then the Ministers only were Sufferers, whenever they received a *Relapse* or a *Proselyte*. But in the Year 1683, L E W I S not content with that unjust Severity, carried it much further, for he condemned the Ministers for the said pretended Of-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1151

dren of 14 Years old and under, whose Fathers had turned Catholicks, because he ordered, that they should be brought up in the Popish Religion; and the Ministers, who should offend against the said Declaration, was sentenced *ipso facto* to make *Amende Honorable*, to a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom, and to the Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates. I shan't mention here the Declaration of the same Year 1683, whereby they were forbidden upon 1000 Livres Fine and Interdiction of their Ministry, to keep more than two Boarders together, nor of several others of the Years 82 and 83 of the same Stamp. But every one must acknowledge, that nothing can be more unjust, unrighteous and wicked, than these Prohibitions made to the Ministers. If they were honest enough, to be willing to perform their Duty, as they were in Honour and Conscience obliged to do, how could they refuse to admit into the PALE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH, those who desired to become CHRISTIANS, whether they were Bastards or Legitimate, whether they were *Relapses*, or Children of perverted Parents; whether they were Jews, Pagans, Mahometans, or worse than all these? PA-PIST-BORN. Is not a good Pastor obliged to admit them all whenever they come? Nay, is he not obliged to go after them, and to endeavour to persuade them to come in? And how can he, in good Conscience, shut up the Kingdom of Heaven to those unto whom God Almighty was pleased to open it! Has not Jesus Christ our Master commanded us to teach all Men in the World? But these Packs of Villains, supported by the Authority of a lewd Tyrant, were not content to exclude themselves from the Kingdom of Heaven,

1152 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Lewis 14. Heaven, but even they would not suffer others
1683. to enter into it.*

Pope Inno- The Impossibility of ever being able to ob-
cent XI. serve what was enjoined to them by these
Edicts, Decrees and Declarations, whereby they
were forbidden to suffer in their Churches and
Congregations, any Children of perverted Pa-
rents, any Relapse, any Jew, Mahometan or
Pagan, &c. that Impossibility, I say, evinces
plainly the Injustice and Wickedness of the
Authors of these Edicts, &c. And indeed how
could a poor Minister in the Pulpit, who was
wholly intent upon his Sermon, take notice
of all his Auditors, and observe those who
were specified by the said Edicts; especially
in some numerous Churches composed of five,
six, seven or even ten thousand Auditors?
and more especially, when their devilish En-
emies carried their Wickedness so far, as to
send clandestinely into our Churches, some of
those excepted by the said Edicts, &c. and
sometimes obliged a Woman to receive the

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1153

ing charged by an *Augustine Fryar*, and a Priest, Lewis 14.
with having preached a Seditious Sermon, was 1683.
sent Prisoner to *Poitiers*, where he was detained Pope Innocent XI.
for two Months; and though the Calumny was ~~was~~
fully evinced to the Satisfaction of the Judges,
nevertheless, he was only released upon Bail.
The Reverend Mr. *Borie*, Minister of *Turenne*,
being accused of having spoken against the
Blessed Virgin, was sent Prisoner to *Bour-
deaux*, put in Irons into a Dungeon, where
he remained for a full Year, and at last sen-
tenced to a perpetual Banishment out of the
Realm; nevertheless, the most that could be
made out was, that he had said, that *Jesus
Christ* was the only one born without Sin.
Another Reverend Clergyman of the same
Name, Minister of *Layrac*, was sentenced in
1672, to a Fine of 500 Livres and all the
Expences of the Proces, only because he had
preached in another Church, because his own
was supprest. The Reverend Mr. *Majendie*,
Minister in *Bearn*, a Gentleman of an excel-
lent Character, and much esteemed without as
well as within his Province, was sentenced in
1667, to be brought by the Jailor, attended
by the Ushers or Serjeants, or Bailiffs, for it
is the same, to the Hall of Audience in the
Parliament of *Pau*, while the Courts were
hearing Causes, his Legs fettered, and there
kneeling down, to declare, that he was sorry
for what he had uttered in his Sermon before
the Synod held at *Nay* in *Bearn*, and in his
Books, (*A Defence of the Union*, and *the Child
floating*) [I never have seen the Books] that
he found himself convicted of diffamatory
and sacrilegious Expressions, for which he
begged pardon of God, the King and Justice;
and he was interdicted for ever of his Mini-
stry,

1154 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14.stry. Nevertheless, all his Crime consisted in
1681. this, that in his Sermon, he had spoken the
Pope Cle- Truth concerning the *Franciscan Fryars*. In
ment. X. the Year 1672, the Provincial Synods of *Lower*
Guienne, having resolved, that the Ministers
should continue to preach upon the Ruins of
the Churches which had been interdicted ; the
Ministers obeyed that Order. Our Enemies
failed not to magnify the Object ; they repre-
sented, that Attempt as an Insurrection ; and
accordingly, *Daguejeau*, Intendant of the Ge-
nerality of *Bourdeaux*, together with the Pre-
sidial of *Libourne*, were appointed to try with-
out Appeal, those who were already appre-
hended, amongst whom were five Ministers,
the Reverend Messieurs *Royer*, Minister of
Issigeac ; *Canole*, Minister of *Gours* ; *Malide*,
Minister of *La Bastide* ; *Baylen*, Minister of
Larquairs ; *Laurets*, Minister of *St. Foy*. The
three first were sentenced to make *Amende*
Honorabile *, to pay four thousand and thirty
Livres Fines, and to a perpetual Banishment.
The first part of the Sentence was executed the

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1155

Christ, by the Doctrine of the Calvinists con- Lewis 14.
cerning Justification ; and uttered such Ex-^{1683.} Pope Inno-
pressions in his Sermons, as are contrary to cent XI.
the Edicts, for which he was very sorry, and —
begged Pardon of God, of the King, and
of Justice ; to pay 1600 Livers Fine, and be
for ever banished out of the Realm. His
Book was publickly to be burnt by the Exe-
cutioner. Nevertheless, he had said or writ-
ten nothing but what a judicious and sober
Man could and would have said. True it
is, that he had said, speaking of the Perse-
cutions and Oppressions, that *Kings ought not*
to treat their Subjects like Brutes. But is not
that plain Truth, and where is the Harm ?
The Sentence was executed ; but as to his
Recantation, he protested against, and declar-
ed, that what he did, was only in obedience
to the Court. He retired into Swisserland,
and was most honourably received at *Lau-*
fanne, where he died first Minister of the
Church, and Professor of Divinity in that
Academy. I might enlarge myself upon this
melancholy Subject, for very few escaped the
Fury of our Enemies ; but as the Ministers
were the chief Object of their Hatred, so
they were the chief Mark at which they
aimed, and consequently most part of them
had their share in their cruel Injustice : nay,
some of them in the Year 1683, and before
the Revocation of the Edict, ended their Days
by the Executioner's hands, and saw them-
selves exposed to the same shameful and pain-
ful Death, as the most vile and profligate of
all the Criminals, without any regard for their
Birth, Education, Parentage, Character and
Age, though they were guilty of no other
Crime, than for having discharged their Duty

1156 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis.¹⁴* according to their Conscience ; such was the ^{1683.} Reverend Mr. *Homel*, broken alive upon the *Pope Innocent XI.* Wheel, being above 72 Years old, and tormented with the Stone. But more of this in the Appendix.

Sixth Head.
Persecutions against Churches.

In order to extirpate the Reformed, they rightly judged, that they ought to be deprived of the free publick Exercise of their Religion ; and consequently, that they ought to be deprived of the Sums granted by *Henry IV.* for the Maintenance of their Ministers ; that the Liberty of their Synods, Colloquies and Consistories ought to be restrained ; and lastly, that they ought to improve the least Pretence, right or wrong, for suppressing their Churches one after another.

In order to deprive the Churches, if they could, of the Ministry, they thought proper to deprive them of the Assistance granted them by a Brief of *Henry IV.* as a kind of Compensation for the Tythes they were obliged to pay to the Popish Clergy ; which accordingly was done a little after the Edict of *Nim*,

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1157

for rebuilding new Churches, the old ones Lewis 14.
being fancied too near the Popish Churches 1683.
or Chapels, or on account of some other like Pope Inno-
Cavil. That was not all, but in order ab- cent XI.
solutely to disable a Church to afford a suf-
ficient Maintenance to their Pastors, by seve-
ral Decrets and Declarations, the Reformed
were deprived, as observed above, of all sorts
of Offices, Charges, Employments, of Master-
ships, even of the most Mechanick Arts and
Professions. Nay, to complete the Misery,
the Synods and Consistories were forbidden to
assist the Churches which could not afford
to maintain a Minister; and lest they should
do it privately, by two Decrees of the Coun-
cil, the one of 1670, and the other of 1680,
the Consistories were ordered to bring before
the Commissioners in their respective Provinces
a full Account of their Receipts and of their
Expences, of the several Sums assessed upon
the Members of their respective Churches.

With the same view it was, that nothing
was omitted for depriving the Churches of
Ministers; they suppressed, as abovesaid,
Schools, Colleges and Academies, which were
as so many Nurseries of Ministers; and at
the same time, the Reformed were forbidden
to send their Children out of the Kingdom to
be educated, till they were full 16 Years old.
From the same Principle proceeded the Op-
pression and Restraint put upon our Ecclesias-
tical Assemblies, and at last their Suppression.
We have already observed, in the Preface of
the Fourth Volume, or the Second Part of
the Third, that these Assemblies were of four
sorts, the Consistories, the Colloquies, the Pro-
vincial and the National Synods. To these
Assemblies belonged, not only the Reception

1158 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14. of Students into the holy Ministry, and to 1683. provide the Churches with Ministers, but al- Pope Inno- cent XI. so to exercise the Discipline, and to regu- late every thing that had any relation to it.*

It was enacted by the National Synod held at *Montpellier* in 1598, that these National Assemblies should be held once every three Years. But as they could not meet without the King's special Licence, the difficulty of obtaining that, occasioned oftentimes a much longer delay, and we have seen that there had been above 14 Years interval between the two last, to wit, from the Year $164\frac{1}{2}$ to $16\frac{5}{8}$. But for all that, by the Declarations of 1666 and 1669, the Provinces were forbidden to keep any Correspondence one with another upon any account soever. The Provincial Synods were to be assembled once a Year. From the Year 1623, the National and Provincial Synods could not meet together without a King's Commissary, who was to be of the Reformed Religion. But in 1679, it was ordered, that for the future, there should be two Commissaries, one Reform-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1159

with a Minister ; the other for exercising the Discipline against scandalous Sinners which could not be reclaimed otherwise. But it must be observed, that that Licence was but illusory, because they usually refused to name a Commissioner, without which they could not hold their Colloquies ; so that the Reformed were deprived of that Advantage, and were strictly forbidden to hold any other Assembly in the interval of one Synod to another, either for admitting Students in Divinity into the Holy Order, or for any other Busines, how urgent soever the Occasion might be. Moreover, they were strictly forbidden to communicate and take advice by circular Letters upon any Emergency. The Confistories were to meet together once a Week, or oftner if there was Occasion ; they had ever been at full liberty to do it without being restrained by any Commissioner. But in 1684, they were strictly forbidden to meet more than once in a Fortnight, and that too before a Commissioner named by the King, upon the Penalty of Interdiction for ever, and the Demolition of the Church, wherein that Assembly should have been held; Deprivation for ever, as to the Minister who had presided in it, of his Ministerial Functions, and other Arbitrary Penalties for the Elders and others who had assisted in it.

I need not to insist upon the Inconveniences arising from the Restraint, Oppression, and Suppression of all these Ecclesiastical Assemblies, which had been established in order to be the support of the Discipline, the Knot of the Union of our Churches, and the Source of their Edification. It is obvious enough, that the main Drift thereof was to deprive the Churches of Pastors. The Colloquies,

1160 *History of the Reformation and of the
Laws 14 who were charged to examine and admit in-
1683. to the Holy Ministry the Students in Divi-
~~Protestant~~^{Private} nity during the interval of one Provincial Sy-
nod XI. to another, having been suppress'd: there
remained the Provincial Synods where they
might be admitted; but it was very difficult
to obtain a Licence for holding them, even
before they were wholly suppress'd: so that the
Churches, the Ministers whereof were either
dead, or sick, or absent, or suspended up-
on any account soever, were left without any
manner of Instruction and Comfort for whole
Years together, waiting till the meeting of the
Synod.*

I shall not insist here upon the Prohibition
made to the Reformed to meet together in
their Churches for Divine Service in Places
where the Bishops were upon their Visitation;
nor upon that made to the Ministers and
Elders to enter in the Day or Night-time
into any House of the Reformed, unless it
should be for visiting the Sick, or perform-
ing some other Function of their Ministry,
on pain of Corporal Punishment. But the
Ways and Means put in use for having a
Pretence of proscribing a Church, and for ever
depriving the Members thereof of the pub-
lick Exercise of their Religion, are indeed
some of the most odious, and deserve to be
here mentioned.

It must be observed, that the Churches
were oftentimes involved in the same Cases
which served as a Pretence for depriving a
Minister, and incurring the same Penalty with
him. So the Case of *Relapse*, which accord-
ing to the Declaration of 1679 ought not to
be admitted again into the Pale of the Protes-
tant Church, was sufficient for interdicting not
only

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1161

only a Minister, but it had the same effect upon Lewis 14. his Church, which was likewise interdicted. 1683. We have already observed what Tricks and Pope In- Cheats the Clergy put in use for compassing nocent XI. their Ends in that respect. They were sensible enough, that it was impossible for a Minister to distinguish amidst a numerous Assembly a Relapse from another Person: (*For it was not requisite in those doleful Times, as it had been in the former, that a Man should recant his Errors, nor to make any publick or private Acknowledgment and Reparation of his Fault, for his being reputed a Relapse; it was enough for that, that he should be found once in a Church, bearing Prayers or a Sermon.*) Therefore in order to make a sure Game of the Churches, not only they had required such an unjust Decree of the Council, but to dispatch the Business they employed Fraud and Imposture; not only they bribed People who had never been Protestant, and who coming from some remote Place, were perfectly unknown to the Church wherein they entered, by the means of a false Certificate; but they appointed false Witnesses always ready to swear any thing against a Person whom they had a mind to undo.

Such was the Case of the Church of Mont-
The
pellier: The Constancy of Miss Paulet, Daugh-
ter to an Apostate Minister, was the Occa-
tion of its Ruin. She was forcibly taken in
1674, out of her Father's House, and closely
shut up in a Nunnery, wherein nothing was
omitted for a whole Year, to oblige her to
turn Papist; but though she was not as yet
eleven Years old, she persisted stedfast in
her own Religion: She was released, and from
that time to the Year 1682, she publickly
professed

1162 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14 professed our Religion, going openly to
1683. Church, and receiving the Sacrament, though
~~Pope Inno-~~ cent XI. she had several Persecutions to undergo for
it ; and amongst others, that which she was
exposed to in *Montpellier*, in the Nunnery of
St. Charles.

In the Year 1680, it was pretended that
she had abjured her Religion, nay, a Deed
of her Abjuration in the first Nunnery was
produced, supposed to be signed with her own
hand. Thereupon her Mother was obliged
to bring her to the Bishop of *Montpellier*,
who examined her ; she denied the Fact, and
convinced the Bishop himself by several Sig-
natures which she made in his Presence, and
which were all alike, that the Hand of the
Instrument was far different from her's, and
consequently could not be her own. But for
all that, her Name was inserted in a List of
several Persons supposed to have turned Pa-
pists, which was delivered to the Consistory of
the Church of *Montpellier* ; but that hindered

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1163

their Privileges. The two Deputies arrived Lewis 14.
time enough, and had the Protest served on 1683.
the Attorney-General, by an Usher the 16th Pope Inno-
of November 1682, at seven of the Clock in cent XI.
the Morning. He took it, and put it in his
Pocket, but instead of notifying it to the
Court, he pursued the Affair to a definitive
Sentence; then he caused the Execution of
the Usher to be post-dated, at twelve of the
Clock, instead of seven, when he had received
it; to be sure, in order to make the People
believe, that he knew nothing of the Chal-
lenge and Protest, when the Sentence had pas-
sed. However the Doom was, that Miss *Pau-let* and the Rev. Mr. *Dubourdieu* should under-
go the Penalties ordered by the King's
Decrees against Relapses, and against the Mi-
nisters who suffered them in their Churches *.
And though the Church of *Montpellier* was
in no-wise concerned in the matter, and had
never been heard, nor so much as summoned,
nevertheless, by the same Sentence, it was interdicted for ever, and the Temple to be pul-
led down a Fortnight after Notice given of
the present Sentence.

The last part of the Sentence was soon exe-
cuted, the Duke of *Noailles*, Governor of the
Province, received it at *Montpellier* the 20th
of November, by an Express from *Toulouze*;
the same Day he had it notified to the Rev.
Mr. *Gaultier*, one of the Ministers of the
Place, who entered a Protest against it, in his
own, in the Consistory's, and in the whole Con-
gregation's Name; but that awailed nothing.
The Governor sent for the Ministers, that

he

* They were sentenced to make *Amende Honourable*,
to perpetual Banishment out of the Realm, and the
Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates, by the King's
Declaration in 1679.

1164 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14 he might secure them more easily. They re-
^{1683.} spectfully persisted in their Opposition to the
Pope Inno- cent XI. Sentence of the Parliament, and desired to
have time to send to Court ; he told them, that they might, but that he was thoroughly informed of the King's Sentiments upon the matter. The Ministers refusing to submit, were sent instantly Prisoners to the Citadel; Mr. Isaac Dubourdieu had absconded, Mr. Berthaud, Senior, surrendered himself in the Evening ; so that the Church was absolutely deprived of their Ministers, five of them being Prisoners, and the sixth obliged to absent himself. The Consistory sent instantly a Deputy to Court ; but he was prevented by the Governor's, and found that the King had already sent his Orders for demolishing the Church. Nay, he was sent to the *Bastile*, as a State-Prisoner.

The 1st of December, the Duke of Noailles received his Orders from Court for the demolishing of the Temple, and without wait-

VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 165

red to live in the City. As to Miss Pau-Lewis ¹⁴ the innocent Occasion of all these In-^{1683.} ^{Pope In o.} ^{cent XI.} ~~ces and Troubles, having surrendered her-~~ as abovesaid, after many Vexations and flices, too tedious to be here related, these ghteous Judges, deserving rather to sit at a Scaffold, than upon a Tribunal of Jus- confirmed the former Sentence, passed at her. But taking notice, that far from g dejected by the Thoughts of the Ig- my attending the *Amende Honorable*, and he Misery of an Exile into a foreign Cour- for a Person of her Sex and Age, she was y to submit herself with Joy to the one and the others; they thought proper to try her ~~staney~~ by another way. They let her know, the King had commuted the Punishment, a perpetual Captivity. Thereupon her ~~staney~~ began to be shaken, she could not with the dreadful Thoughts of spend- all her Days confined in such a horrid place, conversing only with People of the ~~it~~ Character, being every day teased with putes and Sollicitations of Priests and ~~s~~aks. To this her Enemies opposed the agreeable Prospect in this World, if she ~~uld~~ but turn Papist, and own what she ~~l~~ for several Years so constantly denied; Liberty, a large Dowry, great Pension, honourable Settlement. They had had the nice to let into the Prison a young Gentleman, whose fine Parts, either of Body Mind, were more than sufficient to pre- over a young and tender Heart. She ~~dded~~, after several Struggles, to the Temption, (she was not above 19 Years old at a time) she was released, but not before she turned Papist, owned what she had denied, and

1166 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14th and wrote to the King to petition his grace,
1683. cious Pardon for her pretended Crime; she
~~Pope Inno-~~ had a Pension, a Dowry, and the fair Se-
cent XI. ducer for her Husband. Three things are
worthy to be taken notice of in this Af-
fair; 1°. That it was demonstrated upon the
Trial, that the Hand of the Instrument was
not the Hand of the Damsel, and that she
knew not how to write at the time when it
was forged. 2°. That even though the Hand
of the Instrument should have been her own,
nevertheless it could not be obligatory; it was
of no force, seeing that, at that time, she was
not of the Age required by the King's De-
claration, then and several Years after sub-
sistting, for young People to chuse a Religion,
which was 12 Years for a Girl, and 14 for a
Boy. 3°. That the Trial, together with the
Sentence, were grounded only upon the De-
positions of false Witnesses, of those very in-
famous Persons who had forged the above-
said Instrument, without any regard to her
Defence: no, not so much as for hearing or

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1167

rators; Churches were interdicted, Pastors were Lewis 14.
deprived upon the Testimony of such People. 1683.

A seventh Kind of Persecution, was that against Books, whereby the Reformed were deprived of an easy means of Instruction and Comfort, when either through the great Disturbance of Places, or through Interdiction, either of Ministers or Churches, &c. they could not enjoy the Benefit of Schools, or of publick Prayers and Sermons.

By the 21st Article of the Edict of Nantz, it was allowed to print and sell publickly Books concerning our Religion, in Cities, Towns, &c. where the publick Exercise thereof was settled; and as to the Books printed elsewhere, they ought to be first reviewed and examined by the Magistrates and Divines.

Such a Liberty had long ago provoked the Jealousy of our Enemies. Ever since the Year 1663, when the Council condemned a little Book, published in behalf of the singing of Psalms, to be burnt by the common Hangman; the same Decree forbiddeth the Printers and Booksellers to print any Book wrote by a Reformed, without the Approbation of some Ministers, and the Licence of a royal Magistrate. By another Decree of the Council in the Year 1664, we were forbidden to publish any Book without the Attestation and Certificate of some approved Ministers, the Licence of the Magistrates, and the Consent of the King's Attorneys. That Prohibition was inserted in the Declaration of 1666, suppressed by that of 1669, but renewed and confirmed by that of 1679; with this Difference only, that instead of the word, *Approbation* of the Ministers, this last had, *Attestation and Certificate*: because they pretended, that Ministers had no Right

1168 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. Right to approve, but only to certify. By such
1683. Means they made void the Liberty granted
Pope Inno- cent XI. us by the Edict, inasmuch as it was almost
impossible for us to obtain the Licence, either
of the Magistrates, or of the King's At-
neleys. And for hindering us from getting
Books of Divinity from *Holland, Geneva, &c.*
it was forbidden under great Penalties to in-
troduce into *France*, Books printed in Foreign
Countries; Inquisitors were appointed upon
the Frontiers, diligently to search and ex-
amine Books that were imported, and those
who were convicted of any Offence in that
respect, were punished with the utmost Seve-
rity. In the Year 1644, the Attorney Ge-
neral prosecuted in the Parliament of *Grenoble*,
a Book intitled, *MARSEILLES without Mi-
racles*, published with Approbation of sev-
eral Ministers, by the Rev. Mr. *Rabin*, Mi-
nister of *Veines*, and had it condemned to be
burnt by the Hangman; the Author and Prin-
ter were to be imprisoned. In the Year
1646, *D'Argenson*, Intendant of *Poitou*, issued

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1169

be found in the rest, but the Lord's Prayer, Lewis 14.
the Creed, the Commandments, a short Ca-^{1683.}
techism, some Texts of the Scripture, some ^{Pope 83.}
short Prayers fit for Children, and some Stan-^{cent XI.}
zas, upon the Difference between a good Child
and a naughty one. Nay, there was so little
of Controversy in it, that the Catholicks them-
selves were used to buy it, and pleased with
the reading of it. In 1653, the Magistrate
of Dieppe condemned a Book of the Rev.
Mr. Fauquemberge, Minister of that Place,
intitled, *The great Evangelical Jubilee, pro-
curing full Indulgence of all Sins*, printed at
Haerlem, to be burnt ; the Author and Print-
er were summoned to appear, but the Au-
thor chose to abscond. In 1657, a Book of
the Rev. Mr. Bochard, Minister of *Alençon*,
concerning the Invocation of Saints, and the
Worship of Images, was proscribed, and the
Author fined at 50 Livres, because he styled
himself, *Minister of the Holy Gospel*, and that
he had spoken of these Points, contrary to
the Notions of the Church of *Rome*. Some
of the Books of the Rev. Dr. Drelincourt
had the same Fate, especially his *Abridgment
of Controversies*, burnt at *Vitri-le-François* in
1665. I might name several others treated
after the same manner ; which I do forbear
for brevity sake.

But the Edict which the Clergy obtained in
August 1685, exceeded far beyond whatever
we have seen. It imported amongst other things,
a total Suppression of all Books published a-
gainst the Roman Catholick Religion by those
of the Pretended Reformed Religion, forbid-
ding to print or sell them for the future under
very severe Penalties. That Edict was no sooner
published, but the Parliament of *Paris* issued
forth

1170 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. forth a Decree, appointing the Archbishop of
1683. Paris to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius* of
Pope In- all Books which he should think proper to
nocent XI. suppress. The Prelate obeyed without Re-
luctancy, and made such diligence, that, in
very few days, he had done an Index of a-
bove 500 Authors, which he thought proper
to proscribe. Amongst the Books of the Re-
formed, he inserted those of the *Lutherans*,
Socinians, *Arminians*, those of the Greek Com-
munion, even some of the Roman Catholicks,
and amongst others, the History of the Coun-
cil of Trent, done in *French* by *Amelot de la*
Houssaye. And what was the more scandalous,
he proscribed all the Versions of the Old and New Testament done by the Minis-
ters, as *scandalous Books*, composed against the
Roman Religion. He published that Index
with a *Mandate* at the head, forbidding the
selling or keeping of these Books in his Dio-
cese ; and on the 6th of September the Par-
liament of Paris issued forth a Decree infor-
ming the said Prohibition, and commanding

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1171

to write whatever they pleased, though never Lewis 14.
so unjust, impudent, and scandalously false, ^{1683.} Pope Inno-
it was admitted without controul. Of that cent XI.
number were the *Catbolick Decisions of FIL-*
~~LEAU.~~ It was a general Collection of the
Decrees issued forth in all the Sovereign Courts
of France, in Execution or Interpretation of
the Edicts concerning the Exercise of the
Pretended Reformed Religion. The Author
was Ancient Advocate of the King at *Poi-*
tier, and Dean of the Doctors in Law of that
University: He was one of the hottest Per-
secutors of the Reformed; he was fully per-
suaded, that the highest Pitch of Justice and
Godliness, was to have no regard to Justice,
common Honesty, or Humanity with Heret-
icks. Upon these Principles he had framed
his COLLECTION. Far from relating the
Decrees only of the Superior Courts, he mix-
ed together those of the most Inferior; nay,
those of the pettiest Judges, his own, which
he pretended must serve as a Rule in all De-
crees relating to the Reformed. And although
the Decrees of the former Kings before Henry
IV. were made void by the Edict of Nantz,
he pretended, that the said Edict ought to
be explained by the former Edicts and De-
crees. A Madman may be slighted as long
as his Madness is of no consequence: But
our misfortune was, that the Pranks of this
were too well relished at Court, and served as
a Rule for the Decrees issued forth from the
Council. That Book was published in the
Year 1661.

The next Year 1662, the Jesuit Meynier
published a Book with this Title, *Of the Exe-*
cution of the Edict of Nantz, printed at Pe-
tanges. He pretended to prove, that the Re-
Vol. IV. G g g formed

1172 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 14. formed had made so many Usurpations in
1683. *Languedoc*, that in the sole Diocese of *Nimes*,
^{Pope Inno-} they had a greater number of Churches in
cent XI. ^{the Year 1661,} than they had had in the
three Provinces together of *Lower Languedoc*,
Cevennes, and *Vivarais*, at the time of the
Publication of the Edict. That was such a
gross Falshood, that every one who was not
preposseſſed were convinced of the Author's
Imposture. And indeed, that Jesuit was so
richly endowed with the Gift of Cavilling,
that it is not possible to go beyond. He had
no regard for Truth. Impudence, Knavery,
Equivocation, Calumny, were his favourite
Virtues; he never blushed for any thing. For
several Years together, he attended the Com-
missioners, that were sent into the Provinces
for executing the Edict of *Nantz*; he bent
all his Faculties for to find out, in the clearest
and most authentick Titles and Instruments,
ſomething or other which he might strike at.
He signalized himself first in *Languedoc*; then
he went into *Guienne*; and wherever he passed,

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1173

Predecessors of *Henry IV.* that they were left Lewis 14.
in the same Condition, they had been in be- 1683.
fore; that their Religion was not permitted Pope Innocent XI.
by the said Edict, but only tolerated; and such other like Stuff, which he impudently set up as the most glaring Truths.

As to *Bernard*, treading in the same Steps as his Master *Meynier*, he published, in 1666, *An Explanation of the Edict of Nantz*, much of the same Stamp as the former Books which I have mentioned; the Edicts of *Charles IX.* and of *Henry III.* were to be the standing Rule for explaining that of *Henry IV.* and the Declarations and Decrees of the Council subsequent to the Reign of that great Prince, especially those of *Lewis XIV.* were to serve as the Basis of the true meaning of the said Edict. I might mention several more, most part of whom were starving Fellows, who, for a bit of Bread, did not scruple to sacrifice Truth, Honesty, and every thing else, and to prostitute their Heads and their Hands to all manner of Iniquity in order to please the Clergy. Such was the Character of these Men, on the Decisions of whom, the Fate of our Churches intirely depended.

All that I have above said, was very proper to create a dislike of our Religion in those Head. Eight
who postponed the Concerns of the Soul to Military Executi-
their worldly Concerns. Several yielded to ons.
the Temptation; one turned Catholick for getting an Employment, another for a Pen-
sion, &c. Nevertheless, our Enemies thinking that they went on too slowly in their Work, betook themselves of a speedier Method. The Quartering of Soldiers upon the Reformed, and the cruel Executions of these Beastly Guests, seemed unto them a readier way of G g g 2 Conquering.

1174 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Edict 14. Conquering.* Accordingly, in the Year 1681,
^{1682,} they began by the *Poisons*. *Marillac*, Intendant
of the Province, notorious for his infam-
ous XI. Practices and Means, was the first who set
such ones in use. I have made in my Ap-
pendix a separate Article of these Military Ex-
ecutions, to which I refer the Reader.

The Province sent Deputies to Court, with
most humble and moving Petition, to beg the
Redress of their intolerable Grievances : But si-
ther that *Louvois* was the *vile Slave* of the
Jesuits, or that *Lewis*, trusting the whole Ma-
nagement of his Affairs, and the Government
of his Kingdom to his Ministers, did not care
to be disturbed in his Endearments ; how soon
the said Deputies received an Order from *Louis*,
to leave *Paris* in 24 Hours, with a Prohibition
not to come thither again. The like Storm
blew up in *Xaintonge*. *Carnavalet*, Governor
of *Brouage*, was so proud to follow the glo-
rious Feats of *Marillac*, that he put in use
the like Violences against the Reformed. *Ber-
gerac* in *Guienne* was treated after the same
manner, in the Year 1682. The next Year
the like Executions begun and continued till
the Revocation of the Edict in 1685, in *Dau-
phiné*, *Languedoc*, &c. The Occasion where-
of was as follows :

The last Provincial Synod of the *Lower
Languedoc*, held at *Uzex* in 1682, being sensi-
tive of the Impossibility they were in of pro-
viding for their common Concerns, on ac-
count of the Constraint they were kept in
by the Presence of the Popish Commissioners,
had thought proper to alter their Measures,
and to take some others more agreeable to
the times, more speedy, and more secret. Till
then the Churches of that Province had been
divided

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in France.* 1175

divided into three Colloques, whereof the Churches of *Nîmes*, of *Uzès*, and of *Montpellier* had been the Heads : each of these Churches was charged with the particular Direction of the Affairs of its Colloque, or *Classis*, during the Intervals of the Synods; and when these Affairs were of such Importance, that the whole Province was concerned therein, these three Churches, conjointly with some Ministers of their Colloque, met together by their Deputies, at an appointed Place to take Cognizance of the Matter, and resolve upon it. But whereas these Deputations, Commissions, and Directions of Affairs were severely forbidden, and that the Behaviour of Ministers was so narrowly watched over, that they could not almost make a Step without exposing themselves to some criminal Prosecution, they agreed to charge six Persons of known Capacity, Experience, and Probity, with the Direction of their Affairs, without being obliged to consult the principal Churches about them. They made almost the same Regulation in *Dauphiné*, *Vivarais*, and the *Cévennes*; and each of these Provinces had its own Directors, who kept a secret Correspondence one with another. When these new Directors saw that their Petitions to the King's Council were not regarded, and that the Parliament of *Toulouse*, without any respect to Justice, had passed Sentence upon the Church of *Montpellier*, they met together at Mr. *Brousson's* House in the former City; and though that Assembly was composed of 28 Deputies of *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, *Cévennes*, *Vivarais* and *Dauphiné*, nevertheless, it was kept so secret, that our Enemies had not the least Suspicion thereof. They

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OK VIII. *Reformed Churches in France.* 1177

signi, and other like Christian Heroes of Lewis 14.
16th Century, was just, that of the Re- 1683.
med, of the Time which we are speaking Pope In-
nocent XI.

was much more so. But, who will be-
re it? The Reformed had no worse En-
emis than themselves! Jealousy crept and
ed among them. Those who had been
the former Direction, could not bear to
the new Directors taking more vigorous
asures than they had done themselves for
aining a just Redress of their Grievances;
y cried out against them as rash and im-
udent People, who had a mind, by their
posturous Zeal, to bring the whole Party
certain Ruin. On the other hand, the
Directors upbraided the others with be-
ing the Common Cause by an unseason-
Prudence; nay, they charged them with
asfon: and indeed there were Traitors enough
ongst the Reformed, who intruded them-
es into their most secret Assemblies, pre-
led an extraordinary Zeal for the Cause,
then disclosed to the Court, whatever
y knew of the Measures taken for their
ervation. Amongst others, I shall name
Ministers of *Nimes*, *Cbeiron* and *Paul-*
, who both revolted a little before the
ocation of the Edict. Upon these Jea-
ies, a Division ensued; so that nothing of
it had been resolved at *Tboulouse* was done
that Harmony and Concert, so much
mended as absolutely requisite in order to
eed in their laudable Undertaking; they
not meet upon one and the same day, as
ad been agreed. Those of *St. Hypolite*
together to the Number of above three
and, on the 11th of July; several Churches
Vivarais, did the same on the 18th of

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not disheartned. They drew up a new Petition, which they sent to the Marques of ^{1683.} Louvois ; it was framed after such a manner, that that State-Minister's Heart would have been softned, had it not been harder than a Diamond. Notwithstanding these Disappointments, the Assemblies continued ; the Catholicks, not thinking themselves strong enough to cope with the Reformed, made use of Artifice and Fraud, in order to decoy them more surely ; the Intendants, and the Bishop of *Valence*, promised them the Release of their Prisoners, and a full Amnesty from the King for what had been done, if they would retire quietly into their own Houses, and lay down their Arms. The poor People obeyed ; but their Enemies waited only for the Dragoons and other Troops that were daily expected. They arrived, and made their Executions first in *Dauphiné*, then in *Vivarais*, then in the *Cevennes*, where they committed such Barbarities upon the Reformed, that I cannot forbear to shudder at the only Thought thereof. True it is, that in these three Provinces, the Amnesty had been published, but after a most fraudulent manner ; for in order to decoy these poor People, the Count *du Roure*, the Intendant, nay, the Duke of *Noailles* himself, instead of publishing the Original, issued out a false Copy thereof, which did not mention the Exceptions and Restrictions of the Original, and which indeed rendered needless and void that pretended Act of Grace ; for Women and Children excepted, it was impossible for any Man, that he should not be included in some one or other of the Cases against which there was an Exception.

Theſt

Lewis 14. These Executions continued all the Year
1684. ^{Pope In} 1684; and the next, they reached *Langu-*
doc, Guienne and Bearn. One may judge to
what vast Sums the Plunder made by the
Dragoons amounted, by the strict Account
of what they had pillaged in the only Bo-
rough of *St. Hypolite*, the Inhabitants where-
of were forced to pay 244,400 Livres. And
as to their Cruelties, we may assert, that up-
on the lowest Computation, no less than se-
ven thousand Reformed, Men, Women and
Children, perished in all these *Southern Pro-*
Vincles, in one Year and a half's time, most
part were murdered in cool Blood by the
Soldiery, a great Number were executed by
the Hangman, some broken alive upon the
Wheel, some beheaded, and others hanged,
besides several thousands sent either to the
Galleys, or into the Dungeons, or into Nun-
neries, and other Places mentioned in the Ap-
pendix. And it is observable, that these Cru-
elties were exercised against poor People guil-
ty of no other Crime but for praying to God
after their own way, and for constantly re-
fusing to worship *Baal*. And indeed, a hun-
dred and twenty excepted, who chose to sell
dearly their Lives near *Bourdeaux* in *Dauphiné*
in August 1683, all the rest offered no Re-
sistance.

Our Condition was indeed so sad as not
to be parallel'd in History. In the former
Persecutions every one was at liberty, either
to remain in the Place by yielding to the
Temptation, or to go out of his Native Coun-
try, if his Conscience prompted him to it;
and even the Princes themselves granted them
such a Liberty. We know that the Kings of
Spain chose to impoverish their own Country
by

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 118†

by the Expulsion of the *Moors*, rather than Lewis 14.
to force them into a Religion, for which ^{1685.} Pope Inno-
their Conscience had the greatest Reluctan-
cent XI. cy. And in the time of the League, *Henry* III. allowed the Reformed a certain Term to dispose of their Effects, and to quit the Kingdom, by his Edict of 1585. But such Methods, how unjust soever they were in themselves, were too mild for Lewis THE PROUD; every one must submit to his Will, and as if he had truly been equal to God upon Earth, he would have his Subjects to pay him the same Homages which they owed only to God, the Sacrifice of their own Understanding. And as if he had thought that it was not enough for the poor Reformed, once to atone by their Death, for the pretended Crime of going out of the Kingdom without his Licence, (*which they were sure never to obtain*) for freeing themselves from his tyrannical Government, he condemned them to die as many times as there were Days in the Year, by condemning Men of what Quality soever to the Galleys, and branding Women with a perpetual Infamy and Prison. That was done in May 1685. For compassing his Ends, he ordered the Guards upon the Frontiers to be doubled, and those who were apprehended upon the Attempt, underwent without Remission the Punishment ordered by the Declaration.

So then the Condition of the Reformed in France could not be more dismal than it was in the Year 1685. They were persecuted, in their Birth, and in their Lives, and at the Point of their Deaths, and after their Deaths. They were forced to be sprinkled as soon as they were born by Midwives or Men-Midwives,

1182 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis.* 14. Midwives, and thereby to receive the Sign
1685. of Superstition. They were persecuted and
~~Pope Inno-~~ oppressed during their Lives, in their Goods,
~~cent XI.~~ Honour, Conscience, Bodies, and in their
Children. In their Agonies, they were left
to the furious Zeal of Priests and Monks,
who tormented them in several ways, to force
them mortally to wound their Conscience.
After their Death, their Corpses were inhu-
manly exposed to Shame, without any regard
either to Age, Sex, or Quality. The Sacred-
ness of the Graves, respectable even by the
Pagans, was violated with a Fury suitable to
a Popish Zeal.

These dismal Circumstances, these open
Violations, called loudly for the Assistance of
the Protestant Powers. But *England* was
then the only Power capable of obtaining a
Redress for us, and *James II.* sat at that time
on the *British Throne*. *Lewis* was very sensible
of that great Advantage, and resolved to im-
prove it. Therefore without any regard, I
will not say to Justice, Truth, Fidelity, Gra-
titude, &c. but to his own Honour and Re-
putation, after having three times solemnly
sworn the strict Execution of the Edict of
Nantz, &c. after having more than two hun-
dred times publickly declared, that he would
maintain his Reformed Subjects according to
the Edicts, he, on the 22d of *October N. S.*
1685. repealed the Edict of *Nantz*, and all
other Concessions and Privileges granted unto
the Reformed by his Grandfather, his Fa-
ther, and confirmed by himself; he repealed
all, by an Edict, which in Twelve Articles
contained so many Impostures, false Suppo-
sitions, &c. that it is impossible for a Man
well informed to read it without Indignation.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1183

I shall insert it here with some Annotations, Lewis 14.
and then I have done with my Work.

1685.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

EDICT of FONTAINBLEAU, of
the 22d of October 1685. N.S. RE-
PEALING that of NANTZ, &c.

L EWIS, by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, To all present and to come, GREETING. Whereas King Henry the Great, our Grandfather, having procured Peace for his Subjects, after those great Losses they had sustained during the Civil and Foreign Wars, desiring to remove whatever might disturb it, especially on account of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as it had fallen out in the Reigns of the Kings his Predecessors, had therefore by his Edict given at Nantz, in the Month of April 1598, enacted certain Rules to be observed with reference to those of the said Religion, the Places wherein they might exercise it, and had established extraordinary Judges for the administering Justice unto them; and finally, had provided also by special Articles whatsoever he thought needful to maintain Tranquillity in his Kingdom, and to diminish that Aversion which had arisen between his Subjects, of the one and the other Religion, that so he might be the better enabled to carry on his Design of reuniting them unto the Church, who had been too easily estranged from it: And forasmuch as this Intention of the aforesaid King, our Grandfather, could not by reason of his sudden Death be accomplished, and the Execution of the said Edict was also interrupted, during the Minority of the late King

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BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1185

Chambers, which had been only provisionally erected *. Lewis 14.
1685.

God having at last granted to our People Pope Innocent XI. the Enjoyment of a perfect Peace, and we also, being no longer incumbered with the Cares of protecting them against our Enemies, have been able to improve the present Truce, which we effected for this very end, that we might wholly apply ourselves to seek out such Means, whereby we might successfully accomplish the Design of the said Kings our Father and Grandfather, upon which also we entered as soon as we came unto the Crown †. We now see, and, according to our Duty, thank God for it, that our Cares have at last obtained that End which we aimed at, inasmuch as the far greater and better part of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion have embraced the Catholick †. And inasmuch

* (*By suppressing, &c.*) Indeed they had been provisionally erected, but the Reasons, for which such a Provision had been made, still subsisting; nay, having got a much greater Strength than ever they had, nothing was more unjust than that Suppression.

† (*Upon which also—as soon,—to the Crown.*) If what Lewis XIV. is made to say here, is true, then he owns himself a Perjurer, for he had twice most solemnly sworn to the strict Observation of the Edict. Besides, it is utterly false, that his Father and his Grandfather had ever thought of such means of Re-union as those which he made use of; they understood better their true Interest.

‡ (*Far greater, and better part, &c. have embraced the Catholick.*) If Lewis says Truth, what a vast Number of Reformed must have been in France at that time? It is reckoned, that above 600,000 have left their Native Country, during his Reign, of all Ranks and Conditions, from the Marshal of France to the Drummer, and from the Duke to the Shepherd. It is reckoned, that there were in France, after the Year 1685, above 400,000 at the least, who never bent their Knees before Baal. Therefore, if the far greater and better part

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Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1187

I. We therefore make known, that for these Lewis 14 Causes, and others thereunto moving us, and ^{1685,} of our certain Knowledge, full Power, and ^{Pope Innocent XI.} Royal Authority, we have by this present ~~perpetual~~ ^{perpetual} and irrevocable Edict, suppressed and revoked, and we do suppress and revoke the Edict of the King our Grand-father, given at *Nantz* in the Month of *April* 1598, in its whole extent, together with those particular Articles granted the 2d of *May* following, and the Letters Patent expedited thereupon, and the Edict given at *Nimes* in *July* 1629; we declare them void, and as if they had never been, together with all Grants made, as well by them as by other Edicts, Declarations and Decrees, to those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, of what kind soever they may be, which shall in like manner be reputed as if they had never been: And in consequence hereof, we will, and it is our Pleasure, that all the Churches of those of the said Religion, situated within our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lordships of our Dominions, should be out of hand demolish'd.

II. We forbid our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, any more to meet together in any Place or private House, for performing any part of their said Religion, under any Pretence soever; yea, and all such Exercises, or such as were in Lord's Houses, though the said Exercises had been maintained by the Decrees of our Council.

III. In like manner, we forbid all Lords, of what Rank and Quality soever, the Exercise of their Religion in their own Houses and Manors, whatsoever be the Quality of their said Manors, and that upon Pain of Forfeiture of Bodies and Goods for those of

1788 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Lewis & our said Subjects, who shall offend in that
1685. way.*

Pope Inno- IV. We command all Ministers of the Pre-
~~sent XI.~~ tended Reformed Religion, who will not turn
from it, and embrace the Catholick Aposto-
lick Roman Religion, to depart the Kingdom
and the Lands of our Dominions, within a
Fortnight after the Publication of this our pre-
sent Edict, and not to tarry beyond that time,
nor during that said Fortnight to preach, ex-
hort, or perform any other Function of their
Ministry, upon Pain of the Galleys.

V. Our Will is, that such of the said Mi-
nisters, who will turn Catholick, shall, during
their whole Life, enjoy, and their Widows
also after them, as long as they continue un-
married, the same Exemption from Taxes,
and Quartering of Soldiers, which they en-
joyed during the Time of their Ministry ; and
farther, we will pay unto the said Ministers,
as long as they live, a Pension, which shall
exceed by one third the Stipend they receiv-
ed for their Ministry : and their Wives also

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1189.

all other things whatsoever, that may bear Lewis 14.
the Sign of Privilege or Favour to the said 1685.
Religion. Pope Inno-
cent XI.

VIII. And as to Children that shall be born of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, our Will is, that, for the time to come, they be baptized by the Curates of the Parishes, enjoining their Parents to send them for that purpose to their Parochial Church, on the Penalty of 500 Livres Fine, or a greater Sum; and those Children shall henceforth be brought up in the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion. And we most strictly enjoin all Judges, in their respective Districts, to see that this be executed.

IX. And that we may show our Clemency towards those of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who were gone out of our Dominions before the Publication of our present Edict, we do declare, that in case they return within the space of four Months, from the Day of its Publication, they may, and it shall be lawful for them to enter into the Possession of their Estates, and to enjoy them even as they might have done, if they had been always at home; whereas, such as within that term of four Months shall not return into our Dominions, their Estates forsaken by them, shall be and remain forfeited, according to our Declarations of the 20th of August last.

X. And we do more strictly renew our Prohibitions unto all our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, that neither they, nor their Wives, nor Children, do depart our said Kingdom and Dominions, nor transport their Goods and Effects, on pain, for Men so offending, of their being sent to

490 *History of the Reformation, and of the Lewis 14 the Galleys ; and Confiscation of Bodies and 1685. Goods for the Women.*

Pope Innocent XI. XI. We will and declare unto them, that all Declarations published against *Relapſes*, shall be executed according to their Form and Tenour.

XII. And furthermore, Those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, till such time as it shall please God to illuminate them, as others have been, may abide in the Towns, and Places of our Kingdom, Countries and Lands of our Dominion, and continue their Traffick, and enjoy their Goods, without being moleſted or hindred, on account of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, provided as before, that they do not exercise it, nor assemble together on pretence of Prayers, or of any Act of Devotion, according to the Rules of the said Religion, on the Penalties before-mentioned, of Confiscation of Bodies and Goods (z). We command all our Trusty and Well-

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1191

Well-beloved Counsellors in our Court of Par- Lewis 14.
liament, and Chamber of Accounts, and Court ^{1685.} Pope Inno
of Aids at Paris, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts, cent XI.
and other our Justices and Officers to whom it ~~shall~~
shall belong, and to their Deputies, that they
cause this present Edict to be read, published
and registered in their Courts, and Juris-
dictions; yea, in the Vacation time; and to
~~entertain~~ it, and cause it to be entertained,
Kept and observed in every Particular, without
swerving, or in any wise permitting the least
swerving from it. For such is our WILL and
PLEASURE. And that this may be for ever
firm and stable, we have caused these Pre-
sents to be sealed with our Seal. Given at
Fontainbleau, in the Month of October, in
the Year of Grace 1685, and of our Reign
the 43d. Signed

L E W I S.

With all the usual Formalities.

The same Day that this Edict was regis-
tered, which was the 23d, N. S. they began
to pull down the Church of Charenton, and

H h h 3 at

Next, that therefore in order to quell his Agita-
tions, he declared unto them, that he allowed a certain
Time, after which they must either turn Catholick, or
quit the Kingdom with their Families and Effects, or
else they should be exposed to such and such Treat-
ment. That indeed would have been an arbitrary, but
at the same time, it would have been a plain and ho-
nest Dealing. But that a Prince in order to gratify a
Confessor, and a Society of Men, born for the Subver-
sion of whatever is true, just, and honest, should set
his hand to such a Cheat and Perfidiousness, know-
ing it to be so, for deceiving and insnaring his poor
Subjects, that is such a heinous Act, that had he been
guilty of this single one only, it would have imprinted such
Spot upon his Reputation, that all the Waters of
Seine were not sufficient to wash it away.

1192 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. at the same time, the Heads of Families were
1685. summoned to appear before the Marquis of
^{Pope Inno-} Segnelai, the Attorney-General, and *Le Rey-*
nic, Lieutenant of Police, to give in their
Answer, whether in three Days they would
embrace the *Roman Catholick Religion*, or not,
and sign an Act of Re-union. Very fine
Promises were made unto them if they would
comply, especially to work out a Reforma-
tion, as to the principal Abuses they com-
plained of ; chiefly, to restore the Cup unto
them in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.
On the other hand, Threats were not spared
against those who should persist in their Obstina-
cy. Notwithstanding that, most part of them
stood unmoveable to those Arguments. But
when they saw that they were not at liberty
to go out as they had a mind, they all signed.
But afterwards the greatest part of them gave
the most signal Proofs of their Repentance,
as soon as they were in a free Country. As
to the Elders of *Charenton*, the greatest Num-
ber withdrew and the Trial, and chose to suffer

BOOK THE REFORMED CHURCHES IN FRANCE. 1693

Sister, or for his eldest Daughter, because she looked much younger than really she was; ^{Lewis 14.} and made a difficulty to let her come with no cent XI. ^{1685.} him, upon that account.

The other Churches subsisting still in the Provinces, very few in number, were soon pulled down, or turned unto the use of the Papists, after some superstitious Ceremonies. As to the Ministers, they were allowed fifteen Days for to depart; but it can hardly be believed, what Vexations and ill Treatment many of them were exposed to. Some Years before this, the King's Council was very well pleased whenever any Minister desired to leave the Kingdom, either that his Church had been supprest, or because he was himself suspended on account of some Offence, real or pretended, against the new Laws; he freely obtained liberty of disposing of his Estates and Goods, of taking along with him his Wife, Children, and all his Relations, who had a mind to follow him; but little by little they were deprived of that liberty. And now they had no time allowed for disposing of their Estates, and were not permitted to carry away any of their Moveables; yea, they questioned their very Books, and private Papers, on pretence that they must prove, that they did not belong to the Consistories of their Churches. Moreover, they would not allow them to take along with them either Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, or any of their Relations or Kindred, though many of them could not in any wise subsist without their Assistance. Yea, they went so far as to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years old. They refused them Nurses for their new-born Infants,

1194 *History of the Reformation, and of the
Laws* 14-fants, though their own Mothers could not
1685. suckle them. In some Frontier Places, they
~~Pope Inno-~~
~~cent XI.~~ stopped and imprisoned them upon trifling
and ridiculous Pretences. They must imme-
diately prove, that they were the same Per-
sons which their Certificates mentioned. And
they would know, whether there were no Crim-
inal Processes or Informations out against
them. They must presently justify, that
they carried away nothing with them that
belonged unto their respective Churches.
Sometimes having thus amused and de-
tained them, they would tell them, the Space
of fifteen Days was expired, and that they
were no longer at liberty to leave the King-
dom, but must go to the Galleys. There was
hardly any kind of Deceit, Injustice, and
Troubles, wherein the Ministers were not in-
volved. And yet through God's Mercy, very
few revolted, the far greatest number took re-
fuge in all the Protestant Countries of Europe.

As for the Residue of the Reformed, whom

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1195

Kingdom. They omitted nothing that might hinder the Escape of these poor Persecuted; ^{1685.} inasmuch that there was an Interruption of ^{Pope Innocent XI.} Trade with the neighbouring Nations. By this means, they quickly filled all the Prisons of the Kingdom. For the Terroir of the Dragoons, the Horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and their Children taken away from them, for being brought up in Anti-Christian Superstition and cursed Idolatry, and of living for the future, in a Land, where there was neither Justice nor Humanity to be expected for them, obliged every one to think within himself, and to consult with others, in whom they could confide, how to get out of France; and provided they could but escape without polluting their Consciences, they were ready to forsake all. As for the poor Prisoners, they have been since treated with unheard-of Barbarities, shut up in Dungeons, loaded with Fetters, almost starved with Hunger, deprived of all Converse, but that of their inhuman Persecutors. Many of both Sexes were thrust into Monasteries and Nunneries, wherein several were cruelly scourged and disciplined. See the APPENDIX.

The Length of that Persecution, is one of the things which distinguishes it from all others; even that which the Jews endured under Antiochus and others, and the Christians under the Roman Emperors. For it has continued, not only for the 34 last Years of the last Reign, but during the whole Reign of this present King, as we observe in our Appendix. To this Cor. iv. very hour, they hunger and thirst, and are naked. and buffeted, in several Dungeons, and in the Galleys. To this very hour, they are lifting up their Voice with weeping, in the Words

1196 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. Words of Job, when he was in the depth of
1685. his Misery and Anguish : *Have pity on us, have*
Pope Inno-
cent XI. *pity on us, O ye our Friends, for the band of*
God bath touched us. MAY the Shepherd of
Israel awake, as a Man out of sleep, and raise
a Man to stand in the gap, girding him with
Strength unto the Battle, and putting his own
Sword into his hand, to smite his Enemies in
the binder parts ; and put them to a perpe-
tual Reproach. Return, O God, how long ?
and let it repent thee concerning thy Servants.
Preserve these Kingdoms from Popery, and if
any thing is worse, from Irreligion and Im-
piety, the Mother of Sedition, Rebellion, and
of all kind of Mischief. Preserve this Church
under the Protection of our most Gracious
Lord, King GEORGE. Give the King thy
Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness unto
the King's Son. Let him judge thy People with
Righteousness, and thy Poor with Judgment. As
to us, we were glad when we were told, let
us go into the House of the Lord. Our feet
were made straight by thy Truth.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

*even several Ways put in use under
Lewis XIV. to force the Reformed
in his Dominions to renounce their
Religion.*

VIZ.

*the Dragoonade, the Prisons, the Hospital
of Valence, the Galleys, Transportation,
divers Kinds of Death, and the Dragging
of the Corpses after Death.*

ARTICLE I.

Of the Dragoonade.

EVERY one may easily believe that such i. *Of the Dragoonade.* People must of course live licentiously, who know no other God besides their King : such were the DRAGOONS in France, who made no scruple to use with Inhumanity those left at their Discretion, 'till they had forced them to leave their Principles. It is impossible for any man to execute such Orders so fully and strictly as they did, every day they invented some new kind of Torture never thought of before by any of the subtlest and cruellest Tyrants (a).

They entered into Places with frightful and threatening Countenances, and with all the Marks of the most violent Fury ; they took Posses-

(a) Si quis ante Oculos ponere velit subitum Militum Arsum, convulsa Januæ Claustra, Minacem Vocem, truces Vultus, Fulgentia Arma ; rem vera Estimatione prosequar. Val. Max. Lib. VI. cap. viii. Art. 6. Francof. 1627.

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

sion of the Gates, and stopp'd up all the Avenues, left any of the Victims devoted to their Cruelty should escape ; then they entered into the Houses like Mad-men, they began their Executions with tearing to pieces the household Furniture, sparing nothing, throwing out at the Window all the Corn or other Grain, staving in the Cellars what Wine-vessels they found ; if they spared any thing, it was to sell it to the highest Bidder for their own Profit. Notwithstanding this Desolation, whereby most of the best Families were reduced to Beggary, they obliged them to find out those Things that were nice, to entertain themselves delicately, and in several Houses they laid a Tax of several Crowns a Day on each Family.

What would the illustrious Mr. *Langlet* have said, had he lived to see the *French* Troops become the Executioners of a bloody Clergy? who so bitterly inveighed against the Cardinal of *Lorrain* for making use of them to attend the Execution of the blessed Martyr *Annes Du*

VOL. IV. APPENDIX.

3

Patiens of the People; by the most exquisite Tortures and Pains: I shall give a few Instances of this.

At *Villeneuve le Berg* in *Vivarais*, after many ^{Of Mr. Le} Violences and Excesses they had committed, ^{Jeune's} being unable to overcome one Mr. *Young's* Constancy, they tied him by the Arms to the outside of the Windows of his House, they shook and tossed him one to the other; then they took him down and carried him out of town to a common Well, wherein they dipp'd him several times. This second Trial proving as ineffectual as the former, they brought him back to his House, where they kindled a great Fire and forc'd him to turn a Spit, with his Legs bare; and as if he was not tortured enough by that scorching Heat, they took the hot Dripping out of the Pan, and poured it on his Legs: having withstood all these Trials, they carried him to Goal, and he was condemned to be transported to *America*, from whence he found means to escape and came to *London*, where he died.

Mr. *De la Magdalaine*, a Gentleman of *Poitou*, was dipp'd into a Well, and Mrs. *Charles*, Relict of a Minister of *Chatelberaud*, underwent the like Trial.

Samuel *Guery* of the same Province, was put before a large Fire till his Legs were half-roasted; when he was released, his Blood being over-heated, thinking to ease his Pains, he threw himself into Water; but when he had his Stockings pull'd off, the Skin of his Legs came off with them from the Knees to the Feet.

Many others were tortured after the same ^{Of Mrs. F} manner; Mrs. *Fieffontaine* of *Chantilly* was fountaine forced to sit naked, in her Shift, by a large Fire, and to turn a Spit with a live Hen tied to it, which by the violent and continual

Motion of her Wings, threw the Coals every minute upon her, so that she was miserably burnt in several Parts of her Body, without being able to avoid it.

At a Place called *Rufec* in *Angoumois*, when Mr. Char. they had wasted and destroyed Mr. Charpentier's pentier. Goods, they began to torture him, and made him dance round a number of lighted Candles, till he lost his Breath; then they kept him from Sleep, whereby his Blood was so much over-heated, that he was seized with a malignant Fever, whereupon they left the town, and he was carried to a Relation's House; but another Party being arrived in the Place, they soon found him out and went to him. At first they kept him awake in his Bed, frightening him with their continual Blasphemies, Curses and Threatnings; this not prevailing, two Jesuits came to their Assistance, who forced him to drink twenty full Glasses of Water, then they took lighted Candles and dropt the Tallow in his Eyes, which deprived him of his Sight and

VOL. IV. APPENDIX.

5

Face and Stomach swell'd up to such a Degree that he was just expiring.

Sometimes they made use of their Stomachs and Bellies for Mangers to feed their Horses upon ; Mr. *Kristan* of *Niort* in *Poitou* was serv'd after that manner, then carried thro' the Town on horseback with his Face turned to the Tail.

But one of the most effectual Means they made use of to tire their Patience, was to keep them from Sleep. Thus they treated Mr. *Daniel Milaud* of *Chatelberaud*, and his Wife ; for finding they were grown heavy and drowsy thro' the Torments they had already endured, they set Kettles over their Heads, which they beat upon, without Intermission, for several Days and Nights together, releasing one another by turns, 'till having lost the right use of their Senses and Reason, they promised to do whatsoever they would.

Mrs. *Tanon*, of the County of *trieves* in *Dau-Of Mrs. pbine*, a Widow, had twelve Dragoons quarter'd in her House, who tied a Drum round her Neck, whereon they beat without Intermission, 'till she fainted away ; but far from pitying her Condition, they kick'd her, threatening to expose her stark-naked in the Streets. She recover'd her Spirits, but the right Use of her Senses she never enjoy'd, to her Death.

The *Roman* Clergy were sometimes more eager than the Dragoons themselves, for if these relented a little (which very seldom happened) thro' Weariness, or for some other Cause, they were sure to be chid for it by the first.

Mr. *Palmentier* of *Poitou* was much troubled with the Gout, which obliged him to keep his ^{Of Mr. Palmen-} tier, Bed ; which hinder'd not the Dragoons from

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

tormenting him a whole Night, without Intermission ; being themselves weary, they cast him while in the Day-time. The Archbishop of *Bourdeaux* chancing to pass thro' the Place, was informed of the Dragoons being in Mr. *Aumontier's* House, and taking notice of their Inactivity, he sent for the Officer who commanded in the House, and chid him for Neglect of Duty and Disobedience to the King's Order. That was enough to incense him and his Men with a new Fury, they went to their Patient's Bed, took him by the Feet, threw him on the Floor, dragg'd him about the Chamber, put him in a Sheet tied by the four Corners, told him to and fro, crying, Wilt thou change ? No, says he, as long as he was able to speak ; two Days after, the Lord was pleased to receive his Soul into his Glory.

Of James Ryan. Four Dragoons were quarter'd on one *James Ryan*, a Farmer near *Talmond*, he was much troubled with the Gout in his Hands, nevertheless they tied his Fingers with Pack-thread, thrust Pins under his Nails, burnt Gun-powder in his Ears, pierced his Thighs in several Places, and pour'd Vinegar and Salt into his Wounds.

They did not use the Fair Sex with more Humanity ; on the contrary, they abus'd their Modesty in the most shameful manner ; sometimes they turned up their Coats over their Heads, and flung several Pails of Water upon them ; at other times they stripp'd them to their Shifts, and oblig'd them to dance with them in that Condition ; at *Calais* they turn'd out in the Street, at Mid-Day, two young Maids stark-naked.

Of several Ladies and Gentlemen The Lady of *Vesancy* was tied to a Bed-post, and they spit in her Face whenever she offer'd to speak or complain. The

VOL. IV. APPENDIX.

7

The Lady of Cerisy was forced in her Bed, by one of the Dragoons who quarter'd in her Castle.

Mrs. *De la Valade* having patiently suffered several exquisite Pains, had at last her Coats turn'd up, and was laid bare on a Chaffing-dish of burning Coals.

Mrs. *L'Epineaux*, tho' almost at the point of Death by Sicknes, was put stark-naked in a Wheel-barrow and exposed to the Mob; they murder'd her afterwards with several Blows of a Stick.

They had a Way of tormenting Mothers who had sucking Children, no les barbarous than singular in itself; they tied them to their Bed-pots, and plac'd the Infants on a Chair or a Table, at some distance from her; they kept her in that Situation for twenty-four Hours together, without allowing her Liberty of easing herself of her Milk, much les of relieving the Infant, who by its Cries, for Want of Food, pierc'd the poor Mother's Heart: and so they saw themselves reduced to this sad Dilemma, either to see their Children starv'd to Death, or to sign an Abjuration.

Mrs *Cbeneu*, Widow of an Attorney in the Parliament of Bourdeaux, lived in Retirement at *Cbalezac* in *Xaintonge*; the Dragoons came there at the latter End of 1685, who plundered and wasted all her Goods, they put her Constancy to several hard Tryals, they tied her Hands and Feet, the Soles of which they burnt with hot Irons, they did the same to the Palms of her Hands, then they pinched her Arms with such Violence that they were black and blue three Months after. This availing not, they stopp'd up the Chimney, shut up the Doors and Windows of her Chamber, and set fire to some wet

History of the Reformation in FRANCE,

Straw, which almost suffocated her ; besides all this, Drums were beating day and night without ceasing, as if the Smoak was not sufficient to keep her awake ; then they put her in a Sheet and tossed her to and fro', 'till she was quite bereft of her Senses. Her Constancy remaining unshaken, they had a mind to starve her, which would have been effected had it not been for her Daughter, a Child of about eight years old, to whom the Dragoons had taken a fancy ; for as they offered her Victuals, she said, that she neither could, nor would eat any thing while she knew her dear Mamma was starving ; whereupon they gave her leave to share her Allowance with her Mother. Finally, when they were past hopes of ever overcoming her Constancy, a Peasant, who knew Mrs. *Cbencu* could not bear the sight of Vipers without swooning, told them this Secret, and shew'd them a Place where they found some, which they brought into her Room ; at that Sight she fainted away and was bereft of her Senses, during which time they

VOL. IV. APPENDIX.

9

Mr. Peter Lambert de Beauregard, a Gentleman of St. Anthony in Dauphiné, had a whole Troop of thirty-six Dragoons, besides the Officers, quarter'd in his House, in the latter End of September, 1685. The next Day after their Arrival, they separated the Family, they shut up Mr. Lambert and his Son in a Room, Mrs. Lambert in another, and their four Daughters in another ; each Room was guarded by two Dragoons, with strict Orders to keep them from sleeping. They were visited by Monks and other such People, who sollicited them to change ; Mr. Lambert stood unmoveable, but his Wife, having been for a time tormented by four Dragoons, yielded, at last to the Temptation ; their Daughters having been transferr'd from one Nunnery to another, were sent finally to Valence, and committed to the Care of that merciless Monster d'Herapine (of whom I shall give an Account in one of the next Articles :) they could not bear the inhuman Treatment they received in that House, they dissembled for a time, in hopes to find Means to quit the Kingdom and glorify their God.

As to Mr. Lambert and his Son, they were brought to St. Marcellin, before the Intendant, who with Mr. De la Trousse used both their Endeavours, by Promises and Threats, to win them over ; but not succeeding, remanded them back to his own House, from whence he and his Son were brought to Grenoble, and then back again to St. Anthony ; where, a Fortnight after, a Lieutenant of Horse, with six Troopers came, and having gather'd the Remains of his scattered Goods, they brought him with his Son to Vienne in Dauphiné.

The Archbishop of the Place gave them the City for a Prison, ordering them however to be

be lodged separately, and not to converse one with another, and to suffer themselves to be instructed. Mr. *Lambert* was visited by a Priest, with whom he had several Conferences ; but at last, he desired him to acquaint the Archbishop with his final Resolution, that he had such a Veneration for the Scriptures, and found so great a Conformity between it and his Religion, that it was impossible for him to put it out of his Heart, and humbly besought his Grace to excuse him, that it would be very hard for a Man of Honour to do any thing against his Conscience, God alone having the Power to change the Heart.

These few Words drew upon him a most terrible Persecution, Mr. *Du Plessis Bellievre* Colonel of a Regiment of Foot quarter'd at *Vienne*, came in a Passion to Mr. *Lambert*' Lodging, chid him for his pretended Obstinacy searched his Papers and took from him a Praye of his own Composition, adapted to his Circumstances ; he committed him to the Care of some

Orders, three of them to be constant Centinels upon him, and were chang'd every three Hours; which was observ'd in the Day-time, but at Night they were not changed, and five remained with him in his Room; so that for a whole Fortnight he was continually tormented, more or less, according to the Degree of their Wick-edness. As they found all they had done heretofore ineffectual, they took him one Day to a great Fire, pull'd off his Shoes and Stockings, forc'd him to sit down on the Floor, within four Inches of the burning Coals, one sitting upon his Stomach, others holding him fast by the Arms and Knees, lest he should pull back his Feet, and if he did, they took hold of them and laid them in the Fire. Not satisfied with all this, they took a red-hot Shovel and rubbed the Soles of his Feet with it, 'till they saw he could endure no longer without dying, then they forced on his Stockings and Shoes, and kick'd him to his Bed; he was not long in it before two of them took him up again and tossed him to and fro, 'till they were quite spent, but they told him, that if he would not invoke the *Vir-gin Mary* they would flee him next Morning.

The next Day his Guards were relieved by others, who found him on his Bed with his Shoes and Stockings on, in the most exquisite Pain; but as there was positive Orders, that no one should be admitted to see him 'till such a time, he was eight and forty Hours without any Care taken of his Sores, so that his Flesh began to mortify. Mr. *Da Plessis Bellicure* being told of what had been done to him, was very angry with the Officer, and reprimanded him for the same, and sent instantly his Serjeant Major with a Surgeon of the Town to dress his Wounds, which he found very frightful and almost desperate;

desperate ; they carried him to the Hospital-General, where he had a very good Bed, but very poor Diet ; there he was persecuted by the Monks, who endeavoured to extort an Abjuration from him : he was told that he was not to expect any Rest after his Wounds were cured, that the King willed all his Subjects to be of his own Religion, and was powerful enough to force Obedience from them.

As he wanted necessary Food, he fell into a Delirium, which seized him every Night ; reduced to this dismal Condition, one Night that his Fit returned upon him, he took the sinful Resolution to dissemble and to sign an Abjuration, which he did accordingly. A little after, the Provost's Lieutenant came with an Order from the Intendant to carry him to Jail, which was executed while he was in one of his Fits. The next Day, being recovered thereof, he was much surprized to find himself in such a Place, not knowing how he came thither. The Archbishop came to visit him, treated him with

VOL. IV. APPENDIX.

13

of his Sisters out of *France*, and brought Prisoner to *Grenoble*, where he died in Jail of the Bloody-Flux, without having done any thing against his Conscience, for which Cause his Corpse was thrown into the River *Isere*.

The Sufferings, Fall and Repentance of the noble and reverend Divine, *James Pineton* of *reverend Chambrun*, one of the Ministers of the Church *Dr. James Pineton, of Orange*, Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Prince of that Name, and Professor of Divinity in the College of that Place, made him so conspicuous in *Europe* in the last Century, that they deserve to be taken notice of here.

He was born of a noble Family in that Country, in the Year 1637 ; his Father, of the very same Name, was likewise Minister of the same Church, and his Grand-father had been ordained Minister by *Calvin* himself, and had been the Founder of the Church of *Nimes* and *Marvejols*. As to himself, he was ordained Minister of *Orange* in 1658, being but twenty-one Years of Age ; he was a Man of great Learning, especially in *Church-History*, and in Languages, *Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.* a great Orator, and his great Capacity made him very useful to his Prince in the most critical Junctures ; but he was very unhealthy, he was not thirty-six Years old before the Gout had rendered him quite crippled, so that he was unable to stand upon his Legs, and was carried by Porters in a Chair from Place to Place, even in the Pulpit, which occasioned a Misfortune that befel him a few Days before the sad Catastrophe of *Orange*, wherein he had himself so great a share, for as they were carrying him in the Streets, they let him fall and broke his Thigh ; in that sad Condition he was when the Dragoons came to *Orange*, in the Month of October, 1685.

Tho'

History of the Reformation in FRANCE

Tho' LEWIS XIV. had no Manner of Right to that Principality, especially since it had been restored to its natural Prince by the Treaty of Nimeguen, concluded in the Month of February 1679; nevertheless LEWIS, who built his Greatness upon Treacheries, Infidelities, and the shamefulst Breach of his most solemn Promises ratified by Oath, as well as upon the Blood and Misery of his own Subjects, had no sooner repeal'd the Edict of Nantz, but he began to force the Subjects of the Principality of Orange, by the same Means he made use of to force his own Subjects, to abjure their Religion.

For a few Months before, *Orange* had been an Asylum for the Reformed of the neighbouring Provinces, groaning under the dreadful Yoke of the Dragoons, they flocked thither in great Numbers. The Reception of these unfortunate People kindled the Fury of the King of France's Commandants that were at Montelimar, namely, the Marquis of *La Trouse*, St. Ruth and the Count of *Tessé*; they wrote to Court abundance of Falshoods, whereby they exasperated the King's Council, at least they made use of that Pretence to cover the unjust Design they had long ago formed against that Principality. The Threatnings of these Officers cast the Inhabitants of *Orange* into the greatest Confusion; from that time the Consistory was assembled almost every day in Mr. *De Chambrun*'s Bed-chamber, to consult together about Means to avoid the threatening Danger, they sent a Memoir to the Prince of *Orange* concerning the sad Condition they were in; they wrote likewise to Mr. *De Staremburg*, Ambassador of their High Mightinesses to the Court of *France*, and to the Baron of *Spanheim*, Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector of

of Brandenburg to the same Court, intreating their good Offices towards the Ministry in their Behalf; but that perfidious Court dissembled so cunningly, that even when the Dragoons were arrived at *Orange*, the Marquis of *Croiffy*, Minister for the foreign Affairs, positively told Mr. *Spanheim* that not a Word concerning the Principality had been spoken in the King's Council.

However, the Parliament of *Orange*, in order to avert that Storm, if it was possible, issued out a Proclamation, whereby all Foreigners were enjoin'd to quit the Principality in three Days time; and sent, at the same time, two Deputies to the Duke of *Nouailles*, and two others to the Commandants above-mentioned, with a Copy of the said Proclamation. The Duke received them very civilly, and told them that he would write to Court, and in the meanwhile they ought to fear nothing, the Parliament having done all that the Court of *France* could have desired from them; but the Commandants were not so kind: The Marquis of *La Trousse* continued his Violences, and told the Deputies, that the Ministers of *Orange* ought to be hang'd, &c. Very likely he was privy to the Court's Design, or else he would not have spoken so at random. The Deputies were no sooner come back but the News arrived, that the Count of *Grignan* was coming Post from Court, with Orders concerning *Orange*. He alighted at *Tarascon* to take along with him the Intendant of *Provence*, with two Companies of Dragoons to escort him; he arrived at *Orange* with that Company on the 23d of October 1685, but before he entered the City he stopp'd at *Bedarrides*, a Place not far distant, from whence he sent the Captain of his Guards to Mr. *De Beaufain*,

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

Beaufain, to desire him to certify to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of *Orange* that he did not come to hurt them in any respect. The Count arrived at three in the Afternoon ; he, with the Intendant, went to lodge at the Bishop's Palace, and the Dragoons were lodged in the Inns and Taverns. After having conferred together with the Bishop, the Count summoned the Council of the Demesn, and notified unto them the King's Intention, promising in his Name not to vex them in any thing, provided that they should expel out of the Principality, his rebellious Subjects. He was answered, that the Parliament had already provided to the Satisfaction of his Majesty, in the Manner above-said ; and that they were going to issue out a new Proclamation, ordering the few Refugees that remained in their Jurisdiction to quit the same in three Days. The Count and the Intendant were so well pleased with the Proceeding of that Council, that they thought proper to allow the Refugees eight Days instead of three ; every thing was transacted in that Conference with such mutual Civility and Kindness, that a perfect Correspondence was thought to be restored between the Prince and the King's Minister ; but alas ! all this was but a Trap to insnare the Inhabitants of *Orange* and the other Subjects of the Principality. True it is, that the reverend Dr. *De Chambrun* clears the Count of *Grignan* from having had any hand at all in this base Treachery, and tells us that the Count was very sorry, and highly resented the affront put upon him, to have been made use of as a Tool to deceive that miserable People and to work their Destruction.

For at the very Hour when the Count gave his Word, in the King's Name, to the People of

A P P E N D I X.

17

of *Orange* not to molest them in any thing, the Count of *Tessé*, having received his Orders from Court, commanded the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons and a Regiment of Foot to march secretly to *Orange*, where they arrived about two in the Morning, and surrounded the City ; some Companies were sent to invest the Towns of *Courtbefon* and *Jonquieres* ; what Desolation and Lamentation amongst the poor affrighted and disconsolate Inhabitants ! At break of day *Tessé* entered *Orange*, attended by several Officers swearing, cursing, blaspheming, threatening Fire and Sword ; and having run through all the Streets like a Fury, he alighted at the Bishop's Palace ; the Dragoons which had been sent into the two other Towns caused there unspeakable Damage. At *Courtbefon* they took Prisoner the Reverend Mr. *Aunet*, Minister of the Place, and caused him to walk at the Head of a Party of Dragoons to *Orange* ; being brought before the Count of *Tessé*, he sent him instantly to Prison. The reverend Messieurs *Gondrand*, *Cbion*, *Petit*, three of the Ministers of *Orange*, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to escape, understanding that *Tessé* threatened to pull down the Temples and destroy the whole City, if they did not instantly make their Appearance before him, came unto him of their own accord ; that Tiger, with horrid Cursing, threatened them with the Gallows, particularly the reverend Mr. *Petit*, to whom he said, that the next Day he should be hung ; then, without vouchsafing so much as to hear what they had to say, he sent them to Jayl.

As to the reverend Dr. *De Chambrun*, as soon as his Colleagues were imprisoned, *Tessé* sent an Officer with two Dragoons to his House, who set one of them a Centinel at his Bed-side, and

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the

other at the Door of his House, to hinder People from coming to visit him. It is almost impossible to imagine what Plunder and Devastation the Dragoons made, what cruel and barbarous Usage they put upon the poor, defenceless Inhabitants, especially the Reformed, without Distinction of Age, or Sex, or Quality. Having levelled to the Ground the two Churches, on the 10th of November it was published, that *Tessé* had received an Order from Court to persecute and torment the Reformed Inhabitants, without mercy, 'till they had renounced their Religion. He began to execute his Commission by quartering upon the Reformed, only these two Regiments of Dragoons and Foot that were before quartered a third Part upon the Roman-Catholicks, and the two other thirds upon the Reformed, who not being able to endure any longer the cruel and barbarous Usage they received of them, yielded at last to the Temptation, and in a publick Assembly consented to adhere to the Catholick Religion, on certain

not to torment those who had turned Catholicks, but only those who remained obstinate, as they term'd it. The Count, in less than two Hours, sent forty-two Dragoons to Dr. *De Chambrun's* House, with four Drums that beat night and day about his Room to hinder him from Sleep. they lived at Discretion, and soon devoured whatever Provisions were in the House ; which not being sufficient to satisfy their Gluttony, Mrs. *De Chambrun* was obliged to send to the Taverns to get whatever they asked, at any rate ; they abus'd that Lady with ill Language, her Husband fearing they would carry their Brutishness to a further Degree, prevail'd with her at last to retire to her own Father's House.

The next Day *Tessé* sent an Officer to the Doctor to know whether he would obey the King or no ? he answered, that he would obey his God. Whereupon the whole Regiment was quarter'd upon him, they tormented him more cruelly than before, the Drums were incessantly beating at his Bed-fide, the Room was continually full of Tobacco-smoke, which was very offensive to him ; nay, they smoak'd under his very Nose, so that he grew almost distracted through the bitter Pains of his broken Thigh, and of the Gout, and for want of Food, and of Rest. He was summoned again to obey the King, but he said that God was his King. Whereat his Persecutors grew fiercer, and tormented him with such Violence, that on the thirteenth of November he fell into a Swoon, which lasted four Hours ; it was thought that he could not recover from it, and the rumour of his Death was soon spread through the City. Whereupon *Tessé* sent Orders to the Dragoons to retire, and only four remained to keep him ; he was no sooner recovered, but he received Orders to

be ready the next day to be transported to *Pierrefise*, a Castle near *Lyons*, where Prisoners of State were kept ; he said, that he was ready that very Instant to go where-ever they would carry him. At that News his Lady was disconsolate, she went to the Count of *Tessé*, she kneeled before him, beseeching him in the most moving manner to permit him to be transported to his Country-house, and she would pay the Guards that should be set to keep him, or at least, to send him to the same *Jayl* with his Colleagues ; but all her Intreaties were in vain, that hard-hearted Man stood unmoveable, and was very rude to that poor, distressed Lady ; he told her that her Husband had been the Pope of the *Hugonots* but that his Reign was at an end, &c.

The next Morning he sent Mr. *De Chambres* word that he must set out ; his Servants took him out of his Bed and dressed him with great Difficulty, for he endured the most exquisite Pain all over his Body whenever they touched him ; then he was brought down stairs by six Men, who carried him and put him in a kind of

Citizens who had been at variance for several Years together, and said to them, *Dear Children why do you cry for me? cry rather for your selves, for your Ennemis which have drawn the Wrath of Heaven upon you.* If you do truly love and regret me, do give me the Comfort of seeing you embrace one another, and let your sincere Reconciliation be the last Fruit of my Ministry amongst you.

Whereupon they both fell upon the Ground, embracing and colling one another, and begging pardon of one another. In a word, every one strove to shew his great Concern in different Ways, and the Sight must of course have been exceedingly dismal, since Pity found Admittance even into the merciless Breasts of the Dragoons that escorted him, and who were seen shedding Tears. The Croud followed him for half a League out of the City, and at last desisted, at his earnest Intreaties. Very likely some well-disposed Person gave notice to the Count of Tessé that our illustrious Prisoner was in danger of his Life, and would certainly die upon the Road, was he carried to *Pierre-cise* without stopping at some Place, because of his weak Condition and great Sufferings. Howbeit, as he was unwilling that he should die almost in his own Hands, he altered his Orders, and sent word to the Officer that commanded the Prisoner's Guard, to bring him to the Bridge of *St. Esprit*, and to put him into the Hands of the Chevalier of *Montanegues* who commanded in the Place, which was executed; and whereas that Commander was related to the Prisoner's Wife, he was very kind to him, and treated him with great Humanity; he lodged him in a private House and not in the Citadel, as he should have done had he executed his Orders, he was visited every day by several Persons of Quality.

While he was in that Town he received News from Orange, that his Wife having been found in her own Father's House, where she lay concealed, and refusing to do any thing against her Conscience, the Count of Teſſé ordered the Dragoons to bring her back to her own House, and that she should serve the whole Regiment which he quartered there, without being assisted by any body. The poor Lady fell into the greatest Agonies when she heard of that Doom, no less cruel than unjust in itself; but a good Fryer, whose Family had received many good Offices from Dr. *De Chambrun*, released her from her Fears; he went instantly to see her at her Father's House, and without requiring any thing at all of her, he sent word to the Count that she had done her duty, as they used to term an Abjuration; whereupon the Count ordered the Dragoons to retreat, and she went to meet her Husband at *St. Esprit*.

After twenty Days stay in that Town, the Provost of *Valentinois* with an Exempt and his

VOL.IV. APPENDIX.

23

the City; when he arrived he found the Suburbs crowded with People of all ranks, and in the Yard of the Inn, a vast Number of Gentlemen and Ladies that were come for Curiosity's sake. Some said, Lo! the Devil of a Minister of Orange; others added, he is the Prince of Orange's Spy; so he was reviled by these bigotted People. The Difficulty was to take him out of the Litter, having quite lost the Use of his Limbs, they tried in vain for half an Hour together; he desired the Provost to grant him a little time to breathe; at last he was carried from his Litter upon a Bed, and undress'd, that he might refresh himself after so many Days Fatigue and lying awake. But being tormented with the Gout and the exquisite Pains of his Thigh, the Bandage whereof had loosen'd itself in the Carriage and the Motion of the Litter, he could not find any rest at all; the Anxieties of his Mind increased his Pains, for he could not speak freely his Mind, being watched by the Exempt who lay in his Room and the Archers that were at the Door. The next Day he was visited by the Provost, who told him that he would prepare every thing for setting out the next Day; nevertheless, it is likely that he was unwilling to let him go out of *Valence*, for the same Day he was visited by two Doctors of Physick in the University and two Surgeons, who no sooner saw his Body, but they turn'd their Eyes away, pitying his dismal Condition; he told them that he was also troubled with the Stone; they answered, that as to that they could not judge without probing, but that they had seen enough to judge that he was in a very bad way. Nevertheless he was very impatient to be upon the Road for *Pierre-cise*, he insisted on it again to the Provost, who promis'd him

to set out the next Morning ; instead of which, the Bishop of *Valence* came to visit him, and after some Compliments exchang'd, he endeavoured, by Promises and Threats, to engage him to turn *Roman-Catolick* ; he answered, that had he thought that he could be saved in that Religion, he would not have suffered himself to be tormented as he had been for about two Months, that he was ready to suffer every thing rather than to comply ; and as to the Pensions, he had no need of them, being rich enough, &c. He intreated the Bishop to procure for him a Pass, that he might safely retire whither Providence should call him. To which, the Bishop reply'd, that he ought not to flatter himself with such Hopes, that he was a State-Prisoner, that the Court had great Hopes of converting him to the Catholick Religion, that he would never be suffered to go near the Prince of *Orange*. Several other Discourses passed between them, amongst the rest, the Bishop told him, that the King of *France* was resolved not only

A P P E N D I X.

25

should be removed from him ; (these last were absolutely necessary to him, as the only persons who knew how to handle him, and turn him in his Bed, for they were obliged to manage him just like an Infant) and that he should be served by Dragoons or Archers. That Doom was a Thunder-bolt to that poor Gentleman, he put up his earnest Prayers to God humbly beseeching his Assistance. But when he came to be dress'd by these new Attendants, he was put to such exquisite Pains, that, not being able to bear with them any longer, he cried out, THEN I WILL RE-UNITE MYSELF. No sooner had he uttered these Words, but the Exempt that was by him ran to the Bishop's Palace to acquaint him with it. That Prelate, who sat himself up for a great Converter, and spared, for that purpose, no kind of Torments to overcome the Constancy of the poor Wretches that fell into his Hands, was overjoyed when he heard the Exempt : He came instantly to Mr. *De Chambrun*, with the Provost and some other Persons, and tender'd him a Paper to sign it, but he refused constantly. Whereupon the Bishop asked him, Whether he had not said that he would re-unite himself ? True it is, says he, I have utter'd the Words ; but the violent Pains I underwent, have forced them out of my Mouth : But, if I did, what Advantage for you in the Condition I am in, uncapable of Reasoning ? For all that, the Bishop did not desist from his Pretensions ; he sent an Express to Court to notify his sham Victory, and thereupon received the Congratulations of the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, of Father *La Chaise*, and of the Marquis of *Louvois*. Nay, he was so ungenerous, as to publish, as a matter of Fact, Mr. *De Chambrun's* Recantation, and to propose

26 *History of the Reformation in FRANCE.*

pose him as an Example, to seduce others in his own Diocese, even at *Valence* itself, where the Falshood thereof was perfectly well known. As to the poor Patient, he fell into the greatest Agonies, when he came to himself, after he had uttered the few Words above-mentioned; the Pains of his Body were nothing in comparison of the Troubles of his Soul, and if ever there has been any true and godly Penitent, certainly he must be ranked among the first; all the Characters of a deep and sincere Repentance are to be found in his.

CONTRITION. He was affected with such a deep Sense of the Heinousness of his Crime, that he would not admit of any Excuse, much less of any Comfort. He looked upon himself as an Apostate, who had betrayed the Interest of his dearest Master; which would be the occasion of the Fall of many others that would take him for a Pattern. He ran almost distracted when he considered the Glory of his Ancestors, the Dignity of his own Character, the Duties incumbent on him in consequence

Our Penitent was no sooner recovered from the violent Fit of Pains, during which he had rashly said, that he would re-unite himself, but he detested what he had done; acknowledged the Greatness of his Sin, not only before Friends, but before Foes; before the Bishop himself, not only at *Valence*, but every where, in *Dauphine*, *Provence*, and wherever his Voice could be heard, or his Letters could reach; not only in private, but in the most publick manner in the Pulpit, and in Print, as soon as he came out of the Kingdom, aggravating the least Circumstance, firmly persuaded that the more he humbled himself before God and Men, the more he should be exalted.

R S O L U T I O N. Our Penitent was so far sensible of the Obligation he was in, not only to do nothing that might hurt his Conscience any further, but to do every thing for the future to make amends for his Fault, to glorify God, and edify his Brethren; that he resolved from that time to expose himself to the worst, and to suffer every thing, even the most cruel Martyrdom, rather than, not only to do or say any Thing against his Conscience, but not to dissemble any longer, and conceal his real Sentiments.

E X E C U T I O N. Accordingly, at the very first Visit that the Bishop of *Valence* paid him after his Fall, he let him know, that he had acted against his Conscience; that what he had said in his Fit was only the Effect of the Violence of his Pains, and not of any real Intention to perform what he had promised at that time; and at the six or seven Visits which that Prelate paid him afterwards while he was at *Valence*, and at another in the place of his Exile, he not only refused to ratify that pretended Promise,

History of the Reformation in France.

Promise, but at several times he disputed with him about the controverted Points, and evicted the Falshood of the *Roman Religion*, and the Truth of his own, without being moved at all by his Threats, or by his Promises. That was not enough ; but he endeavoured by his Exhortations, and warm Remonstrances, to reclaim those who were fallen ; such as one Mr. *Vigne*, an Apostate Minister, who visited him at *Valence*, whom he rebuked with Indignation. Lastly, He neglected nothing, and improved every Opportunity to deliver himself out of that sad Situation, even to the danger of his Life, that he might give Glory to God, as we shall say presently. So that having so exactly fulfilled the Duties of that godly Repentance, which St. *Paul* describes in his 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. vii. it may be said, that he was greater after his Fall than before, and that through the Mercy of God, his Faith and Love for him received a new Strength from his own Weakness.

He stayed at *Valence* till the latter end of February 1686, when he was transferred to *Romeyer*, near *Die*, a frightful Desart, surrounded every where with high steep Hills. The Bishop of *Valence*, who was the vainest of all Men, having boasted of this pretended Victory, durst not recant, though he might be fully convinc'd that he had too much reason for it, but he would not expose himself to be laugh'd at at Court : Therefore, as Dr. *De Chambrun* had many times insisted with him, either to procure a Pass for him, or to send him back to *Orange*, he asked him in his last Visit, whether he had a mind to live without any Exercise of Religion ? that thereby he would put himself in greater Trouble than

than ever ; that he would be sorry for it, but that he was answerable for him ; and that he had obtained Leave for him to go to *Romeyer*, where the Air was wholesome, and might contribute, as he said, to the Recovery of his Health. He arrived in that Place, on the 2d of *March*, and lived there for five Months together in a very dismal Condition, not only as to his Body, but especially as to his Mind. Having been seized with a violent Fit of Gravel, and voided a Stone as big as a large French Bean, every one thought, as well as himself, that he had the Stone. Thereupon he wrote to the Bishop of *Valence*, desiring him to intercede for him with the Court, that he might obtain leave to go to *Lyons*, there to be cut. His Answer was very civil ; nevertheless, as his Lordship delayed to perform his Promise, Dr. *De Chambren* wrote to him again upon the same account. The Bishop was not in haste ; but, on the contrary, mov'd very slowly, being in hopes that he should tire him, and oblige him to sign an Abjuration. At last, about the Beginning of *July*, he came into his Diocese of *Die*, in order to force the Reformed to confess, and receive the Sacrament ; he had been preceded by some Regiments of Dragoons and Foot to torment those who should refuse to comply. The Intendant of *Dauphiné* arrived at *Die* about the same time, to assist the Bishop in that glorious Exploit. This last preached through the Mouth of the Dragoons ; and they first tried and condemned those who refused to obey. The Bishop visited his whole Diocese, wherein he exercised a thousand Cruelties. The poor People flocked to the Defarts and Woods like Sheep, and were pursued and kill'd, or bound with Ropes and cast into

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

into Dungeons when overtaken. However, as soon as the Bishop was arrived at *Die*, he let Mr. *De Chambrun* know, by one of his Friends, that he had obtain'd Leave for him to go to *Lyon*; but that he expected to find him more complaisant to what he desired of him, than he had been heretofore. When the Dr. had received this News, he prepared himself to withstand all the Attacks of his Adversary; and understanding that he made Use of his Name to seduce the People, saying unto them, *How safe are you more learned than Mr. De Chambrun, who has done whatever we have required of him, why don't you follow his Example?* he was deeply concern'd at it; and without the least hesitation, he answer'd those that wrote to him to know the Truth of the Matter, that they ought not to give credit to any such idle Story; that tho' he had the Misfortune to say, when in a Fit of his violent Pains, *That he would re-unite himself,* nevertheless, he had constantly refused to ratify in any-wise that rash Promise, and was fully resolved to die, rather than to give them such a Scandal. By such an Answer he defeated mostly his Enemies Defigns; for several Commonalties chose rather to be expos'd to the Fury of the Dragoons, than to confess and receive the Sacrament.

When the Bishop had made his Circuit, he came to *Romeyer*, and visited Dr. *De Chambrun*; he enter'd alone in his Room, and told him, that he had obtained for him the Licence which he so eagerly pursued; but that before he would deliver it into his hands, he ought first to sign, to confess, and to receive the Sacrament. The Doctor thanked him for his Trouble, but desired him withal not to insist any further upon

upon that ; that very likely he would die in the Operation of cutting, and then he should give him no more trouble. To which the Bishop replied, *What, Sir ! the King shall not be baffled in this manner. I have wrote to Court that you was converted in earnest ; and what will they say of me, if I don't oblige you to perform your Duty ? I have obliged the Ministers that are at Die to confess and receive. What ! will you be the only Hugonot in France ? My Lord, saith the Doctor, I don't live after Example. I don't intend to baffle any body, you are too reasonable to force me to anything against my Conscience. I beseech you to let me go to Lyons.* Then they entred upon a Conference about the controverted Points, at the end of which, seeing that he could not prevail, he advised him friendly, as he pretended, to obey the King, and avoid by that means any further Mischief. That very Evening he sent Dragoons and Foot to force the Inhabitants of Romeyer to a Compliance ; they committed inspeakle Disorders in the Place, to no other purpose than to gratify their bloody Cruelty. Dr. *De Chambrun* expected to be treated after the same way ; instead of which, a Jesuit came the next Morning from the Bishop, who spared neither Flattery, Promises, nor Threats, in order to seduce him, if he could, but all to no purpose. The next Day he came again upon the same Errand, but had no better Success ; whereat the Bishop was in a terrible Passion when the Jesuit told him his bad Success. Very likely he would have dealt with Dr. *De Chambrun* as he did with others who resisted his Will, had it not been that he was afraid to lose his Reputation, and to be taken for a Lyar, after having so positively and confidently affirmed at Court, and in the Publick, that that Gentleman had done

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

done whatever had been required of him. However, he let him know, that he might set out for *Lyons* whenever he pleased ; but that he might expect not to fare better than before, being strongly recommended to the Archbishop, who would take care of him, 'till he had done his Duty.

* Bran-
card..

Accordingly he set out on the 1st of *August*, being carried in a * Litter by twelve Peasants, and arrived at *Lyons* on the 5th, and went into the best Inn, in order to impose the better upon People, and make them believe, that he really designed to go through the Operation. The next Morning he sent for the most expert Lithotomist, feigning a Desire to know when he could be cut. He examined his Body, and told him that in the Condition he was in, it would be very difficult and dangerous to make the Operation ; nevertheless, that he would consider how he could do it safely. But whereas he had insisted so much upon his Journey to *Lyons*, only in expectation to meet there with some more favourable Opportunity for making his Escape, he found, that the Inn where he lodged was not so proper for executing his Design, therefore his Friends procured for him a more commodious House. When he was settled in it, he sent for the Archbishop's Physician, to whom he gave an account of his imaginary Disease ; whereupon the Physician concluded that he had the Stone, and that he must be probed in order to a greater Certainty. The Doctor failed not to tell the Archbishop, that he had under his Care a Gentleman whom he knew not, but who was in a very bad Way ! Sure, says that Prelate, *it must be that Minister of Orange, which has been recommended to me.* And he shewed him the Orders he had received

A P P E N D I X.

33

received from Court upon his account, and which were notified to Mr. *De Chambrun* in the Archbishop's Name. Whereby he was made sensible that all his Steps were narrowly observed, and that if he did not provide for himself in good time, he would be very soon shut up in the Castle of *Pierre-Cise*.

Therefore he resolved to make his Escape without Delay, for which end he feigned to be worse than ever, and sent for the Physician and the Lithotomist ; they probed him, but could find no Stone. The Lithotomist said, that as he lay upon his Back he could not be probed so well as if he was upon a Chair ; but he desired the Physician to put off to another time this second Probing, because he had suffered so much in the first, that he could not bear so soon with this. That was approv'd of, and having dismissed them, he disposed himself the best he could for his Journey, the Difficulty was to find out a Disguise, and a Carriage proper for a Man in his Circumstances, crippled and unable to move himself. He insisted, notwithstanding the contrary Opinion of his Friends, to disguise himself in an Officer's Dress, and to be carried in a Calash, wherein he was tied fast with a Leather String, he set out from *Lyons* on the 8th of *September*, which was a *Sunday* in the Evening, went through the whole City, amidst a Crowd of People of all sorts that were coming from walking ; and having met his Servants and Horses that waited for him without the City, he travelled Night and Day, and arrived safe at *Geneva* on the 11th of *September*. It is observable, that he passed through several Garrisons, without being stopp'd, except in one place upon the Frontiers of *Savoy*, where there was a *Corps de Garde*

* C

Garde

Garde of seven Men, who stopp'd him ; but he counterfeited so well the Officer of Importance, by his Speech and Threats, that being frighten'd out of their Wits, they most humbly crav'd his Pardon. Another Thing very observable, methinks, is, that at the last Step that the Horses made in the Yard of the Inn at *Geneva*, the Calash broke of itself. Had such an Accident happened upon the Road, Mr. *De Chambrun* had been undone, for being not capable either to walk or to stand, he would certainly have been known.

He was received at *Geneva*, as he so justly deserved ; he insisted to acknowledge his Fault publickly, in order to be admitted to the Lord's Supper ; which was done as he desired. At his most earnest Instances he was likewise restored to his Ministerial Functions, by an Assembly of eighteen Ministers, *Refugées*, tho' they represented unto him, that having never signed any Abjuration, or done any Action that might prejudice his Character such a

A P P E N D I X.

35

the Princess with the greatest demonstration of Joy and Satisfaction. He came over to *England* with Queen *Mary*, when King *William* had been acknowledged by the Parliament, and a Canonship at *Windsor* becoming vacant, that Princess bestowed it upon him, with this Compliment, *That it was only till a better Preferment should offer*. But he died six Months after at *London*, in 1689. *

Besides the Soldiers and Dragoons, the ordinary Ministers of Popish Cruelty, the Spirit of Persecution met every where some new Instruments to exercise its Cruelty, who delighted exceedingly in forwarding its Designs. And it is very observable, that a few excepted, in whose Breasts Principles of Humanity had a greater Influence than those of their bloody Religion, all the rest were always devoted to Persecution, and that too in the most cruel and barbarous manner. The Ties of Consanguinity and Friendship were easily loosed by the nearest Relations, and the Commonalties were at all times ready to supply the place of Dragoons, nay even to exceed them. This I shall evince by the following Narration, well attested by several Witnesses here in *England*, of an undoubted Veracity.

Mr. *Belly*, Chaplain to the Princess of *Tarente*, having been obliged to depart the Kingdom, by virtue of the repealing Edict, which expelled for ever all Ministers out of *France*, left his Wife with the Princess to settle some private Affairs. She had a Brother, named *Moissan*, brought up in the Popish Religion, who knew no sooner that his Brother-in-law was gone for *Guernsey*, but he wrote to the Bishop of *Rennes*, and to Father *Brian Superior*

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* *Voyez Les Larmes de J. P. de Chambrun.*

rior of the Jesuits in that Town, desiring them to procure for him a Letter of the Signet, with Orders to take away by Force his Sister from the Place where she lived ; (which, on any other Occasion would have been sacred) such a Request was easily granted. As soon as he received the Letter, he sent an Usher of the Parliament of *Rennes*, named *Mercadier*, who went to *Vitré*, with four inferior Officers of Justice, enter'd the Princess's Castle, and before her Highness's Face, took away Mrs. *Belly*, and brought her to the Usher's House at *Rennes*.

When he had Notice of the Execution, he wrote again to the Bishop and Jesuits, to beseech them, to make use of all the Means they could devise, (the Rape only excepted) to convert his Sister.

The Bishop ordered, that, in Conformity wth Mr. *Moissan*'s earnest Request, all means should be made use of to force or persuade that Gentlewoman to renounce her Heresy. To obey the Prelate's Orders, they stretch'd her on her Back, eight Porters relieving each other by Turns, held her in that violent Situation, forcing her to swallow vast quantities of Brandy, 'till they bereft her of her Senses : At another time they oblig'd her to jump from the Table down to the Floor, and from the Floor up wth the Table, and to dance for three hours together ; 'till quite spent with such violent Exercise, she fainted away. Thus they abused that venerable Gentlewoman for eight Days and Nights without Intermission.

This Trial proving ineffectual, they took another Course, no less insufferable, though less violent. They sent for Trumpets and Drums, which, for six other Days and Nights together,

A P P E N D I X.

37

together, ceased not to trouble her with their hideous Noise. This also proving unsuccessful, they sent for a Kettle, put it over her Head, the eight Porters beating on it continually. They kept her in that Condition three Days, without being able to overcome her Constancy. Several other indecent Actions they did commit, which Modesty forbids me to mention. At last the Usher, in whose House these Tragedies were acted, being tir'd with so much Cruelty, went to the Attorney-General, and told him, he could bear no longer to see his House made a Place of Torture; whereupon that Magistrate ordered that Mrs. *Belly* should be let out. But it was only a Commutation of Torments; and instead of a private, they inflicted on her a publick one: They ordered, that she should walk bare-footed, all in Rags, through all the Streets of the Town, exposed to the publick View of the Mob; who, being some of the most superstitious of the Kingdom, abused her in the most outragious manner. All this being done, she was dragg'd to St. Peter's Church, where she was forc'd to subscribe a Form of Abjuration; which done, she was set at liberty.

She then returned to the Princess of *Tarente* at *Vitré*, but her unnatural Brother's Anti-christian Zeal suffered him not to let her enjoy long her Liberty; he caused her again to be taken by Force, and by the Bishop's Orders shut her up in a Nunnery of *Benedictines*, whence she found means to escape some time after to *Guernsey*, where she met with her Husband.

'Tis not a new Thing to see People forsaking all natural Affections to gratify a furious Zeal. Sleidan speaks of one *Alphonfus Diaz*, who came from *Rome* to *Newburgb*, to assasinate his

Brother John, which he perpetrated in the most treacherous and inhuman manner. (a)

Verillas relates, that one *Roberts*, the King's Attorney at *Troyes* in *Champaign*, caused his own Son to be hang'd, for no other Reason, than his being a *Calvinist*. (b) And we have related in our first Volume two Instances of the cruel Effects of the blind Zeal of a Father against his own Son, and of a Brother against his own Sister.

Mr. *Benoit* takes Notice, that in the late Persecution a Gentleman of *Picardy*, in order to shew his Zeal for Popery, was so base as to let his own Wife down into a Well, holding her by the Hair of the Head, in the midst of Winter.

These Things are more than sufficient to make it appear, that the Spirit of Popery is dipt in Cruelty; and that whoever gives himself up to it, degrades himself from human Nature, and becomes the most fierce, wild and cruel of all other living Creatures.

A R T I C L E II.

Of the cruel Usage the Reformed met with in the several Prisons in which they were confin'd.

ONE would imagine, that no Prisons could be more dreadful than the Reformed's Houses, whilst the Dragoons were quarter'd in them, since (by a Hardship all other Prisons are exempted from) they were altogether Captives,

(a) *Sildan Comment Lib. 17. ad ann. 1545.* (b) *Verillas Hist. de Charles IX. Liv. 3. pag. 430.*

A P P E N D I X.

39

tives, and continually tormented by those People, destitute of all Humanity. Yet they were shut up close Prisoners in several Goals of different kinds. The strong Holds, Citadels, nay even Convents, were turned into Prisons for them ; and besides those Plates, a great Number of Reformed were buried, as one may say, in several frightful Dungeons, which, by their Darknes and their Stench, were sufficient to make Men lose their Senses, or to throw them into Despair. Let us consider a little those various Prisons, and let us see what Usage our Brethren met with in those Places.

Those who had overcome the Dragoon's Fury, were condemn'd to pass the Remainder of their Days in Captivity and Slavery. In that Condition, the Husbands were not allowed to be with their Wives, nor Parents with their Children, nor the nearest Relations to be together, but were all separated one from the other in different Prisons and Cells, so that it was difficult for them to hear from each other ; if they did, it was commonly something to perplex them. The Children were told, that their Parents had acknowledged the Truth of the Catholick Religion, and had publickly abjur'd *Calvin's* Heresy before such Bishops or Curates ; Husbands, Wives, and others, were told the same Thing of their Children or other Relations, in order to shock them. Though these unfortunate Prisoners had reason enough to question the Truth of these Relations, nevertheless, as there was no possibility to find out the Deceit, it must needs grieve them to the Heart.

The Goalers, generally speaking, used them most severely, the Principles of Popery inspiring them with greater Hatred against those

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

poor People, than in Honour or Conscience they could have had for the most wicked Criminals under their Care ; the Criminals themselves joining with the Goalers, to render these poor People's Confinement more intolerable, by their Outrages, but above all by their scandalous Discourses and Blasphemies.

Of Doctor Jortin.

Among the many Instances which I might offer my Reader, I shall single out only one, which will be sufficient to justify my Observation. That shall be a Relation of Mr. *Jortin*'s (a Doctor of Physick at *Saumur*) Sufferings, written by himself at a Friend's Request, but never before published.

I shall not take notice of many Trials, Perils, Fatigues, and ill Usages which he underwent, before he was brought to Mr. *Foucault*, Intendant of *Poitou*. I shall only give an Abstract of his own Relation of his Prison and ill Usages there, which are as follow.

- I having been in Confinement in *Poitou*,
- Mr. *Foucault* the Intendant discharged me ;
- but I was kept, contrary to Orders, under a Guard of two * Wardens, arm'd with Musketoons, who conducted me through a Gate, where was a *Corps de Garde* ; there we were stopp'd, but a little after dismiss'd.
- Upon the Road from *Poitiers* to *Saumur*,
- I could find neither Victuals nor Lodging, as soon as they knew that I was a *Hugonot*.
- When I arrived at *Saumur*, I found my House laid waste during my Absence, and was oblig'd to borrow a Bed from one of my Friends.
- Some Days after, I was sent back again to Jayl ; when I was brought thither I was searched as usual. I could not obtain the King's Bread, though they deny it not even

A P P E N D I X.

41

• to Criminals under Sentence of Death. My
• Bed was an Iron Cage full of Lice, Bugs,
• Mice, and several other Vermin, the Door
• thereof was so low, that one must creep into
• it. I desired they would give me some Straw
• to lie on, but was denied.

• A Fortnight after, some Friends, who had
• provided Food for me, sent me a little fold-
• ing Bedstead, with a good Feather-Bed and
• Bolster, with some good Blankets. I laid no
• longer in my Cage, but when my Persecu-
• tors were out of humour.

• The next Week, Mr. *Foger*, Deputy to
• Mr. *Du Hamel*, Intendant of the Province of
• *Anjou*, came to visit me, who at first used me
• civilly, took me to walk with him in the
• Prison Gardens, was very earnest with me to
• renounce my Religion, though he was un-
• willing to enter into any Dispute about it.

• But when he found he could not prevail
• with me, he told me, I am very sorry to
• see you so obstinate, you are utterly undone;
• (for a Paper of my own Hand-writing a-
• gainst the Church of *Rome*, and the *Roman*
• Clergy had been found upon me). Do you
• see that Heap of Stones before you? under
• them lies buried an Attorney of *Loudun* ;
• he had been here but a Fortnight; the Death
• which you are to suffer will not be so mild
• as his. (He did not tell me that he was poi-
• son'd, but the Prisoners had acquainted me
• with it before, his Name was Mr. *La Loge*
• *Guerin*.) The Intendant arrived in Town
• two or three Days after, I had notice of it
• by Mr. *Foger's* Care, who let me know
• that I was arraign'd. I sent him my Thanks,
• and inform'd him, that I would die his very
• humble Servant.

• It

‘ It is hardly to be believed with what Zeal
‘ my Enemies pursued my Death, they expected
‘ to see me burning alive ; my Friends came
‘ from the Country to lament my Fate, and
‘ several Persons of Distinction in the Town
‘ came to the Jayl to see me, and to give me
‘ the same warning. At last, I was so well per-
‘ suaded that I was to suffer that cruel Death,
‘ that I desired some of them to come and be
‘ Witnesses of the Mercies and Blessings Al-
‘ mighty God granted those who suffered Mar-
‘ tyrdom for his sake.

‘ All this while, the Intendant being not so
‘ bloody-minded, thought not proper to follow
‘ the Opinion of my Persecutors ; after he had
‘ examin’d my Papers, finding nothing worthy of
‘ Death, he left me in the same Condition, always
‘ expos’d to the Persecution of my Enemies.

‘ A little after the Intendant had left Sav-
‘ mur, a Woman who was a Prisoner in the same
‘ Jayl, came to acquaint me, in private, of a
‘ Plot laid against my Life, by the Jaylor and
‘ his Wife, and at their Instigation, by several
‘ Prisoners. One of them offer’d, one Day, to
‘ burn one of my Fingers, another to burn
‘ some other Part of my Body, each of them
‘ delighting in some way or other to torture
‘ me. Though the Weather was exceeding
‘ cold, they hindered me from Fire, and inter-
‘ rupted me when I pray’d to God, or sung to
‘ his Glory ; I was obliged to go into the Green
‘ before the Prison, in the Frost and Snow, to
‘ pray, and was, even there, often interrupted
‘ in my Devotions.

‘ They brought their Fury to that pitch,
‘ that they one day took the Resolution to crucify
‘ me, which was to be executed in the great
‘ Green ; they were first to gag me, then to
‘ nail

A P P E N D I X.

43

• nail me up against the Wall. As that Death
• was very extraordinary in itself, they durst not
• come to the Execution.

• They thought the Iron Cage wherein I was
• shut up close from time to time, would be a
• properer Place, because there are several little
• holes, through which they might put Cords,
• and then he would have published that I had
• strangled myself through Despair.

• I had notice of this Plot by one of their
• Accomplices, who, very happily for me,
• fell out with his Comrades, and discovered
• every thing to me. We went down together,
• to the Place where the Cage stood, and there
• found the Cords tied with running Knots, all
• ready for the Execution ; Mr. *Bouësteaux*
• Counsellor, and Mr. *De la Motte* Provost of
• *Saumur*, saw these Things, who being my
• Friends, very much pitied my Fate.

• That Danger being over, I soon found
• myself exposed to another. A Gentleman,
• who had been wounded in the Army, by a
• Shot in the Leg, came to ask my advice about
• his Wound, which was again open'd, when
• he had done with me, he took his leave ; I
• went to accompany him to the Gate of the
• Jayl, where a Servant of the Prison was cruelly
• beating a Prisoner, who had been a Collector ;
• I intreated the Servant in a few Words to be
• milder ; this was enough for the Jayler's
• Wife, who overhearing me, flew into a Pas-
• sion, crying out to the Servant, *Strangle that*
• *Dog, that Hugonot* ; **DICTUM, FACTUM** :
• the Servant took me by the Throat, and en-
• deavoured to execute his Orders ; but I not
• thinking fit to let him do it without Opposi-
• tion, though he was stronger than I, yet I
• was happy enough to disentangle myself out

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

‘ of his Hands. In the Scuffle I lost my Hat, Wig, and one of my Slippers, and was going down into the Green, which was just by, not perceiving the Servant behind me, holding up a Stick, with which he would certainly have cleft my Skull, had not the Prisoners laid hold of him. I then went into a Room, he still pursuing me with Stones.

‘ That Evening they invented a strange Contrivance to undo me, if possible ; they rubb’d that Man’s Face all over with Blood, and in that Condition they brought him before the Judge Criminal, who, being much surprised at the Sight, ask’d him who had done it ? The Hugonot, said they, who will kill us all, if you don’t come and take some Course with him. He came to the Jayl ; they endeavoured all they could to bribe some of the Prisoners to give Evidence against me : But, what is very strange, those very People who had offered to burn me, would not on this occasion speak against their Consciences, but chose rather to suffer than to enter into my Enemies wicked Measures. They told the Judge, We have nothing to say, but what will turn to Mr. Jortin’s Advantage ; he took Compassion of one of our Fellow-Prisoners, who was cruelly abus’d by the Servant, entreating him to be more mild, for which the Jayler’s Wife ordered him to strangle him, and he was about to do it in our Presence. Mr. Jortin stood only in his own Defence, and who would not do the same ? He is an honest Man ; whom we should not persecute were it not for the Orders we have received.

‘ For all this, the Judge came up to the Room where I was, and finding me without a Wig,

A P P E N D I X.

45

‘ Wig, and but one Slipper, You are, says he, a
‘ fine Man indeed in that Dress ! Was not your
‘ Case bad enough before, that you must thus
‘ make it worse by your Violence in the Prison ?
‘ I told him, if I had thought that he would
‘ have taken Cognizance of my Affairs, I would
‘ have acquainted him with my Case sooner ;
‘ that I had addressed myself to the Intendant’s
‘ Subdelegate for Justice, but, since he was there,
‘ I beseeched him to hear me in my own De-
‘ fence. No, Sir, said he, get you down to the
‘ Cage. I shall obey, Sir, without Reluctancy ;
‘ Cages, Dungeons, or any thing please me,
‘ my Conscience bears witness for me : But there
‘ is a supreme Judge above, who hears us, and
‘ (turning to the Jayler and his Wife) these
‘ People shall give him an Account for the
‘ Wrongs I have suffered : As for you, Sir, I am
‘ your humble Servant. So I went down to the
‘ Cage, where I found the two Prisoners, who
‘ had refused to give false Evidence against
‘ me.

‘ One Day they mix’d human Excrements
‘ with the Victuals prepared for my Dinner.
‘ One of the Prisoners who us’d to take share
‘ of my Dinner, had no sooner tasted of the
‘ Sauce, but he complain’d of the ill Taste, and
‘ of the Cook. I told him, that I knew not the
‘ Cook, my Victuals being always brought
‘ ready dress’d from the Tavern. It is true,
‘ says I, it is ill tasted, but Prisoners must not
‘ be so dainty ; if you are hungry, you may
‘ eat some, as I have done. He said, he was
‘ half starv’d, and so took some again out of
‘ the Dish : Very likely he dipp’d in a Place
‘ where the Drug was not spar’d, for he threw
‘ the Dish and Sauce upon the Floor, his
‘ Heart rising against it ; he vomited : That
‘ done,

done, he began again to curse the Cook, and to swear. We soon after found out the Author of this Piece of Villany.

The Day when the Collector, who was abus'd by the Jayler's Servant as above-said, was brought to the Jayl, his Friends came to see him. As they were sitting and drinking at the Fire-side, and often looking towards me, they could not forbear laughing; they told me the Reason of it; Sir, says one of them, you see us laughing, but you don't know how far you are concern'd in it; we sincerely confess, if we had known you to be so honest, as we now find you to be, you should not have fed upon our Excrements as you have done often: for several had plotted to feed you as they do their Hogs; but we do promise you that it shall never be so for the future; which indeed never happened since, and the Cook of the Tavern discharg'd his Duty faithfully.

I was for a long time the only Prisoner in

and Respect for his King, but that his Conscience would not permit him to persist any longer in the State he was in ; that he crav'd Pardon from God for his Unfaithfulness, and that he desired him to consider, 'twas better for him to obey God, than Men. They were deaf to all his Reasons, and condemn'd him to the Gallies. He earnestly desired to suffer Death rather than that, but his Entreaties were not regarded. He was put in Irons, tied with a Chain, and sent to the Gallies, where he died some time after. Before that, he was ordered to undergo a Pe- nance called *Amende Honorable*.

' I have been exposed to another Trial, on account of a young *German*, a Soldier in the Regiment of *Alsace*, then in Garrison at *Sau-mur* ; that unfortunate young Man had killed an Inhabitant of the Town, and was sent Prisoner to our Jayl. The Account he gave me of the Insult he received from the De- ceas'd, made me think his Crime not unpar- donable ; therefore I wrote to Mr. *Ricbe*, a Gentleman of *Germany*, married in that Town, and one of my Acquaintance, who had three of his Relations Captains in the same Regiment ; he sent me word, he would take as much Care of the young Man, as if he was his own Son. I wrote also to Mr. *De Ris*, the King's Lieutenant in the Castle of *Saumur* ; but Mr. *De Louvois*, who had heard the Cause, had decided it, where- by he was condemned to be shot. The Day of his Execution, a Priest, who came to pre- pare him for Death, endeavoured to oblige him to renounce his Religion, (he was a *Lu-theran*) he was promised Pardon, if he com- plied. The promised Life had many Charms, but Religion had taken a deep Root in his Heart ;

• Heart ; in this Conflict, he left the Priest,
 • came to me, just as I was at Dinner, to be
 • advised ; I exhorted him to withstand the
 • Temptation, to be faithful to his God, and
 • expect Assistance from him alone. I told him,
 • that all the Promises of this World were sui-
 • picious and deceitful. He listen'd to what I
 • said to him, went cheerfully to the Place of
 • Execution, and died faithful in his own Re-
 • ligion.

• The Priest having followed him, unper-
 ceived, when he came to consult me, heard
 • all our Discourse, and soon after made his
 • Declaration of it, which occasion'd me fresh
 Troubles. Whilst they were tying that un-
 happy young Man with Matches, the Major
 • of the Castle came on Horseback into the
 little Green, and seeing me at the Grate, drew
 out one of his Pistols several times, and very
 likely would have shot at me, if I had not a-
 voided the Danger every time he threaten'd
 me with it.

• The next Day I was brought to the Door of
 the Place where they torture Criminals. As
 soon as I was come thither, they said unto
 me, Come in, Sir, you will here find the At-
 tire you deserve : This Attire was a Gibbet, and
 just by were the Instruments of Torture all
 ready. I own that my Flesh trembled at that
 sight. They talk'd as if they designed to shut
 me up in that frightful Place ; but I laid that
 Night in my Cage, uncertain whether, or no,
 they would put their Threats in execution :
 But in the Morning, I was let out of the
 Cage, and never more shut in it afterwards.
 • I have said nothing of our religious Dis-
 putes, they were perpetual ; the Fathers of
 the Oratory were those I had most to deal with.
 • That

A P P E N D I X.

49

• That Society consists of Persons of Quality
• and others who have received liberal Education ; they always us'd me civilly, disputed
• without any Moroseness in their Temper, and
• perceiving in our Disputes, that they knew
• the Truth, I several times told them, that I
• prayed to God to strengthen their Hearts to
• confess that Truth without Fear. Far from
• being angry at it, they civilly thank'd me
• for it, and even desired me to be persuaded,
• that they and their Society abhorred the Per-
•secutions to which I was exposed, and that
• they were carried on against their Consent.

• There was a *Capucin*, who was not so ci-
• vil and meek, he had come already fourteen or
• fifteen times to dispute with me : He preached
• Controversy, but had no manner of Rule in
• his Disputes. He begun with an Argument,
• but never came to a Conclusion upon any Sub-
•ject whatever.

• 'Tis impossible to give a full Description
• of all the Miseries and Afflictions which I
• have undergone in my Imprisonments, which
• lasted several Years, during which time, I
• may affirm, in good Conscience, that scarce a
• Day went over, but that I expected to end
• my Life by some violent Death or other.'

This Account of Dr. *Jortin's* Sufferings comes near to the Particulars of all the Miseries and Hardships the poor Reformed were exposed to in their Prisons. I shall add only, that *France* has not been the only Country where Prisons have been made Places of Torture for Protestants. In the last Persecution of the Duke of *Savoy's* Reformed Subjects, in the Valleys of *Piémont*, we have an Account of 12000 of those poor People, Men, Women and Children, dispersed in 14 Prisons, Castles, or Strong-Holds, where they suffered cruel Hardships.

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In some of these Places they had nothing to feed on but the coarsest of Bread bak'd with muddy Water, taken out of the Common-Sewers, in which they often found Pieces of Glass and other Naftiness. In other Places they had nothing to drink but stinking Water ; in others, they were forced to fetch their Water out of a Trough ; and at some Places they had Water only at certain times, being not allowed to drink any without Leave, though they were ready to choak. This occasion'd several poor sick People's Death, for want of a Glass of Water to quench their Thirst. They lay almost every where upon Bricks without Straw ; but if they had Straw, it was not much better than Dung. They were so crowded in some of these Persons, that they were scarce able to stir ; and when any of them died, which happened almost every day, others were sent to supply their Places, that they might always be crowded and choak'd up. In the Heat of Summer this caus'd a Sicknes, which produced a great quantity of Lice in the Rooms. There were some large Worms which gnawed their Skins, and bit them to that degree, that their Skins dropt from them by Pieces ; so that several of the Sick have (as one may say) been the Food of Worms whilst yet alive ; and they were left in this dismal condition, till Death put an end to their Miseries. In the midst of Winter, tho' the Cold is most severe in that Country, they were denied Fire ; they had neither Lamp nor Candle to light them in the Night, though they often petitioned for them, that they might succour the Sick, which occasion'd several to die for want of Help ; a great Number of Women died in Labour in the dark for Want of Assistance, their Infants also dying with them. The Sick, who had been separated from the

• Healthy,

A P P E N D I X.

51

Healthy, were often exposed in the open Air, Rain, or other bad Weather. In some Prisons, Children in the Small-pox have been exposed in wet Yards, and laid under Gutters, where the Rain dropt upon them. These Tygers were not satisfied with refusing those poor People their Assistance, but they also hindered those who were well disposed to afford them any Relief. There was such a quantity of sick among them, that sometimes there were 75 in one Room, at one time. Finally, these poor Prisoners have received such inhuman Usage in their Prisons, as would hardly be believed, were it not well known to what a Pitch of Cruelty the Enemies of the *Waldenses* have carried their Hatred and Fury against them. Out of 12000 sent Prisoners as above, 8000 of them died under these Hardships.

All *Europe* knows what cruel Persecutions the Church of *Rome* hath excited against the Reformed of *Hungary*, *Bohemia*, *Transylvania*, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, and other Countries under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* in the last Century. Let us survey *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*; let us go from *East* to *West*, and from *North* to *South*, every where, you will find the Spirit of Popery always the same, constantly cruel and unjust. *COELUM NON ANIMUM MUTANT, QUI PAPÆ SERVIUNT.*

But, to return: The Persecutions in *France* afford us too many Instances of that Spirit of Cruelty and Injustice, without fetching them from other Countries. Transporting Prisoners from one Jayl to another, was a Secret the Persecutors found to tire the Persecuted's Patience, whose free Conversation with the Debtors, or other Prisoners sent to those Jayls, they thought, might make some Impressions on their

hearts to convert them, or at least to excite in them some Compassion and Esteem ; the Jay-lors themselves might be moved to Pity, seeing those harmless People's Constancy, and their meek and humble Carriage.

But, to deprive them of that Comfort, they judg'd there was no surer Way than to remove them from one Prison to another ; every fresh Prison being a new Torment to them, the Jay-lors pretending at least to be unmov'd at the Constancy of those who were gone, strove to expose the new Comers to the severest Trials they could think of ; the Prisoners also, unacquainted with those poor People's Goodness and Virtue in the greatest Misery, and being strongly prejudic'd against their Religion, did their Endeavours to back the Jay-lors Intentions, either to ingratiate themselves into their Favour, or to gratify their own natural Hatred against them. For these and some other Considerations, the Persecutors joined with the Severity of the Captivity, the Number and Variety of Punishments in their Prisons.

Of the Marquis of Roche-
Marquis of Roche-
gude. The Marquis of *Roche-gude*, that charitable and zealous Promoter of the poor Reformed's Relief while they suffered in Prisons, Dungeons, or the Galleys, was himself sent Prisoner first to *LandsCroon* ; three Months after, he was removed to *Fort St. Andrew*, where he underwent great Hardships, with bad Food and Beding, being confined in a Place where the Light of the Sun came in only through little Holes, and where, for fourteen Days together, he could not once obtain leave to be shaved. His eldest Brother being banished to *Viviers* in *Vivarais*, as there were several Missionaries in that little Town, who were unable to shake that Gentleman's Faith, they obtained an Order

A P P E N D I X.

53

der from Court to remove him to the *Tower of Constance*. His Relations having heard of the ill Usage he received in that frightful Prison, his Body being all over swell'd, they had Friends enough to have him transported to the Citadel of *Montpelier*; but his Enemies thinking that Place too good for him, had him removed to *Pierre-Cise*, where they commonly confine State-Prisoners. These two illustrious Brothers being thus separated, could not give each other notice of the Place or Condition they were in.

The eldest Brother's Children knew nothing of what happened to their Father; his two Daughters being confin'd in a Nunnery at *Bagnols*, and his two Sons sent to the *Jesuits* at *Beaucaire*. His Lady, who was Granddaughter to the Chancellor *De Calignon*, disguis'd herself in a Shepherdess's Drefs to conceal herself from her Persecutors, and went to keep some Sheep, but was soon discovered and brought to *Nismes*, and shut up in a Nunnery, the Abbess of which fearing lest she should communicate her Sentiments to those under her Care, imparted her Fears to the Bishop, who being of the same Opinion, obtained an Order to set her at Liberty; so that her Piety, which occasion'd her Confinement, was also the occasion of her Liberty.

Mr. *James Morineau*, Apothecary of *Vielle Vigne*, and his Wife, having been removed from one Prison to another eleven times, were at last sent, the Husband to *Pierre-Cise*, and his Wife to a Nunnery.

Besides the *Tower of Constance*, where the Reformed Prisoners were treated with Inhumanity, being lodged in dark and damp Places, full of all sorts of Naftiness, suffering Hunger, Thirst and Cold, having from time to time a small Portion of Food and Drink, and that bad,

being often abused by the Soldiers, and even by the Officers themselves ; besides that Place, I say, there was another more frightful, called *La Flaseliere* in *Low Paitu*, kept by one *Jean*, a cruel Monster, pitch'd upon on purpose to torment the poor Prisoners for Religion who were committed to his Care. This Man, omitting nothing to execute the Commission he was entrusted with, thought a Dungeon which was in that Prison not frightful enough of itself, therefore he made it one of the most intolerable Places one could think of for its Stench and Nastiness. He caus'd all the Filth, Dung, and Excrements of the Shambles to be thrown into it, with all the Carcasses of dead Sheep, Dogs, and Cats that could be found. The noisome Smell of such a Place being sufficient to kill or poison the strongest, or make the most resolute loose their Senes. Not satisfied with shutting up those poor People in that horrid Place, he invented a particular Way to duck them in that stinking Mire, tying their Hands and one of their Feet behind them with small Cords, and by the help of a Pulley, which he had fix'd to the Beams of the Prison, he drew them up with their Faces downward, then let them fall into it, they not being able to stop their Mouths or Noses, or to help themselves any other way ; and in this Situation they were kept as long as that merciless Fellow thought they had any Life remaining. *Abraham Bernardin, Peter Roy, Daniel Roy, John Poing, James Fradin, and one Montasser*, all of the Borough of *Moncautan*, underwent this dismal Torture ; the small Cords which tied their Wrists were sunk so deep into their Flesh, that they were with Difficulty untied. I will not swell up this Article with any more Instances, but shall close it with this Observation. There

A P P E N D I X.

55

There are two Things which plainly shew that this late Persecution exceeded any of the Heathen Persecutions in the first Ages of the Church.

The first is, That under the Reign of the most cruel Tyrants, the Ministers of the Church were admitted to visit those confin'd for Religion's Sake, and to administer to them those Comforts they mostly stood in need of, as it appears by St. Cyprian *. We also find in the *Acts of the Ancient Martyrs* (published by Father Ruinart) that sometimes they administered the Sacrament of Baptism. But the Prisons and Dungeons where our Brethren the Reformed were shut up, have been opened only to the Ministers of the *Popish Religion*, who, by their pernicious Endeavours to seduce them, afflicted their Souls more than the Burden of their Fetters, or any other Hardships their Bodies endur'd. As for their own Pastors they were strictly forbidden, under severe Penalties, even Death, or the Galleys, to approach any of them ; which Penalties were immediately inflicted upon those who, not dreading their Enemies Threats, were generous enough to discharge their Duty at the Peril of Life and Liberty.

The second runs upon that rigorous Prohibition of comforting each other, nay even themselves, by singing of Psalms or Canticles. We read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that at Mid-night those faithful Ministers of Christ lifted up^{25.} their Hearts and Voices to God, with Hymns and Prayers. And the *Acts of Ancient Martyrs* afford us many Instances of the same kind.

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* St. Cyprian Epist. Lib. iii. Epist. 15. At least he says plainly, that such Liberty had been formerly allowed to Priests and Deacons, to visit the Prisoners, and to instruct and comfort them.

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

Even that Comfort was denied our Brethren the Reformed, by those who call themselves the *Catbolick* and *Apostolick Church*. The Jaylors, who never interrupted those who sang profane, wicked, and impious Songs, would never allow these to sing Psalms, and often severely punished those that did it contrary to their Prohibitions.

I shall here put an End to this, and proceed to the third Article.

ARTICLE III.

Of the Indignities, Hardships, and barbarous Usages offered the Reformed in several Places, commonly known by the Names of the HOUSE OF PROPAGATION at Uzez, the MANUFACTORY at Bourdeaux, and the HOSPITAL of Valence, &c.

I Am now going to offer my Reader an Account of other Barbarities, together with a Scene of such Cruelties, and inhuman Usages, unheard of, even among the Cannibals, or *Hottentots*, and which the Eye cannot behold, or the Tongue utter, without Horror ; but shall first begin with the Hardships and Indignities offered the Reformed in the *House of Propagation* at *Uzez*, and the *Manufactory* of *Bourdeaux*.

The House of Propagation at Uzez. There was, at *Uzez* in *Languedoc*, a House commonly known by the Name of the PROPAGATION-HOUSE, under the Care and Direction of four Women, who were likewise known by the Names of PROPAGATION-MAIDS. This was

A P P E N D I X.

57

was the Place where the Women and Maids who withstood the *Dragoonade* were confin'd in, and here they were daily persecuted. It happened that one of these *Propagation-Maids* went one Day to the Intendant, to complain of the rough Answers she received from some poor persecuted Girls, and to let him know how ill-disposed they were to be converted. The Intendant, who was M. *De Baville*, well known for his Behaviour towards the Reformed of *Languedoc*, ordered immediately that those Maids (the eldest of whom was not above twenty-two Years of Age, and the youngest about twelve) should be whipt like Children ; (they were ten in Number :) For the Execution of which Orders, there were Soldiers placed Centinels at the Doors ; two Priests came in with the Major of the Regiment of *Vivonne*, and the Judge, whose Name was *Larnac*, Subdelegate to the Intendant. These poor Victims were brought before them, the *Propagation-Maids* turned up their Cloaths, even their Shifts, and whipt them severely with a Cat-of-nine-Tails, with small Bullets tied to the end of the Cords, 'till their Cries were heard in the Streets ; nevertheless they encouraged each other in the Name of Christ, to undergo this shameful Punishment with Patience. After this they were all shut up in a dark Dungeon.

Of the MANUFACTORY of Bourdeaux.

This *Manufactory* was another Place where *Of the* Women were shut up, when they could not be brought to abjure their Religion by any other ^{way as} Methods, or those who were taken up as they ^{Bour-} _{deaux.} were making their Escape out of the Kingdom ; for in such a Case the Men were all sent to the Galleys, and this Place may properly be called ^{the}

the Galleys for Women. Much Work they had here to do, and very little Food ; beside other Hardships, the perpetual Endeavour made use of to seduce them to renounce their Religion, was an ordinary Torture to them itself. Their Labours must needs be very hard and their Troubles and Vexations very great since, to get rid of them, several amongst them attempted Things far above the Weakness of their Constitutions, and Timorousness of their Sex. Sixteen or seventeen of them made their Escape into *England* ; some charitable Persons, moved with their sad Conditions, which had lasted already seven Years, furnished them with Ropes and Pullies to let themselves out of the Windows ; neither the Darkness of the Night, nor the Height of the Place which they were to come down at, which was fifteen Fathoms deep, nor the Foresight of many Dangers which they must needs expose themselves to, nor the Consequences which might have attended their Escape, were able to deter or dishearten them, so great were the hard Usage and ill Treatment.

A P P E N D I X.

59

her Face, Arms and Breast, till she forced herself a Passage through this strong twisted Hedge. She was so overjoyed to see herself at Liberty, that neither the Darkness of the Night, nor the heavy Rains that fell upon her, nor the unknown Ways through which she past, not knowing where she went, nor the deep Ditch, full of Water and Mud wherein she fell, and sunk almost to her Neck, nor the Hunger with which she was tormented, nor the Hard-heartedness of the Papists, who refused her Bread to eat, and a little Straw to lie upon, no, nothing could stop her, or oblige her to return back to the Manufactory, out of which she so happily made her Escape, at the Peril of her Life. At last Almighty God afforded her Assistance to get out of France. A Gentleman, who had been a Prisoner with her in the City of Bourdeaux for the same Cause, having Notice of the sad Condition she was in, sent for her to his House, some Leagues distant from the Place where she lodged. When she was arrived, nothing was omitted for her Comfort, and the Recovery of Health, which was much impaired. Three Weeks after, that Gentleman sent her to Bourdeaux, paid for all the Charges and Expences she was at during the time she was there concealed, and till she found a Ship which brought her over to England, where she had the Good Fortune to meet a Sister, who received her with Joy, and took constant Care of her afterwards.

When they were condemned to hard Labour in this Prison, their Food was only Bread and Water, and that too distributed to them sparingly; every day they were treated like Persons who deserved the publick Hatred and utmost Contempt. Mrs. Martha and Rebecca Treu- Of several
peau, and Isabeau Gorin, being seized aboard ^{other Wo-}_{men.}

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History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

a ship, as they were endeavouring to make their Escape, were brought to *Bourdeaux*, and refusing to go to Mass, they were there confin'd, with a Child of nine Years old, and separated from each other; from thence they were removed to a Dungeon, then from that Dungeon to another, where they remained, lying upon Straw for two Months; they were afterwards condemned for Life to Hard-Labour in the *Manufactory*. An old Aunt of those two Sisters, notwithstanding her Years, had been condemned to the same Place, after having performed a Penance in the Town of *St. Foy*, only for having said to the Curate of that Place, That she wish'd, and hoped to die in the Communion of the Reformed Church. She soon died after her Confinement.

Mrs. *Mary Lavé* of the same Town, was treated in the very same manner, for having spoken the same Words. Mrs. *Jenny Albert* of *La Rocbefoucault* in *Xaintonge*, with her Daughter, were both arrested at *Tournay*, as they were endeavouring to escape out of *France*, and sent into a Dungeon, where they were confined for three Months, afterwards condemned to have their Heads shaved by the common Hangman, then to be sent to *Bourdeaux* to spend the Remainder of their Days in Hard-Labour at the *Manufactory*. Several other Gentlewomen shared the same Fate.

Tho' these ways of dealing with honest People might seem very strange, and even provoke the Indignation of those who had not quite shaken off all Humanity; yet 'tis but a Trifle compared with the horrible and scandalous Abuses for a long while committed in the HOSPITAL OF *VALENCE* in *Darphine*, where that Monster *LA RAPINE*, or more properly D'HERAPINE,

A P P E N D I X.

61

VINE, had the Direction, who was as much enowned for Cruelty, as the Tyrant Phalaris. He us'd the Reformed committed to his Care with such Inhumanity, that his very Name ills every one's Mind with Horroure even to his very Day.

The HOSPITAL of Valence.

The first Object which presented it self to any *Of the Hospital of Valence,* that had the Misfortune to be condemned to this Place, was that unmerciful Fellow D'Herapine; his fierce Counterenance, incensed Looks, threatening Gestures, and passionate Expressions, fill'd their very Souls with Horroure, and forebode them what they were to expect from a Man of such a Temper.

Some Gentlewomen being sent thither from different Places, where their Constancy could not be shaken, sometimes he spoke to them to this Effect: *Ladies, you are to chuse either Death or Life; if you will be present at our religious Exercises, I promise you Life. I do not ask you to bear Mass, no, no, but only to be present at our other Exercises, designed for the Edification of the Poor, for whose Benefit this House was erected; If you do it willingly (which you had best do, or you will be forced to do it) you shall be well us'd; but if you are obstinate, we shall deal with you as Reprobates, who deserve neither Pity nor Mercy. There are no Pains nor Tortures which we shall not inflict upon you, if you do not comply with our Churcb.*

Mrs. De La Farrelle, one of these Ladies, *Of Mrs. La Farrelle.* answered him, and proved by good Arguments, that she nor her Companions could not, without wounding their Consciences, join in any part of their religious Worship. Do not, replied D'Herapine, make so many Words, you must

must without Delay chuse either Life or Death. The same Lady answered, We do not value our Lives, when our Salvation and the Glory of God lies at stake. Let the Dungeons be open'd, cried *D'Herapine*, and their Cloths stripp'd from off their Backs ; you shall be cudgel'd 'till you are cloy'd, said he, calling them a thousand ill Names. He therefore order'd them to be shut up, two by two, in different Dungeons, where they had only a little Straw to lie upon, and a dirty, ragged Quik to cover them ; in these Dungeons were several Bundles of Sticks laid all ready at his hands to beat them. The first Day that *Mra. De La Ferrelle* and her Companions were confin'd in this Place, they had some Bread and an Apple, with some Raisins ; this was good Living, considering how they fared afterwards ; for Drink they had only some Dregs, and that sparingly, of which they could not drink. They defir'd the Woman who waited on them to bring them some Water, which she did ; but such as she took up out of the Sink where all the Filth and Naftiness of the House ran into.

The said Lady, whose Memoirs have been graciously communicated to me, says, That one Day, being tormented with hunger, she transgressed, and went beyond her Orders, which were, not to come near the Windows, or speak to any one that Way ; being very much press'd with hunger, and regardless of their terrible Threats, she called out to a Boy, who was going by, desiring him to beg a Piece of Bread for her, for which she paid dearly afterwards ; one of the Women Attendants in a Passion nailed up the Windows, which deprived them of all means of seeing what sort of Provision was brought them. The Bread was so bad, that

that it took them more time in cleaning than eating. Their Food was a few Tares, with some Greens, boil'd in Water and Salt, which they eat with this dirty Bread, without Butter, or any thing else. This poor sort of Victuals were carried them by a dirty, lousy Boy of the Hospital, all over scabby, and continually scratching himself whilst he carried it. What Provision could this be for a Lady of Fortune and Quality, who had been us'd to live delicately, and always waited on with Respect.

Let our Condition be never so miserable, the Conversation of good Men our Fellow-Sufferers, and good Examples, are great Helps, not only to allay our Pains, but even to lessen the Sense of them. *D'Herapine* knew this very well; being not contented with separating those who were there confin'd for Religion one from the other, he chose to shut them up with most profligate Wretches, Women, who were condemned to this Place for their Lewdness: By these means the Reformed Prisoners found themselves not only exposed to their scandalous Conversation, and loose Behaviour, but also every Day in Danger of being assaulted by them. Mrs. *De La Farrelle* underwent all these Hardships, an Account of which I shall give you in her own Words.

“ I was carried, very much dishearten'd, into a little dirty, muddy Place called the Closet, there were in it three small Beds, upon which lay six leud Women, two by two; I ask'd where I was to lie, but they took to their Beds without giving me any Answer. *Claudia*, one of the Servants, call'd to me, in a Passion, not to disturb them, and to be silent; they undressed themselves, said their Litany and lay down; I was obliged to lie upon the

• Floor, without any thing to cover me ; one
• of these Women, being mov'd with Com-
• passion, threw me a Quilt to cover me, which
• was both ragged and nasty, nevertheless, I
• made use of it, as well as I could. As the
• Closet was very little, I lay in such a Posture
• that part of my Body was under the Bed of
• an old Woman who had been there several
• Years, who, besides a Quartan-Ague, was
• afflicted with the Bloody-Flux, that obliged
• her to get up very often in the Night; and
• which was still more disagreeable, her Cham-
• ber-pot was close to my Nose. This poor
• Creature's Weakness and Distemper hinder'd
• not the Governess, who was another *D'Ha-*
• *rapine*, from forcing her to get up to work
• as early as the rest ; she could not get out of
• her Bed and Closet without crossing over me,
• as I lay, the Lice dropping from her upon
• me in abundance as she mov'd. Over my
• Head was a continual Noise, and every day
• I heard somebody reading with a loud Voice,
• (that I might hear them,) these Words of the
• Prophet *Jeremiab*, *I intended to cure Babylon*,
• *but she was unwilling to be cured ; let her alone*.
• Lord, says I to my self, if they take us to be
• that *Babylon*, why do they not let us alone,
• as the *Holy-Ghost* commands them, instead of
• tormenting us to the utmost ?

• They imagin'd that I lay, in this Place, too
• near my poor Sisters, (I mean in Sufferings,)
• so they remov'd me from the Closet into the
• Prison, where I had been before, where they
• confin'd me with two Lewd Women, which
• they thought I should reckon a Shame and
• Dishonour ; but far from that, I rejoiced at
• it, since my dear and glorious Redeemer
• thought me worthy to partake, for his Name's
• sake

“ sake, of the same Disgrace which he underwent
“ for my Salvation, having been ranked a-
“ mongst Malefactors. The Difference between
“ these poor Wretches and my self was only this ;
“ they had Straw for their Beds, and I had only
“ the bare Floor, with a very poor Coverlet ;
“ one of these Women having her Head shaved,
“ *D'Herapine* broke four Cudgels upon her
“ Head in my Presence, telling me at the same
“ time, that if for eight Days, I continued ob-
“ stinate, he would serve me in the same Manner,
“ for the Corruption of my Doctrine, as he did
“ her for the Corruption of her Morals. I an-
“ swered, Sir, you may beat me, or kill me, if
“ you please, but 'tis out of your power to alter
“ my Mind, or force me to change my Reli-
“ gion, which I hope, with the Assistance of
“ God Almighty, to preserve pure and undefiled
“ to the last Moment of Life ; that I was sur-
“ prized to find Men of Understanding endea-
“ vouring to convert People by such Methods,
“ so very opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel ;
“ and that he ought to be persuaded, that, were
“ it not for any other Reason, such a Spirit of
“ Persecution would be always sufficient to breed
“ in every Breast an ill Opinion of the *Roman*
“ Religion. This Answer drew upon me nothing
“ else but ill Names and Threatnings, which
“ he continued daily. One day especially, *Clau-*
“ *dia*, the Servant came to me and said, that
“ they were about bringing me a Pan full of
“ burning Coals to put the Soles of my Feet in,
“ that I might know and feel how pleasant it
“ would be to burn in Hell.”

The same Lady relates in her Memoirs, that they heard from every side, the Cries of those who were tortured for remaining stedfast in their Religion.

' The very Day we came to this Hospital,
' says she, we heard the Cries of several Persons
' whom they endeavoured to force with Sticks,
' into the Chapel, and to kneel down before the
' Host; these Persons were a Gentlewoman of Qua-
' lity and the Daughters of that glorious Martyr
' Mr. Ducros, an Attorney in the City of Nimes,
& four of my own Kinswomen. If the hearing
' of their Bastinadoes and Cries pierc'd our Hearts,
' when unknown, how great was our Grief whea
' we understood who they were and how they
' suffered? Above our Dungeon was a Woman of
' Nimes, who was most inhumanly beat, for only
' making a wry Mouth at their Mass, which
' displeased them; this poor Woman's Cries
' went to my Heart: but these things were or-
' dinary, every day affording some new In-
' stances. They did not much mind what Parts
' of the Body their Blows fell upon, the Face,
' Nose, Eyes or any other, always aiming at
' the tenderest Parts, which they cruelly bruis'd;
' if any one spoke a Word in behalf of our Re-
' ligion, or did not immediately learn a Cate-
' chism which D'Herapine ordered to be learnt
' by heart, they were sure to be cudgel'd; or if
' they had Courage enough to say they never
' would forsake their Religion, or refus'd to
' go to Chapel, they were sure to receive the
' same Punishment under which several of them
' lost their Lives.'

The Spirit of Cruelty spread itself from the Director down to all the Servants, Men and Women; all Meekness or good Usage, nay common Decency was banish'd from amongst them; nothing was to be seen or heard but outrageous Violences. As a poor Woman, a Prisoner, was advising *Claudia* not

to

A P P E N D I X.

67

to use Mrs. *De la Farelle* in such a rude Manner, for praying to her God in her own Way : She prays to the Devil, said the Maid ; and at that, ran to the said Lady, and struck her on the Face with a Bunch of Keys ; which Blow, two Days after, occasioned her to lose two of her Teeth. Here is another Particular which plainly shows the Character of *D'Herapine*, and how much those who were put under his Care ought to be upon their guard, to avoid Snares continually laid for them : ‘ I know, says Mrs. *La Farelle* ; ‘ he wanted only a Pretence to abuse me ; one day, as we were disputing, he lifted up his Hand to box me, but went no further, for indeed, he did me no other harm, himself, than pinching me severely ; the Hospital-Boys used to beat me by his Orders, but they were so young that I felt it very little. Once he made me fast for twenty-four Hours, and late in the Evening, he sent *Claudia* with a bit of Bread, she stay'd a while with me, abusing me and thrusting me against the Door ; I was not at all moved at that ill Usage, but I desired *Claudia* to tell Mr. *D'Herapine*, that I earnestly desired him, since he allow'd me no other Food than Bread, that he would be pleased to order me some Butter with it ; upon which, she gave me a volley of ill Language, and said, *Dost thou think it belongs to thee to eat white Bread ? thou, who dost not deserve to eat even of what is given to the Dogs ; if we could feed thee with Straw, as Mules, we would do it.* I returned no Answer, nor spoke any more about the Bread, but desired her to tell the Governess that she would find in my Purse some Needles and Thread, which she gave me to work for her ; she left me in a

‘ Passion, saying, *You may go to the D—l.*
 ‘ When she opened the Door, I saw *D’Herapine*
 ‘ with a Stick in his Hand, and heard him
 ‘ very inquisitive about what I had said, but
 ‘ finding that he had no plausible Pretence for
 ‘ abusing me, he went away.’

Besides all these hard Usages, their Patience was tried likewise by hard Labour, Gentlewomen of Quality not being exempted from it. Among the rest were some young Gentlewomen of *Vivarais*, one of which, was Daughter to the Marquis of *St. Florent*, who were obliged to work from Morning till Night, and to do all the Drudgery of the House; in the Evening, they were employed in other Works till late at Night, without having any time allowed to rest themselves, or scarce to wipe off their Sweat.

They were also obliged to hold Disputes with several Monks and Priests, particularly with an Apostate Minister, who by his Sophistry, endeavoured to make them Followers of his Infidelity. After about six Months Slavery in this Place, she was set at liberty. She underwent these severe Trials in this and five other Prisons, where she had been confined before, without ever doing the least Thing against her own Conscience. Her Son was obliged to pay her Pension to the Bishop of *Valence*, after the rate of ten Crowns per Month, tho’ she had been entertained in the Manner above-mentioned.

I shall subjoin here another Instance of *D’Herapine’s* cruel and inhuman Disposition.

Of Mr. Menuret. Mr. *Menuret*, an Attorney at *Montelimar*, had distinguished himself by his exemplary Life, and when the Dragoons were sent into *Dauphine*, he strengthened his Brethren by his Exhortations

A P P E N D I X.

69

tions and Examples. The Governour of *Montelimar* caused him to be arrested, and shut up for three Months in a Chamber, with only a poor Mattress to lie upon ; then he threw him into a frightful Dungeon, where he went joyfully, comforting his Friends, saying that they ought to rejoice for their being call'd to suffer for God's sake. He was confined in this Dungeon for three Months, 'till his Body was swelled with the Dampness of the Place ; from thence he was removed to the Hospital of *Valence*. He was no sooner arrived, but *D'Herapine*, with a fiery Countenance, told him, that he would soon see whether he should be so obstinate with him as he had been with others ; he shut him up in a little dark Closet over the Sink of the Hospital, with only some Pieces of Board to lie on ; there was in the Closet a Hole that went into the Chapel, thro' which they would force him to hear Mass, but being of an undaunted Resolution, his Tormentor made use of his last Remedies ; he bid him come down in the Yard, he ordered his Clothes and Shirt to be torn off, had him tied by his Arms to a Mulberry-Tree, so high that his Feet could not touch the Ground, then he had him cudgell'd by his Servants with a Bull's Pizzle; thus he served him every day for a Fortnight, 'till his Blood gush'd out thro' all the Passages of his Body. All this time, in the midst of these dreadful Torments, our blessed Martyr prayed to God, that out of his Mercy, he would forgive his tormentors, he intreated them to pity his great Sufferings : at last, at the Instance of two Capuchins, *D'Herapine* ceased, for a time, to torment him after that manner, and employ'd him to carry Stones.

*E 3

But

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

But on the first of April the Bishop of Yvelines came to visit him, and being not able to pervert him, either by Promises or Threats, D'Herapine was so much enraged at it, that he ordered two of his Servants to cudgel him with the same Instrument, which they did with such Violence, and so long, that he was heard from the Streets adjacent to the Hospital. He was removed into another Dungeon, which was under the Place where Mrs. *De La Farelle* was, and so near, that they could hear one another. About two in the Morning he ask'd her who she was, and of what Province? When his Curiosity was satisfied, he exhorted her to Constancy and Perseverance, acquainted her with his own Sufferings, that he was in such low Condition that he could not live long, and that they were going to carry him into the Infirmary.

It is to be supposed, that *D'Herapine* had ordered his Servants to let him know when this good Man should lie at the Point of Death, for he came about that time with a Crucifix in his Hand, and would oblige him to kiss it; which refusing constantly to do, he, in a Rage, pulled him out of his Bed, dragged him upon the Floor, and threw him against the Wall with such a Violence, that he fractured his Skull, and so expired upon the Spot. Then he had his Corps tied to a Horse's Tail, and dragg'd three times round about the Garden, and threw it away without any Form of Burial. A Person who was an Eye-witness of these Barbarities, and whose Testimony may be depended on, hath certified this.

I shall subjoin here the Case of a Gentlewoman, who was my near Relation; she was about twenty Years of Age, married to an Advocate

Advocate in the Parliament of *Orange*; she was mistaken for the Reverend Dr. *De Chambrun's* Wife, brought to *Valence*, and put into the Hands of the merciless *D'Herapine*, who, at the first sight, broke all her Teeth with a Stroke of a Bunch of Keys. The next day he stripp'd her stark naked, and hang'd her up by the Arm-pits, then whipt her till she was all over Blood. He continued this cruel Usage for three Weeks together, till she had lost the right Use of her Senses, which she never recovered fully afterwards. She was for six or seven Weeks in that House. When her Husband had found out where she was confined, he sollicited for her Deliverance, which he obtained. She was brought back to *Orange*, from which she went out a little after the Peace of *Ryswick*, and retired to *Geneva*, where she died suddenly about eight Years after.

I believe, indeed, that *D'Herapine* went in some respects further than his Commission. I don't think, for Instance, that he had Orders to use the Sex with such Immodesty, as well as Inhumanity. Nevertheless, it was publickly known that he did. The Parliament of *Grenoble*, other inferiour Courts, the Bishop of *Valence*, &c. had at several times received bitter Complaints upon that Subject; nay, these Complaints were brought to Court, and reached even the Ears of the most Christian King. Why then did they not put a stop to it? Are we unreasonable or unjust when we conclude, according to the Maxim, *That he who can in any wise stop the Evil, and does not do it, is guilty of the same*; that the King, the Court, the Parliament, the Bishops, &c. were as much guilty as *D'Herapine* of all the Excesses he committed against those put under

his Care. This does not require any further Proof: Let us proceed to another Instance of the inhuman and cruel Spirit of Popery.

A R T I C L E IV.

Of the barbarous Usage the Reformed met with in the Galleys.

* **I**F a Man who keeps no Bounds in the Punishments he inflicts, even upon Criminals, deserves to be deemed INHUMAN, what Name shall we bestow upon those who have inflicted the most cruel and barbarous Punishments on Men of Honour and Probity? Men, who have exposed themselves to all manner of Hardships, and forsaken all worldly Advantages, rather than to sin against God, or do any thing against their Conscience.

Criminals who have broke through all the Laws of God and Men, and deserved the severest Punishments the Law can inflict, have sometimes found Mercy from the Tribunals of Justice, but the poor Reformed of France, far from receiving either Favour or Mercy from their Judges or Jaylors, or any other that had Power over them, have met with the dreadfulest Effects of Hatred, and of the most bigotted and furious Zeal of their Enemies, who made it their daily Study to invent new Tortures to torment them.

To

* *Illos ego crudeles vocaho, qui puniendi causam habent, sicut in Phalaris, quem aiunt non quidem in homines innocentes, sed super humanum ac probabilem modum sevisse. Seneca De Clem. Lib. ii. Cap. 4. Edit. Par. apud Cramoisy.*

A P P E N D I X.

73

To give the Publick some Notion of the Justice of these Complaints, we shall begin with those Persons of Quality, who have been condemned to the cruel and infamous Punishment of the Galleys. It is not without Reason that I call it infamous, since, according to the Laws, none are condemned to it, but such as have rendred themselves unworthy to live in the Society of honest Men. The Supreme Tribunals would not suffer the inferiour Courts to condemn any of another Character to them ; those Courts durst not commit an Injustice so contrary, not only to Laws, but also to Decency. But what Laws, Honour or Conscience do not allow, the Catholick Zeal has boldly authoriz'd, justify'd and practis'd.

The Galleys of *France* have not only been fill'd up with honest Commoners, (charg'd with no other Crime, than strictly adhering to Principles they were born and bred up in, and which appeared to them pure and holy, and agreeable to the Word of God) but even with many Persons, distinguished by their Birth, Merit, Character and Station in Society ; such were the illustrious Messieurs *De Marolles* and *Le Feure*, the first one of the King's Council, the second an Advocate at *Chatel-Chinon*, both deserving Place among the most glorious Martyrs ; the *Baron de Mont-beton*, and Mr. *De Selgas*, &c. whose Quality and Age commanded Respect from every one. Grey Hairs, which ought to have been exempted from such Punishments, were not at all regarded ; their Hatred against Truth prevailed above all other Considerations ; they loaded with Chains Persons sinking under the Burthen of Years, Men of sixty and seventy Years of Age have been condemned to such Pains and Labours, under which

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

*Isaiah
xlvii. 6.*

which the young, healthy, and strong have often sunk. We may indeed say of the new *Babylon*, what *Isaiah* said of the old, *Thou didst shew my People no Mercy ; upon the Ancient hast thou very heavily laid thy Yoke.* The Ministers of the Gospel were not exempted from the Galleys, tho' their Education and Profession rendered them incapable of performing the part of Slaves. Mr. Grimaudet, formerly Minister in *Vivarais*, was forced to wear the Chain, notwithstanding the Weakness of his Constitution and old Age ; and had it not been for his InfirmitieS, which render'd him incapable of plying the Oar, he had, as well as others, groan'd and died under the unmerciful hands of the Comites.

It was some time before, that all *Europe* saw with Horror a Company of Divines sent from *Hungary* to the Galleys of *Naples*, for preferring the Commands of the *King of Kings* before those of any earthly Prince, and the Generosity of Admiral *Ruyter* in releasing them will always be remembred with Gratitude.

When our Confessors arrived at *Marseilles*, they were stripp'd of their own Clothes, and had others given them, which were called the King's Coats. They are a red Surcoat of coarse Cloath, with a great Coat of the same, two Shirts, and two Pair of Breeches of very bad Linnen, a red Cap, and a Pair of coarse Stockings, the Chain making also a Part of their sad Accoutrements. Their Food was equal to their Dress : When in Port, they had coarse Bread, Water, and a few Beans ; but, when on a Cruize, they had better Bread, a small Quantity of Wine in the Morning, and the same at Noon, or in the Evening. To render these blessed Sufferers Condition worse than that of Criminals,

A P P E N D I X.

75

Criminals, they were used with some Severities which others were exempted from ; and to expose them the more to the Insults of the Publick, they wore blue Caps, instead of red, as a Mark of Distinction ; they were forced to fetch Water for the whole Crew. Thus these Men of Honour were obliged to serve Fellows, whom they hardly would have admitted among their Servants. They were likewise obliged to work daily in the King's Store-houses, chain'd together two and two, but generally a Reformed and a Turk, every one devising new Methods to draw upon them the publick Scorn and Hatred, which succeeded so well, that there were few that did not abuse them one way or other. The wickedest and lewdest of the whole Crew were associated with them ; these, by their Cursing, Swearing, Blaspheming, and other Discourse, continually afflicted them. The * *Argoufins* * *An Un-*
were more averse to them than any of the rest, *der-Officer*
The + *Comites* looked on them as proper Ob- *of the Gal-*
jects for their Cruelties ; a few Captains and + *Another* *Officer*
Commanders, who had Honour enough not to follow blindly the Church's bloody Maxims, *somewhat*
were mov'd with Pity at these guiltless People's *superior*.
Sufferings ; all the rest took a Delight to incense the Under-Officers Cruelty : The Major himself not being ashamed to do a Comite's Function, and to cane these honest Men. The Missionaries and Chaplains of the Galleys signallized themselves by their inhuman Zeal, by provoking other People's Hatred, and heightning their Cruelty against the Confessors ; and by several other Methods which they found out to torture them. Let us hear what one of these blessed Sufferers says upon this Subject.

‘ The Missionaries of *Marseilles*, who, very likely, had received full Power over us from ‘ the

the King, behaved like Foxes for the first Year, but soon after took it in their Heads to fight against us like Lions. To cover their Malice, they pretended an Order had been sent them to preach on board several Galleys ; I happened at that time to be on board a Galley called the *Old Reale*, which had no Captain ; the Missionaries performed the Office of Chaplains by Turns ; they not only became Captains, but even Commanders by the Authority they usurped and exercised over the Reformed Slaves. Their Mission lasted about a Month. I shall not here relate their silly Discourses, nor their abusive Language against the Reformed in general, during which Time we were us'd civiller than ordinarily, thinking, to be sure, by their Sophistry, and feign'd Moderation, to ensnare us ; but finding themselves deceived, they fell upon us like Lions. Among the rest was one *Morair*, who said aloud, he would find Means to bring us to Compliance ; he began with an Order to put us in Chains, separated one from another, forbidding to admit any one not longing to the Galley to speak to us. One Evening whilst we were at Prayers, this Man walking through the Coursey, looking on every side, saw me standing in my great Coat at the Oar's Ring, he ask'd, (as if he did not know me) who is that Man ? sure he is one of the Reformed ; ah ! how well he deserves to be cudgel'd. Not satisfied with having us all in Chains, in order to vex us the more, he, of his own Authority, order'd some of the inferiour Officers to shut us up every Night in a Place where they kept Sheep and Turkeys, through which all the Filth and Nastiness of the Galley run out. This Order was immediately executed, and all our Fellow-

A P P E N D I X.

77

• Fellow-Slaves, old and young, were obliged
• to lie in this Filth and Dung.
• The same Missionary return'd some Weeks
• after, and began to vex and torment us, or-
• dering, that if we did not alter our Thoughts,
• we should be shut up at Night in some other
• like Places. Finally, he, with some other
• Missionaries, and the Chaplains of the Gal-
• leys, sent their Complaints to Court about our
• Obstinacy, and petitioned for an Order to
• force us by all means imaginable to do what
• they called *our Duty*. The Order was granted,
• and sent to Mr. *De Monteaulieu*, chief Flag-
• Officer of the Galleys; which run thus, *That*
• *all pretended Reformed in the Galleys should*
• *be kneeling and uncover'd during Mass, with*
• *their Faces turn'd to the Stem, where their Di-*
• *vine Service was performed; and if they dis-*
• *obeyed, they should be bastinado'd to death.*
• This Order was notified to each of us, and
• executed by Mr. *De Bombet*, Major of the Gal-
• leys, with all imaginable Cruelty and Inhu-
• manity; which forc'd several to comply, and
• had not God inspired others with an undaun-
• ted Courage, as he did in the time of *Sbadrach*,
• *Mefbach* and *Abcdnego*, I do not know what
• would become of our poor floating Church.
• Where is the Man that would not tremble at
• the Sight of such a Torture, let him be ever so
• stedfast, or resigned to God's Will, seeing him-
• self stark naked in the Hands of four Turks,
• who stretch him upon the Canon of the Cour-
• sey, and hold him so fast that he cannot stir,
• a mournful Silence being at this time obse-
• ved through the whole Galley? the Scene is
• so dismal and cruel, that the most profligate,
• obdurate Wretches cannot bear the Sight
• thereof. The Victim thus prepared, a Turk,
• who

‘ who is pitch’d upon for the Execution, with
‘ tough Wand, or a knotted Rope’s End dipt
‘ in the Sea beats his Body, till the Fleth
‘ swells some Inches, he performing his Of-
‘ fice the more willingly as he thinks it accept-
‘ able to his Prophet Mabomet, the Major look-
‘ ing on all the while without the least Con-
‘ cern. The most barbarous of all is, that after
‘ the Skin, and often the Flesh itself is tyre
‘ off, the only Remedy they apply, is a little
‘ Vinegar and Salt mix’d together. Criminals
‘ who deserve the utmost Severity of the Law
‘ receive no more than 50 or 60 Lashes at one
‘ time; whereas our poor Confessors have re-
‘ ceived 100, nay 150, which Punishment was
‘ to be repeated every Day, till they were dead;
‘ or had promised to pull off their Cap. Mr. De
‘ Bomber said, this was the King’s Order,
‘ which however was never executed in its full
‘ Extent; I can’t tell why, for no body died
‘ under the Punishment, tho’ often brought to
‘ the Brink of Death. What a dreadful Misson
‘ was this! Sometimes the Blows which I recei-
‘ ved raised a little Scurf on my Back, and
‘ then others fetch’d out the Matter, which
‘ being turned to Corruption, and exposed to
‘ the scorching Heat of the Sun, run down to
‘ my Thighs, and caus’d a great Number of
‘ large purulent Boils; these often broke thro’
‘ the violent Motion of tugging at the Oar,
‘ which Fatigue must of course be very great;
‘ for one must rise to fetch his Strokes, then
‘ fall back again almost on his Back: So that
‘ in all Seasons, through the continual and vio-
‘ lent Motion of his Body, the Sweat trickling
‘ down his harass’d Limbs; these Boils are
‘ likewise digesting, running down his Legs to
‘ his Feet, and to the Ground on which he
‘ stands

A P P E N D I X.

79

stands. But lest I should be thought to magnify, I shall forbear speaking any further on this Subject. If I am asked, Whether my Sores were bath'd, or otherwise taken care of? I answer, that this is never done, unless it be to those who receive the Bastinado on the Coursey, &c.'

I shall now subjoin to this Account the Names of some of those blessed Confessors who suffered the Bastinado in the Galleys, for refusing to kneel down before Baal.

UPON THE DAUPHINE GALLEY.

Messieurs *Anthony Talon, Peter Sauset, Abel and Stephen D'Amoin, Lord of Bousquet*, two Brothers, *James Fausset, John Bera a Piemon-te, Frederic Bonnet, and Thomas Bernard*; some of them underwent that cruel Punishment several Times.

UPON THE AMAZON.

Messieurs *James Dufour 120 Blows, James Gagneur, Bartholomew Roffignol, John Sesmene, John Daudet, and John Flusse*.

UPON THE QUEEN.

Messieurs *Bertrand Aurd, Peter Tromperan, Peter Gay, David Vole, Peter Richard twice*.

UPON THE GALLEY MADAM.

Messieurs *David Comte and Moses Renaud*.

UPON THE PEARL.

Messieurs *Francis Augier, twice, James Pied-marin twice*; and they would have undergone a third, had not the Surgeon affirmed, that certainly they would die under the Punishment.

UPON THE HEROINE.

Messieurs *Nicholas Robline and Stephen Cros*.

UPON

UPON THE FAME.

Messieurs *Israël Bouchet*, four times; *Louis Iffoire*, *John Viaud*, and *Peter Sarvet*. This last died of it.

UPON THE MAGNANIME.

Messieurs *Alexander Astier*, *Simon Pineau*, *Peter Rommezon*, *Anthony Cadpur*, *John Martin*, *William Bon-bote*, each of them twice in one Day. *Cadpur* and *Astier* underwent it a third time. *Daniel Arsat* and *Gabriel Lauron* underwent the same Punishment.

UPON THE SUPERBE.

Messieurs *James Vignes*, and *Francis Serres*.

UPON THE GALANTE.

Messieurs *John Soulage* twice, *John Durand* and *Elias Picbot*.

UPON THE FAVOURITE.

Messieurs *Elias Francis Le Doux*, twice, *Elias Maurin*, thrice in two Days, whereby his Flesh was quite mangled, and his Strength wholly exhausted.

UPON THE FORTUNE.

Messieurs *Peter Serres*, now living at *Paddington*, *Anthony Grange*, *Andrew Peloquier*, they three twice in two Days; *Michael Chabert*, tho' he lately had one of his Legs broke at the Siege of *Tangier*, underwent a cruel *Bastinado* before he was cured, and *Clement Patonnier*.

UPON THE WARRIOR.

Messieurs *Peter Carriere*, twice in two Days, *John Cardan*, — *L'Hostalot*, twice in two Days.

UPON THE FAIR.

Messieurs *Peter Quet*, *Abel Commeau*, *John Cazalet*, 110 Blows; *James Rowland*, 120, — *Espaze*, the same.

A P P E N D I X.

81

I may very easily increase this Catalogue ; but I shall end it with the cruel and barbarous Usage Mr. *Sabbatier* met with from Mr. *De Montfort*, Intendant of *Marseilles*. There was a brotherly Correspondence carried on between Messieurs *De Salgas*, *Sabbatier*, *John Serres*, and some other Protestant Slaves, to and from the Hospital of *Marseilles* and the Gallies, they sent to one another Letters of Comfort, Foreign Gazettes, Money, Linnen, &c. which they conveyed sewed up in a Cushion. It happened one Day, that Mr. *Serres* had forgot to take away the Needle ; and as it was hanging to the Cushion, the Secret was thereby discovered. Mr. *De Montfort* being informed thereof, sent for Mr. *Sabbatier*, and threatned him with Death if he did not confess who had written the Letters. *Sabbatier* modestly answered, That he should be very ungrateful did he bring his Friends into trouble by his Confession ; that his Person was at his Disposal, but he desired to be excused as to the rest. Whereupon the Intendant told him, he would find a Way to make him confess ; whereupon he sent for some *Turks*, and having Mr. *Sabbatier* stripp'd stark naked, they beat him unmercifully with Cudgels and Ropes-ends dipt in the Sea ; they continued to torment him in that manner for three Days together, and at last *Montfort* himself turned Executioner, and beat him cruelly with his Cane ; and seeing that he was near expiring, he sent him into a Dungeon ; he served Mr. *De Lansoniere* after the same manner, and upon the same Account, who died soon after of his Bruises in an Hospital.

I shall end this Article with these four Observations :

*F

1. That

1. That these cruel Usages were quite against all sort of Laws Divine and Human; the Reformed were condemned to the Galleys for refusing to comply with the *Roman Religion*; the Galleys was their Punishment; they ought to have been treated like other Slaves, and not worse, only for Neglect of Duty, or doing any other thing contrary to the Discipline of the Galleys; but it was against all Rules of Equity to abuse them so barbarously for declining to join with them in any part of their idolatrous Worship, since that was the very thing for which they were sent there: Nevertheless they were ordered, on pain of the Bastinado, to bow before the Host, and to hear Mass; so they received a double, treble, &c. Punishment for one and the same Fault, if it had been one; whereas the *Turks* were allowed Liberty whilst Mass was saying, to go into the Caique or Long-Boat, to divert themselves, and were never molested on account of Religion.

2. That nothing has been done against the Reformed in the Galleys, but what was by the Court's Orders. I don't say that *Lewis XIV.* was personally informed of these things, but I mean his Council, and the Officers of his Court, as appears plainly by Major *Bombet's* own Confession. No doubt but the Disappointments of the *Papists* in *England*, who at that time were always plotting against the Government, being backed by the Court of *France*, (whose Endeavours for King *James's* Restoration are too well known to be here mentioned) were a great Incentive to molest and persecute the poor *Reformed* groaning under their Tyranny.

3. I do not know how it came to pass, but it is certain that, from the Year 1701, the *Reformed* condemned to the Galleys for Religion, have

have not been so severely treated as they were before.

Lastly, We most gratefully remember the gracious Intercession of several Princes and States in behalf of those generous Assertors of the Truth; but more especially of the most Glorious Queen ANNE and Queen CAROLINE; at whose Instances a great Number of them have been set at Liberty from time to time, *viz.* 136 in 1713, 70 in 1714, and about 120 at several times during the Reign of King GEORGE I. &c.

A R T I C L E V.

Of TRANSPORTATION.

THE ancient *Romans* condemned to Transportation into some Island, or other remote Country, those who had embezzled the publick Treasure, or the Gold of the Temples. Under the Christian Emperors they condemned to the same Punishment the Hereticks, or those that were deemed such. That Custom had been out of Use for several Ages; but our Persecutors renewed it in the last Century, and condemned to Transportation abundance of People, without any regard for their Age, Sex, or Condition, who were guilty of no other Crime but of Steadiness and Perseverance in their Religion, which they thought to be conformable to the Holy Word of God. After having been exposed to a severe Trial, when their Constancy could not be overcome by the Tediums of a long Captivity, nor by the Tortures of the Dragoons, they were condemned

to be transported to the *French Plantations in America*, and accordingly sent to *Marseilles*.

I have observed above, that they had no Regard for Age, Sex, or Condition. Not for Age, for in the Ship called the *CONCORD*, which sailed from *Provence* on the 17th of *September 1687*, Captain *Guigue* Commander, there were Women eighty Years old, one of whom died in the Passage; not for Sex, for in the same Ship the Number of Women was equal to the Men, which made up in all 90 Prisoners; not for Condition or Quality, for, besides several Freemen, there were Attorneys, Gentlemen, and even Noblemen, amongst whom was the Baron of *Verliac*.

They had many great Hardships to undergo in their Voyage. First of all, they were so crowded, that they could hardly stir, and were almost stifled. In the Ship called *OUR LADY OF GOOD HOPE*, there was 100 Reformed Prisoners, as many Popish Slaves out of Service, 35 Men of the Crew, 23 Soldiers, and 6 Passengers, she sailed from *Marseilles* on the 12th of *March 1687*, Captain *Peissonnet* Commander. Secondly, The Voyage was long, which much increased the Nuisance, and the Danger of being so crowded, which could hardly be born for a whole Day on any other Occasion; for this last Ship was ten Weeks before they could put in to *Martinico*, and the *CONCORD* was four Months in her Voyage. Thirdly, Amidst so many Troubles, Fears and Dangers, they were not allowed to comfort themselves with singing of Psalms, for Captain *Guigue* threatned them with Death, if they did not desist.

Deprived of all manner of Comfort, on the 17th of *May*, about two in the Morning, the

LADY OF GOOD HOPE was split against the Rocks, about two Leagues off Land, and 20 Leagues from the Place where they were to land, thro' the Carelessness or Ignorance of the Captain and the Pilot ; 120 Persons were drowned, amongst whom there were 37 Reformed, *viz.* 16 Men and 21 Women that underwent the same Fate. When the rest were landed, the Reformed Captives were brought before the Count of Blenac Governour of the Island, they were quartered by his Orders upon the Natives, who entertained them as kindly as they could. Happy would they have been, had they been suffered to live quietly amongst those harmless *Americans* ; but the Planters, the Governour and the Officers were French Papists, and the Spirit of Popery was no less fierce and furious here than in *Europe*. The Jesuits dispersed every where, that they might settle their Tyranny in all Parts of the World, came to visit Messieurs Serres of Montpellier, De Lerpiniere of Saumur and Pellat of Sommieres that were lodged in a Barn ; they endeavoured to seduce them, but being not able to prevail, they caused them to be shut up in a Dungeon, which was made as an Oven, wherein they could not enter but by creeping upon their Hands and Feet, and were obliged to lie down in it amidst their own Filth, having no other Place to ease themselves in, the Chimnies of the Corps de Guard closing the Bottom of that Oven, the Heat was so excessive, that jointly with the Stench and Infection, it rendered the Place intolerable ; so that after two Days, being not able to bear any longer, they yielded to the Temptation, and subscribed a kind of an Abjuration. Few Days after two of them were transported to St. Domingo, where

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

they had Liberty to work for their Bread ; they improved this Opportunity for making their Escape, which after many Accidents, and great Troubles, they perfected about the latter End of the Year 1687. Several others have had the like good Fortune of making their Escape, but many more have perished in those Countries ; so that, out of 3000 that were transported, not above 200 have escaped. It is true, that those who have arrived in those Islands after the three Gentlemen above-named, were not treated so severely as they had been, their Consciences were at Liberty, tho', as to their Bodies, they were obliged to work hard, to till the Ground, &c. to earn their Bread, and had not the Comfort to be together in the same Place, but they parted the Father from his Son, the Husband from his Wife, &c. and sent them into Places far distant one from the other.

ARTICLE VI.

Of those that have been put to Death.

THO' it seem'd that at first our Persecutors aimed at the Destruction of our Souls rather than of our Bodies, nevertheless even that kind of Moderation was but of a short Continuance ; provok'd at our Steadiness, they carried things to the last Extremities. True it is, there was no general Massacre ordered against us, as in the former Times, * but several

private

* What I say here is but a Judgment of Charity, for if we are to credit Father *La Chaize's Biographer*, that profligate *Jesuit* had so far prevailed with *Louis XIV.* that he

APPENDIX.

87

private ones have been perpetrated in several Places by the Court's Orders, and several Persons of every Age, Sex and Quality, have been condemned to Death, and executed juridically.

Let us begin with the private Massacres. The King's Declaration of the 1st of July 1686, forbidding all Religious Assemblies, besides the *Roman Catbolicks*, on pain of Death, occasion'd many such ones, especially in *Poitou*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and other Southern Provinces; for, tho' that Declaration ordered not to fire upon those who were met assembled, nevertheless the Marquis of *La Trouse*, the Intendant of *Bâville*, and others who were charged to see the King's Edicts and Declarations executed in those Provinces, exceeding their Orders, commanded the Troops which they sent in quest of these Assemblies, to fire upon them, if it was necessary, and to hang upon the spot five or six of the most guilty, and to bring the rest Prisoners. And, lest I should be thought to impose upon the Reader, I shall here insert a Circular Letter of the said Marquis to the Officers of the Troops quarter'd in *Languedoc*, dated at *Montpelier*, the 29th of March 1686.

* Whatever Care has been taken hitherto to
disperse the Assemblies which the Fugitive
*F 4 * Reformed,

*F 4

‘Reformed,

he had persuaded him to consent to a general Massacre, which was to be executed on a certain Day of the Year 1684. The Monarch had been so far bewitched by the Villain, that he had already subscribed the necessary Orders for that barbarous Execution, when the Prince of Condé having received Information thereof by the Duke of Montauzier, came Post from Chantilly, where he us'd to live, and cast himself at the King's Feet, and by his Remonstrances and In:reaties, obliged that Prince to revoke his bloody Orders. *Hist. du Pere la Chaize, Jésuite & Confesseur du Roy Louis XIV.* pag. 228.

‘Reformed, and some new Converts have held
‘in this Province, it hath not yet been possible
‘to effect it. And as it is of Consequence for
‘the King’s Service entirely to extirpate them,
‘I desire you would leave no Stone unturn’d
‘for that Purpose. You may promise as far as
‘an hundred Pistoles to whoever will give you
‘notice of an Assembly, time enough for you
‘to fall upon them with the Troops under
‘your Command. One thing you must take
‘great Notice of is, that they take care to
‘place Centinels about a League from the
‘Place of their Meeting; so that it will be pru-
‘dent for you to take the necessary Precau-
‘tions to seize those Centinels; and when you
‘shall have reached the Place of the Assembly,
‘it will be proper to knock down some of them,
‘and to apprehend as many as possible, out of
‘which Number you shall cause five or six of the
‘guiltiest to be hanged, and the rest you shall
‘send to Prison. Observe, that you must not
‘fire without Necessity, &c. Then he promises
‘100 Louisd’ors for a Preacher, and 200 for a
‘Minister; he commands them to be strict,
‘diligent and watchful, lest any Body should
‘escape, and subscribes himself their most obe-
‘dient humble Servant,’ L A TROUSSE.

Tho’ they were not to fire without Necessity, nevertheless the Officers, to whom these Orders were directed, were not over-scrupulous to stick to the latter, they gave the greatest Extension to these Cases of Necessity prescribed unto them, and never failed to begin their Execution, by firing upon the Assemblies as soon as they were at the Musket-Shot’s Distance, whereby several hundreds were destroyed without Resistance in a short time: But, if they were

were so furious before the Court own'd their Proceedings, it is easy to imagine to what Excesses they carried their Rage after the King's Declaration issued out in 1689, whereby he ordered, not only the Troops, but the Peasants, and every one to fire upon them which they should meet assembled for their religious Worship. I dare say, that, by these means, they have massacred, at several Times and Places, from the Year 1685, to the Year 1715, when *Lewis XIV.* died, above 8000 People in that manner: But the greatest Slaughter has been in the Provinces of the high and low *Languedoc*, especially after the Year 1589. Besides those unfortunate Persons who suffered after that Way for their Religion, a great Number of all Ranks, Sex and Age, suffered Death by the Hand of the common Executioner upon the same Account. I shall but just name some of the most remarkable.

Mr. *Chamier*, Advocate at *Montelimar*, was broken alive upon the Wheel before his own House. He was Great-Grandson to the Reverend and Celebrated Dr. *Chamier*, whereof mention has been made under the Reign of *Henry IV.*

The Reverend Mr. *Homel*, Minister of *Soyon* in *Dauphiné*, was broken alive upon the Wheel, in the 72d Year of his Age at *Tournon*.

Mr. *Teiffier*, † Viguier of *Durfort*, was † *A Magistrate*. hang'd at *La Salle*.

The Reverend Mr. *Rey*, hang'd at *Beaucaire*. As the Provincial Synods had been interdicted in low *Languedoc* from the Year 1681, he could not receive in Form the Imposition of Hands. He was but 24 Years of Age when he suffered Martyrdom.

— *De Tommeiroles*, of the House of St. Julien Esq; a young Gentleman of 17 Years of Age, beheaded at *Vigan*.

On the same Day, and at the same Place, Messieurs *Anterieu* and *Hilaire*, being not above 17 Years old, *Daudé*, *Portalez* and *Cosse*, were hang'd; as were likewise Mistresses *Balzine*, *Delon* and *Gaches*.

Few Months after Messieurs *Barbut* Merchant at *Nimes*, and *Mibaffé* his Factor, received the Crown of Martyrdom in that City, where they were hanged.

Messieurs *Meirieu*, and *Sallendre* of *La Salle*, were made Partakers of the same Glory few Days after at *Ledignan*. Mr. *Emmanuel D'Allgue* and *Roques De Cardelles* Esq; received the same Crown at *Nimes*.

Mr. *Guizard of Nerac*, aged 70 Years, was burnt alive at that Place for having spit out the Host which the Priest had forced into his Mouth. A Woman was condemned to the same Death for the same Fact; but having appealed to the Parliament of *Toulouze*, the Sentence was mitigated, and she was hanged.

Mr. *Guerin*, a Child of about 12 Years old, and no more, born at *Anduze*, was condemned by the Intendant, namely, Mr. *De Basville*, to be hanged and executed, for no other Crime, than for having been to say Prayers from House to House.

— *D'Helis* Esq; a Gentleman of *Trieves* in *Dauphiné*, was taken upon the Road as he endeavoured to make his Escape out of the Kingdom with Mrs. *D'Helis* his own Daughter. Mrs. *De la Chatre*, Mr. *De la Baume*, a young Gentleman, Son to Mr. *De Villette*; Mr. *Perrachon*, Mr. *Galeau*, and an old Woman, Wife to a Farmer of Mr. *Du Collet*. They were brought

A P P E N D I X.

93

brought back to *Grenoble*, Mr. *Peracbon* excepted, who had the good Luck to escape. All Means were put in use to oblige them to change; but their Promises and Threats availing not, Mr. *D'Helis* was condemned by the Parliament of *Grenoble* to be beheaded, and was executed in that City. Mr. *De La Baume*, *Galeau* and the Farmer's Wife were condemn'd to be hanged. This last was executed at the same Time and Place with Mr. *D'Helis*, and the two first were brought and executed at *Mens*, a Borough seven Leagues distant from *Grenoble*. The two young Ladies were sentenc'd to be shut up with Mr. *D'Helis*'s Daughter in the Nunnery of *St. Ursula*, and Mrs. *De La Chatre* in the Tower called *Daupbine*.

I might record here several hundreds more that were put to Death upon the same account, only from the Year 1683 to 1687, throughout all the Provinces of *France*; for those above-mentioned were only of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, besides thousands of others that were executed for Religion's sake from that time to *Lewis XIV*'s Death: And, amongst others, the Reverend Mr. *Brousson* broken alive upon the Wheel at *Montpellier*, in the Year 1698. But these Examples are sufficient for my Purpose, not designing to go much further than the Year of the Revocation of the Edict, and much less to write our own Martyrology. I shall observe only, that all those who suffered Death, were left to their Choice to redeem their Life and Liberty, at the Cost of their Conscience, if they would but renounce their Religion: Nay, great Rewards and Preferments were offered to them, if they would but outwardly renounce their Religion; but they stood unmoveable, esteeming the Reproach *Heb. xi.*

of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt : For they had Respect unto the Recompence of the Reward. Another thing much worthy of our Attention, is not only their Constancy, but their Submission and Resignation to the Will of God, *Rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer Shame for his Name,*

Acts v. 41. but their Humility and Meekness towards their Judges and Executioners, which commanded the Admiration even of their Persecutors, and often-times drew Tears from their very Eyes ; being Imitators of their godly Master, *They were led as Sheep to the Slaughter, and like Lambs dumb before their Shearer, so opened they not their Mouths,* only for praising God, and blessing Men, even their Enemies. True it is, that they were not gagged, as in the former times, to hinder them from speaking, but they devised another means for hindering their Voice from being heard by the People ; they caused them to march to the Place of Execution amidst the Drums of a whole Regiment, and sometimes of two ; and when they were arrived at the Place, the Drums surrounded the Scaffold or the Gibbet, and were continually beating during the time of the Execution. Must we not own that this Proceeding betrayed in the Papists a great Mistrust of the Goodness of their Cause, since they were afraid lest the dying Speeches of those blessed Martyrs should make too deep an Impression upon the Minds of the People ?

A R T I C L E VII.

Of the Dragging of Corpses after Death.

WHEN our Persecutors had not been able to overcome the Constancy of our dear Brethren and Sisters during their Life, they revenged themselves upon their Corpses after Death. The Priests, provoked to the highest Degree at the Resistance they had met with in the Habitations of the sick Reformed, when they had been to force them to receive the Sacrament, went to make their Declarations before the Judges or the Magistrates of the Place, who went into the House of the Deceased, seized their Corpse, and had it conveyed to Jayl, where they were tried, and sentenced to be drawn upon a Hurdle by the common Executioner, and to be thrown in the Highway, or in a Field, there to be devoured by Dogs or Birds of Prey, in Consequence of the King's Declaration issued out the 29th of April 1686.

Accordingly Mr. *Maison-neuve Gobron* was brought into Jayl after his Death, with Mrs. *Duval*, and Mrs. *Boisette*, who died about the same time at *Vitré*; their Corpses were open'd, and thrown into the City Ditches, where Dogs and Birds of Prey fed upon them.

— *D^r Robert Ravenel Esq;* being dead at his Country House, aged 77 Years, was brought in a Cart to *Vitré*, his Corpse was opened and salted, and put into a Dungeon, but for all that it putrified, and the Stench was such, that the Jaylor complained thereof; whereupon a Gentleman, one of his Friends, obtained Leave to bury him in his Garden.

Madam

Madam *Du Rouillé*, a Gentlewoman of *Alençon*, who had abjured for avoiding Persecution, having sincerely repented on her Death-bed, and refused to receive the Sacrament, her Corpse was thrown out at the Window into the Street stark naked, and put a-cross upon a Horse, and carried in that Condition without the City, amidst the Insults of a brutish Mob, and thrown upon a Dunghill.

Mrs. *Ramé*; an elderly Widow of 60 Years, being dead at *Soubize* in November 1686, her Corpse was seized, and before Sentence had passed upon it, they plucked out the Eyes and Tongue, cut off her Nose, and Fingers off her Hands, and Toes off her Feet, also her Lips and Ears, and committed upon it several other Villanies which cannot be named.

The Lord *Robert D'Ulliv*, Viscount of *Nivion*, who had been Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, being dead in the Profession of the Reformed Religion, was drawn upon a Hurdle by the common Executioners, and

A P P E N D I X.

95

But two of the chief Magistrates of the Province having upbraided the Deceased's Gardener with Ungratefulness to his Master, for that he suffered his Corpse to lie in that Condition, without being buried ; he told them he could not do otherwise without exposing himself to some great Mischief, but that, if they would take him under their Protection, and give him a Licence under their Hands, he would perform his duty ; whereupon, having consulted together, they granted him his Request, and he went at the Head of about 400 Men which he had gathered together, took away the Corpse and buried it decently, singing the 79th Psalm.

These few Instances which I have pick'd out of a vast Number of others of the like kind, are sufficient to show to what a pitch of Inhumanity, as well as Indecency, the Spirit of Property may carry Men prepossessed with it. The same Declaration was renewed by another of the same Prince, issued out on the eighth of March, 1715. N. S.

Tho' the Facts contained in this Appendix have been called in question, during *Lewis XIV's* Life, by a certain Set of mercenary Scribblers ; nay, tho' some of them have carried their Impudence so far as to deny that there had been any Persecution at all in *France* (1), or that any other but fair means had been put

(1) *The Bishop of Meaux, in his Pastoral Letter of the 24th of March, 1686, to the New Catholics of his Diocese;* ' None of you, says he, has suffered any Violence, either in his Person, or in his Goods Far from having suffered any Torture, you were not so much as threatened with it. The other Bishops tell me the same Thing upon that Subject : but as to you, my Brethren, I say nothing but what you know as well as my self. You are come peaceably unto us, you know that.'

96 *History of the Reformation in FRANCE.*

in use to convert the Reformed, (2) Or that any Reformed had suffered on Account of his Religion, but only for being rebellious to the King (3). We have had, since the Death

of

(2) Maimbourg *Hist. of the Pontific. of St. Leon. in the Epis. Dedic.* says to the King, ‘ That he has the Soul, not only of a great King, but likewise of a great Pontif. And goes on so, ‘ Who can question that, after having seen with what Ardour, with what Means equally weak and efficacious, you yourself have taken care, with a Zeal worthy the holiest of all the Bishops, to bring back to the Catholick Church, your Reformed Subjects? But is it not what the whole World admire at this Day, when they consider what wonderful Means you have put in use for extirpating Heresy out of the Most Catholick Kingdom, IN SO LITTLE A TIME, WITHOUT NOISE, WITHOUT VIOLENCE, WITHOUT SHEDDING of BLOOD, tho' it was established and maintained for above 170 Years.

(3) But the Impudence of the most infamous BRUEIS goes beyond all Imagination, he was an Apostle of some Learning, a great deal of Wit, but of bad Morals, and of no Religion. He, in his Answer to the Complaints of the Protestants, published by the reverend Mr. Claude, calls in question whether the Reformed of France have undergone any Persecution at all, or no, and boldly asserts the Negative; that is to say, they have not suffered on Account of their Religion, but for not obeying the King's Orders, who commanded them to turn Catholicks. In the first Place, he supposes that the Word PERSECUTION includes in itself Tortures and Death, that they, both together, are the only true Characters of a Persecution; for so he speaks, p. 182 of his Answer. ‘ Let one take the trouble to read all the Places of the Gospel, where mention is made of Persecution, he will find the true Characters which the Holy-Ghost gives us thereof; he will find that it is always represented unto us under the Notion of Death and Tortures, and never under that of Deprivation of Hours, Goods, Estates, Commodities. &c. and p. 185, ‘ J. Christ, says he, has not included, under the Word Persecution, even Injuries, Reproaches, and the Deprivation of Goods, &c.’ Then, having related a Text of the Gospel where J. Christ had foretold that his Disciples should be delivered unto Death, ‘ Lo! says he, the Character of Persecution. But if we read Mat. v. 11. x. 17. &c. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9, &c. Luke xxi. 12. &c. Heb. xi. 36, &c. and

A P P E N D I X.

97.

of that Prince, the Satisfaction to see the Truth of these Matters of Fact fully acknowledged, even by those who had an Interest to deny it. The Duke of Orleans had no sooner taken upon him the Administration of the Government, but the Court's Sentiments were quite altered; and even the Clergy themselves, *who commonly are not the most zealous Assertors of Toleration*, blamed the Conduct of the late Ministry, and owned, *that considering every thing only in a political View, the late Persecution was directly opposite to the true Interest of the State*: and at this time; whoever should deny, even in France, that the late King has violently persecuted, without any just Cause, his Reformed Subjects, would be deemed a Lunatick. Nevertheless, tho' the Court and all the Kingdom were very sensible that the Loss which the said Kingdom had suffered by the last Persecution, was the greatest it could ever sustain; the Duke Regent was no sooner dead, but the Jesuits prevailing in the King's Council, they obliged

and 600 other Places; we shall find that the Word is of a much larger Extent than this Man pretends. In the second place, the Author affirms, in p. 103, 104, 153, 154, 180, 181, &c. That the King's Declarations and Edicts inflicted no corporal Punishment, &c. on the Reformed, only on account of their Religion; and that what some of them have suffered were only wholesome Corrections; inflicted on them because of their Rebellion, &c. I vow that it is almost impossible for me to refrain my Indignation against such a profligate Wretch; by the same Rule, *Jeremiah, Daniel, and many other Prophets and godly Men under the Old Testament, the Apostles and the first Christians were then so many Rebels against their Sovereigns, and their Martyrdom must be considered as a wholesome and seasonable Correction for restraining others from following their Example*. Well and good! But let it be our constant Rule to be their Imitators, and to be, as they have been, *redoubt and unmoveable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord, knowing certainly that our Labour is not in vain in the Lord*.

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

that Prince to issue out a new Declaration; which, under the show of Mitigation, contains in itself whatever was the most severe in all the late King's Edicts, Declarations, &c. It bears Date the 14th of May 1724, and is as follows.

The KING's Declaration concerning Religion.

Given at Versailles, May the 14th, 1724.

L E W I S, by the Grace of G O D, King of France and Navarre; To all who these Presents shall see, Greeting. Of all the great Designs which the late King, our most Honour'd Lord, and Great Grandfather, hath formed during the Course of his Reign, we have had none more at heart, than that which he had form'd entirely to extirpate Heresy throughout his Kingdom, to which he hath indefatigably applied himself to the very last Moment of his Life. That we might be enabled to carry on an Undertaking so worthy his Zeal and Piety, as soon as we have reached the Years of our Majority, our first Care has been to order all the Edicts, Declarations, and Decrees of Council given on this Subject, to be laid before us, to renew all their Dispositions, and to enjoin all our Officers to have them observed with the greatest Punctuality: But we have been informed that the Execution thereof has been neglected, many Years since, especially in the Provinces which have been afflicted with the Plague, and in which are found a greater Number of our Subjects, who have hitherto professed the pretended Reformed Religion, by the false and dangerous Impressions which some

of

A P P E N D I X.

99

of them, not sincerely re-united to the *Catbolick, Apostolical* and *Roman Church*, and encouraged by foreign Persuasions, have been willing secretly to insinuate under our Minority; which has obliged us to renew our Attention on so important an Object. We have found out, that the principal Abuses which have crept in, and which require a speedy Remedy, chiefly consist in unlawful Assemblies, the Education of Children, and the Obligation all those are under, who have any publick Employment, to profess the *Catbolick, Apostolical* and *Roman Religion*, the Punishments inflicted on those who relapse, and the Celebration of Marriages, on which we have resolved plainly to declare our Intentions. For which Reasons, by the Advice of our Council, and of our own special Grace, full Power and Regal Authority, we have said and ordained, and by these Presents sign'd with our own Hand, do say and ordain, and such is our Will and Pleasure:

Article 1. That the *Catbolick, Apostolical* and *Roman Religion* be alone professed in our Kingdom, Countries and Territories under our Obedience; forbidding all our Subjects, of what Estate, Quality or Condition soever, to profess any other Religion besides the said *Catbolick*, and to assemble for that purpose in any Place, and under any Pretence whatever, on pain, for Men, of the Galleys for ever; and for Women, of being shorn and shut up for ever in such Places as our Judges shall think proper; with Confiscation of the Goods of either, and even on pain of Death for such as shall meet in Arms.

2. Being inform'd that several Preachers have, and do daily arise in our Kingdom, whose only Employment is to stir up the People

100 *History of the Reformation in FRANCE.*

to Rebellion, and to turn them from the Exercise of the *Catholick, Apostolick* and *Roman Religion*, we order, that all such Preachers, as shall have made Assemblies, as shall have preach'd or discharg'd any other Function therewith, shall be punished with Death, as the Declaration of the Month of July 1686 orders it, for the Ministers of the pretended Reformed Religion; and the said Penalty of Death shall not for the future be deemed comminatory. We forbid all our Subjects to receive the said Ministers or Preachers, to give them any Retreat, Succour and Assistance, and to have any Communication, either directly or indirectly with them. We order those who shall have any Notice thereof, immediately to discover them to the Officers of those Places; the whole on pain, in case of Failure, of the Galleys for ever for Men; and for Women, on pain of being shorn, and shut up for Life in such Places as our Judges shall think most proper, and the Goods of both to be confiscated.

3. We order all our Subjects, and especially those who have heretofore professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents who professed it, to have all their Children baptized in the Parish Churches wherein they dwell, within twenty-four Hours after their Birth, unless they obtain Leave from the Archbishops or Bishops of their Diocese to put off the Ceremony of Baptism for Reasons of Consequence. We enjoin the Midwives, and others who assist the Women in their Delivery, to inform the Curates of the Places of the Childrens Birth, and to our Officers, and Justices to take care of this, and to punish the Delinquents with Fines, or greater Penalties, according to the Exigency of the Case.

4. As to the Education of Children of Persons who formerly professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents professing it, we will, that the Edict of the Month of *January* 1686, and the Declarations of the 13th of *December* 1698, and 16th of *October* 1700, be executed in all their Extent. And adding to them, we forbid all our said Subjects to send their Children to be educated out of the Kingdom, unless they have first receiv'd Leave from us by writing, sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, which we shall not grant without being sufficiently informed of the Parents being good Catholicks; and in case of Failure in this Article, they shall be subject to a Fine which shall be proportioned to the said Childrens Father and Mother's Abilities: And nevertheless it shall be no less than the Sum of 6000 Livres, and shall be continued yearly during the said Childrens Stay in foreign Countries, notwithstanding our Prohibitions; to which we order our Judges constantly to have an eye.

5. We will, that School-masters and Miftresses, as much as possible, be established in all Parishes where there are none, for the Instruction of the Children of both Sexes in the principal Mysteries and Duties of the *Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church*, to bring them to Mass every working Day as much as possible, giving them all the necessary Instructions on that Subject, and to take care that they be present at Divine Service on Sundays and Holidays; as also, that they may learn to read, and even to write, to such as shall have occasion for it, the whole as it shall be ordained by the Archbishops and Bishops, conformable to the 25th Article of the Edict of 1695, concerning

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. To that End we order, that in those Places where there are no other Funds, the Sum necessary for the said Masters and Mistresses Establishment may be raised on the Inhabitants to the Amount of 150 Livres for the Masters, and 100 Livres for the Mistresses, and that the Letters requisite for that Purpose be delivered out without any Charges, on Notice given us by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Diocese, and the Commissioners stationed in our Provinces for the Execution of our Orders.

6. We command all Fathers, Mothers, Guardians and others, entrusted with the Education of Children, especially of those whose Parents professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or were born of pretended Reformed Parents, to send them to the Schools and Catechisms till the Age of 14; and even for those who are above that Age to 20, to the Instructions which are given every Sunday and Holiday, except it be Persons in a Condition to be able or obliged to have them instructed at home, or send them to the College, or to put them in Monasteries, or regular Commonalties. We enjoin the Curates to watch with the greatest Attention on the said Children's Instruction in their Parishes, even with regard to those who shall not go to the Schools. We exhort and command the Archbishops and Bishops diligently to enquire about it; ordering the Persons the most remarkable for their Birth or Offices, to present them the Children which they have at their Houses, when the Archbishops and Bishops shall require it in the Course of their Visitations, to give them an account of the Instruction which they shall have received, in matters of Religion. And we enjoin our Judges, Attorneys, and Justices, to make all the

A P P E N D I X.

103

the necessary Diligences, Perquisitions and Ordinances for the Execution of our Will as to this, and to punish those who shall neglect to observe it, or shall be so rash as to fail in it in any manner whatever, by Fines, which shall be executed by *Proviso*, notwithstanding all Appeal, to whatever Sum they amount.

7. For to make the Execution of the foregoing Article more sure, we will, that our Attorneys and Lords Justices cause the Curates, Vicars, School-Masters and Mistresses, or others to whose Care they shall commit it, to give them every month an exact List of all the Children who shall not go to the Schools, or Catechisms and Instructions, of their Names, Ages, and their Parents Names, for to make the necessary Processes against the Fathers and Mothers, Tutors and Guardians, or others entrusted with their Education; and that they take care, at least every six months, to inform our Attorney-General, each in their own Districts, of the Steps they shall have taken on this Subject, to receive the necessary Orders and Instructions from them.

8. Spiritual Assistance being at no time more necessary, especially for such of our Subjects as have been lately re-united to the Church, than in occasions of Sicknes, wherein their Life and Salvation are equally in danger, we will, that the Physicians, and on their Default the Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, who shall be called to visit the Sick, be obliged to give Notice thereof to the Curates or Vicars of the Parishes in which the said sick People dwell, as soon as they shall find the Distemper dangerous, if they find they have not already been sent for by others, that the said sick People, and especially our Subjects lately re-united to

the Church, may from them receive the Advices and spiritual Comforts which they want, and the Assistance of the Sacraments when the said Curates or Vicars shall find the said sick People in a fit Condition to receive them. We enjoin the Relations, Servants, and others who shall be with the said sick People, to make them come in, and to receive them with all the Regard due to their Character ; and we order, that those of the said Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries, who shall have neglected their Duty in this matter, and likewise the Relations, Servants, and others who are near the said sick People, who shall have refused to let the said Curates, or Vicars, or Priests, (by them sent) see the said sick People, be condemned to such a Fine as shall seem good ; even the said Physicians, Apothecaries and Surgeons, shall, in case of Recidivation, be suspended, the whole according to the Expediency of the Case.

9. We also enjoin all Curates, Vicars, and others who have the Care of Souls, carefully to visit the Sick, of what State or Condition soever, especially those who have formerly professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents who professed it, to exhort them privately, and without Witnesses, to receive the Sacraments of the Church to that purpose, giving them all the necessary Instructions, with all the Prudence and Charity which becomes their Ministry ; and in case that through Contempt of their salutary Exhortations and Advice, the said sick People should refuse to receive the Sacraments which shall be presented them, and afterwards declare that they will die in the pretended Reformed Religion, and that they persist in the said Declaration.

A P P E N D I X.

105

gation all the time of their Illness, we order, that if they recover their Health, they be tried and examined by our Bailiffs and Seneschals at our Attorney's Suit, and that they be condemned to perpetual Banishment, and their Goods confiscated. And in those Countries where Confiscation does not take place, they shall be condemned to a Fine, which may not be less than half of their Estate. If, on the contrary, they die in that wretched Disposition, we order, that their Memory shall be tried by our said Bailiffs and Seneschals, at the Suit of our Attorneys, in the manner specified by the Articles of the 22d Title of our Ordinance of the Month of August 1670, that their said Memory may be condemned, and their Estates confiscated, derogating from the other Penalties prescribed by the Declaration of April the 29th 1686, and March the 8th 1715, which shall for the rest be executed in every Point not contrary to this Article. And in case there is no Royal Bailywick in the Place where this shall have happened, our Provosts and Royal Judges, and if there be none, the Lords Justices shall inform thereof, and shall send the Informations by them made, to the Register-Offices of our Bailywicks, and Seneschalships, in whose District the said Judges are, or who take Cognizance of the King's Causes within the Extent of the said Jurisdictions, for to proceed to the Instructions and Trial of the Suit, provided there be an Appeal to our Courts of Parliament.

10. We will have the foregoing Article executed without Need of any further Evidence to prove them guilty of relapsing, than their Refusal to receive the Sacraments of the Church offered them by the Curates, Vicars, or others
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who have the Care of Souls, and the Declaration which he shall have made publickly as above; and the Proof of the said Refusal and publick Declaration shall be established by the Depositions of the said Curates, Vicars, or others who shall have been present at the said Declaration; and it shall not be necessary for the Judges of the said Place to go to the said sick People's Houses, to draw out their Report of the Refusal and Declaration; and the said Curates or Vicars, who shall have visited the said sick Persons, shall not be obliged to require that the said Officers transport themselves thither, nor to denounce to them the Refusal and Declaration made to them, in this respect derogating from the Declarations of the 29th of April 1686, and 8th of March 1715, in what may be contrary to the present Article, and to the foregoing one.

11. And as we are informed, that what contributes most of all to confirm the said sick Persons, or make them fall into their former Errors, is the Presence and Exhortations of some hidden Reformed, who secretly assist them in that Condition, and Abuse of the Preventions of their Childhood, and of the Weakness which they are reduced to by their Illness, to make them die out of the Pale of the Church; we order, that they who are guilty of this Crime, immediately take their Trial before our Bailiffs and Seneschals, as above, of which our Provosts, or Judges Royal may inform, and even the Lords Justices of the Places wherein the Fact was committed, if there be no Bailywick or Royal Seneschalship in the said Places; provided they send the Informations to the Royal Bailywick, as above, that the Trial may be continued by our Bailiffs and Seneschals; and the

A P P E N D I X.

107

the Guilty shall be condemned, to wit, the Men to the Galleys for ever, or for a Time, as the Judges shall think fit ; and the Women to be shorn and shut up in the Places which our Judges shall order, for ever, or for a Time ; which we likewise leave to their Prudence.

12. We order, that according to the ancient Ordinances of the Kings, our Predecessors, and the Custom observed in our Kingdom, none of our Subjects may be admitted into any Place of Judicature in our Courts, Bailywicks, Seneschalships, Provostships, and Jurisdictions, nor in that of High Justiciary, even in the Places of Mayor and Sheriff, and other Offices of the Town-Houses, whether they be erected in the Title of Office, or whether they be provided for by Election, or otherwise, also in those of Registers, Attorneys, Notaries, Ushers and Serjeants, of whatever Jurisdiction they may be, and generally in any publick Office or Function, whether it be by Title or Commission, even in the Offices of our Royal Palace, and Palaces, without an Affidavit of the Curate, or, in his Absence, of the Vicar of the Parish wherein they dwell, of their good Life and Manners ; as likewise that they actually profess the *Catbolick, Apostolical and Roman Religion.*

13. It is also our Pleasure, that no Licences may be granted in the Universities of the Kingdom, to such as shall have studied either in Law or Phyfick, without the like Affidavits, which the Curates shall give them, and which by them shall be presented to those who are to give them the said Licences ; of which Affidavits mention shall be made in the Letters of Licence, given out to them, on pain of Invalidity. We mean not,

not, nevertheless, to confine within these Rules the Foreigners who shall come to study and take up their Degrees in the Universities of our Kingdom, provided that according to the Declaration of February 26. 1680. and the Edict of *March* 1707. the Degrees by them taken up shall be of no service to them in our Kingdom.

14. The Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Midwives, likewise the Booksellers and Printers, may not be admitted to practise their Art and Calling in any Place of our Kingdom without producing a like Affidavit, of which mention shall be made in the Letters which shall be deliver'd to them, and even in the Judge's Sentence, as to those who are to make Oath before them; the whole on Pain of Invalidity.

15. We order also, that all the Ordinances, Edicts and Declarations of the Kings our Predecessors on the Article of Marriages, and especially the Edict of *March* 1697, and the Declaration of the 15th of *June* of the same Year, shall be executed according to their Form, and Contents, by our Subjects lately re-united to the *Catbolick* Faith, as well as by all our other Subjects; we enjoin them to observe in the Marriages which they shall make, all the Solemnities prescribed by the holy Canons received and observ'd in this Kingdom, as well as by the said Ordinances, Edicts and Declarations; the whole under the Penalties therein expressed, and even of exemplary Punishments, according to the Exigency of the Case.

16. The Children under Age, whose Fathers or Mothers, Guardians or Tutors, have left our Kingdom, and have retired into Foreign Countries on account of their Religion, may contract Marriage, without waiting for or requiring

requiring the Consent of their said Fathers and Mothers, Tutors or Guardians then absent, on condition that they shall take the Consent and Advice of their Tutors and Guardians, if they have any in the Kingdom; if not, they shall have some appointed for that purpose; and also of their Kindred, if they have any; if they have none, of their Friends and Neighbours: For that End, we order, that before they proceed to the Contract and Celebration of their Marriage, there shall be called (before the Judge Royal of their Dwelling-place, and in the Presence of our Attorney, and if there be no Judge Royal, before the ordinary Judge of the Place, and in the Presence of the Fiscal Attorney) an Assembly of six of the nearest Relations on the Father and Mother's Side, professing the *Catbolick, Apostolick and Roman Religion*, besides the Pupils' Tutors or Guardians; and for want of Relations and Kins-folks, the Assembly shall be of six Friends or Neighbours of the same Quality, to give their Advice or Consent, if it fall out so; and the Acts requisite for this shall be dispatched without any Charges, as well of Justice, as of Sealing, Registering, Examining, &c. And in case there be only the Father or Mother of the said Pupils out of the Kingdom, it will be sufficient to assemble three Relations or Kins-folks on the side of that Person that shall be out of the Kingdom; or, on their Default, three Neighbours or Friends, which, with the Father or Mother then present, and the Tutor or Guardian, if there be any besides the Father or Mother, shall give their Advice or Consent, if the Case so fall out, for the proposed Marriage: of which Consent, in all the Cases above specified, a short mention shall be made

110. *History of the Reformation in FRANCE.*

made in the Marriage-Contract, which shall be sign'd by the said Father or Mother, Tutor or Guardian, Relations, Kinsfolks, Neighbours or Friends, as also in the Register of the Parish where the Marriage shall be celebrated; the whole, so that the said Children in the said case may not be liable to the Punishments specified in the Ordinances against the Children of good Descent who marry without their Parents Consent: To which purpose we have derogated, and do derogate for this Regard only from the said Ordinances, which shall be, as to the rest, put in execution according to their Form and Contents.

17. We forbid all our Subjects, of what Quality and Condition soever, to consent or approve that their Children or Pupils marry in Foreign Countries, either by signing the Contracts which may have been passed to obtain the said Marriages, either by a former or latter Act, for any Reason, or any Pretence whatsoever, without our express Leave by Writing, sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, and of our Commands, on pain of the Galleys for ever for Men, and of perpetual Banishment for Women, and moreover of forfeiting the Estates of either; and where Forfeiture does not take place, they shall be condemned to a Fine, not amounting to less than one half of their Estate.

18. We ordain, that in all Decrees and Judgments which order the Estates of those who are under them to be forfeited, according to the different Dispositions of our present Declaration, our Courts, and other our Judges give Orders, that on the Estates situated in Countries where Forfeitures do not take place, or on those which cannot be forfeited, or shall not

A P P E N D I X.

111

not be forfeited to our Profit, a Fine shall be raised not less than one half of the Value of the said Estates ; which Fine, as well as the forfeited Estates, shall fall in the Administration of the Estates of the pretended Reformed who are absent, to be employed with the Revenue of the said Estates for the Subsistence of such of our Subjects lately re-united as shall want that Succour, which shall also take place as to the other Fines, of what Nature soever, which shall be imposed on the Delinquents of this present Declaration ; neither may the Receivers or Farmers of our Crown-Lands lay any Claim to them. *And we give Command to all our trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, and to all others our Officers and Justiciaries whom it may concern, that they cause these Presents to be read, published and register'd, and their Contents they take care to keep and observe in every Point, according to their Form, and Contents.* For such is our Good Pleasure. Given at *Versailles*, May the 4th, 1724, and of our Reign the ninth. Sign'd Lewis.

And lower, by the KING, Dauphin, Count of Provence, Phelypeaux. And sealed with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax.

This Edict is the standing Law whereby the Reformed Regnicoles are tried. The least Transgression against any of the Articles is punished with all the Severity of the Law, and not one Year passes, without some Instances either of some that have been hang'd, or others sent to the Galleys, or others shut up for their Lives in noisome Places, or others that are obliged to pay large Fines for the least Offence ; and even last Year we had
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no less than 35 Men and Women, somewhere of were hang'd, others sent to the Galleys, and others shut up in the Tower of *Constance* near *Aiguemortes*, only on account of Religion.

I cannot forbear taking notice here, how the King's Ministers abuse the Credulity of their Master: Thirty-nine Years, or thereabouts, before this Declaration, *Lewis XIV.* was made to say in his Edict of Revocation, that the Reason why he revoked that of *Nantz* was, because it was become useless, the greatest Part of his reformed Subjects having re-united themselves to the *Catholick, Apostglick and Roman Church*; but in this, *Lewis XV.* is made to say, that the Reason why he issues out this his Declaration is, because of the Number of the Reformed, which has increased itself thro' the Non-execution of the Edicts made against them in the last Reign. But this is no Wonder; for we see several Edicts contradictory of *Lewis XIV.* himself.

A Learned and Judicious Author published in 1725 ten Letters, the six first thereof are designed to examine the above-said Declaration Article by Article; and he makes it appear as plain as the Sun at Mid-day, that it not only contains whatever was the most severe against the Reformed in all the Edicts and Declarations issued out under the late King's Reign, but even that in several Articles it exceeds far beyond the Severity of the former Edicts. He begins with the Preamble, and observes, that *Lewis XIV.* never made use of such harsh Words in his Edicts and Delara-tions as these of his Great Grandson, *Of all the great Designs which the late King, &c. bath formed during the whole Course of his Reign;*

*Reign, we have had none more at heart, than
that which be had formed, entirely to extirpate
Heresy throughout his Kingdom, &c. Which is
indeed to say as much as young Reboam saith
on another Occasion, My little Finger shall be II. Chron.
thicker than my Father's Loins: For whereas my x. 10, 11.
Father put a heavy Yoke upon you, I will put
more to your Yoke: My Father chastised you with
Whips, but I will chastise you with Scorpions.*

Then coming down to the Articles themselves, he observes in general, 1. That tho' it seems that there is some Moderation in two Articles, nevertheless, a Spirit of Rigour and Severity is very easily discovered in the whole Body of the said Declaration. 2. That the History of the Church affords us several Instances of Mitigations, which have been usefully practised by the most dangerous Persecutors. III. That Lewis XIV. himself has followed the same Method, with great Success, in order to quiet the Minds of his Reform'd Subjects, which were put to a terrible Fright, through the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz. IV. That if, notwithstanding so many just Occasions for a prudent Mistrust, People have a mind to flatter themselves, at least they ought to be undeceived by the reading of the Preamble of the Declaration; wherein the Council's Intention is so plainly discovered; to wit, to extirpate Heresy out of the Kingdom.

After these general Observations, the Author comes to the Examination of the first Mitigation, which consists in commuting the Punishment of Death into that of the Galleys, for the Reformed who shall make any Exercise of their own Religion; and he shows, 1. That under the former Reign, they had been sensible that it was necessary to moderate the Severity

of the former Declarations, which was done accordingly, tho' certainly it was not out of a Spirit of Meekness. 2. That, considering every thing, the Punishment of the Galleys is worse than Death itself, to those who are thoroughly persuaded that they suffer Death for God's sake. 3. That the Church-History evinces that the long Sufferings have occasioned many more Apostacies than the most dreadful kinds of Death, which the Persecutors having taken notice of, they failed not to improve that Opportunity for increasing the Number of Apostates. 4. Lastly, that as the Persecutors of the first Christians did not design to spare them, whenever they relented from the Severity of the Punishments; so our modern Persecutors aim at nothing else, in their Commutation of Punishments, but the conquering of our Constancy. *We have found*, it is said, in one of the late King's Declarations, *that the Punishment of the Galleys is less severe than*

Goods and Estate includes a Punishment of innocent Children for their Parents Guilt. But let this only be said by the way:] As to the second Mitigation, whereby it is derogated to the former Declarations, which ordained to draw the Corpse of the Recusants upon a Sledge, &c. he shows that that Alteration is but a Consequence of the Method which they were resolved to follow, had *Lewis XIV.* lived any longer, lest the Sufferings of the Reformed should look too much like a Martyrdom. That is all the Mitigation to be found in *Lewis XV's Declaration*; for as to the other Articles, our Author plainly evinces that they are either the Substance of the former Edicts and Declarations, or more severe.

I shall conclude this Article, and my whole Work, with two or three Remarks more.
1. It is plain, that there are many more Reformed in *France* than it is commonly thought, or else, to what purpose would the present King have issued out this Declaration, those of the late King being not revoked? Was it not sufficient to give orders to the Governors and others, to whom it belongs, to put them in execution?

2. Is it not strange, that after 39 Years Persecution, from 1685 to 1724, the Number of the Reformed should be so great as to deserve the King's Attention, and oblige him to issue out a new Declaration against them? Is not that a clear Evidence that Oppression and Violence are of little Use for making sincere Proselytes, and that such Means are not sufficient for the Extirpation of a Religion? This has been the Sense of all the soberest and wisest Men, at all times: We have seen what *Marillac*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, and *Montluc*, Bishop of

Valence, said upon that Subject, in the Assembly held at *Fontainebleau* in 1560, under *Francis II.** and what Chancellor *De l'Hospital* thought upon the same, in his Speech to the States General, held at *Orleans* under *Charles IX.* the 13th of December the same Year †. The great *Thuanus* was of the same Mind; he thought that it was in vain to endeavour to repreh, by Tortures, the Zeal of those who undertake to introduce Novelties in Religion, &c. ¶ And, if our Reader has only slightly perused this our History, he might be fully convinced of the Truth of those great Men's Assertion. But it is set in the fullest Light by the Events of the last Reign. We have seen what Treatment the Reformed have met with in *France*, since the Year 1685; nothing at all has been omitted in order to compleat their Destruction. Was Persecution a proper Means for extirpating a Religion, certainly the Reformed Religion would have been totally extirpated out of *France*. Nevertheless, in 1724, the King's Council is obliged to renew the former Severities, and even to add some new ones. Is not this a full Evidence that these Conversions, which have been so loudly bragg'd of, were but sham Abjurations, and that those whom they called PRETENDED REFORMED would have been more properly named PRETENDED CONVERTED?

3. Let us conclude from all this, that had the Reformation of the Church been the Work of Men, it would have come to nought, considering the mighty Oppositions which the Reformers and their Followers have had to with-

* See this Hist. Vol. I. Book ii. Art. 72 and 73.
† Idem, Book iii. Art. 10. ¶ *Thuan.* his Epif. Dedicat. to *Henry IV.*,

stand, the cruel and bloody Persecutions which the Enemies of Truth have excited against them, the numberless Plots and Conspiracies laid for their Destruction: but because it was the Work of God, Men have not been able to overthrow it; nay, the very Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. This we may say with Assurance, because we are certain that we profess the same Doctrine with St. Peter, and to which our Lord Jesus has made the Promise; we defend the same Cause for which that Apostle was expos'd to the Hatred of the Synagogue. Oh! that the Persecutors of the Church would be mindful lest they should be found even fighting against God! Oh! that all who call themselves Christians would have the Spirit of Wisdom, and the Eyes of their Understanding enlightened, that they henceforth be no more like Children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Sleight and cunning Craftiness of Men, who lie in wait to deceive; but follow the Truth with Love, and grow up, in all things, into him which is the Head, even Christ, whose Kingdom is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost. Which that God, in his Mercy, would grant unto us all, is the earnest Prayer of all true Lovers of Mankind.

GLORY BE TO GOD.







